History of the Church Missionary Society

VOL. I

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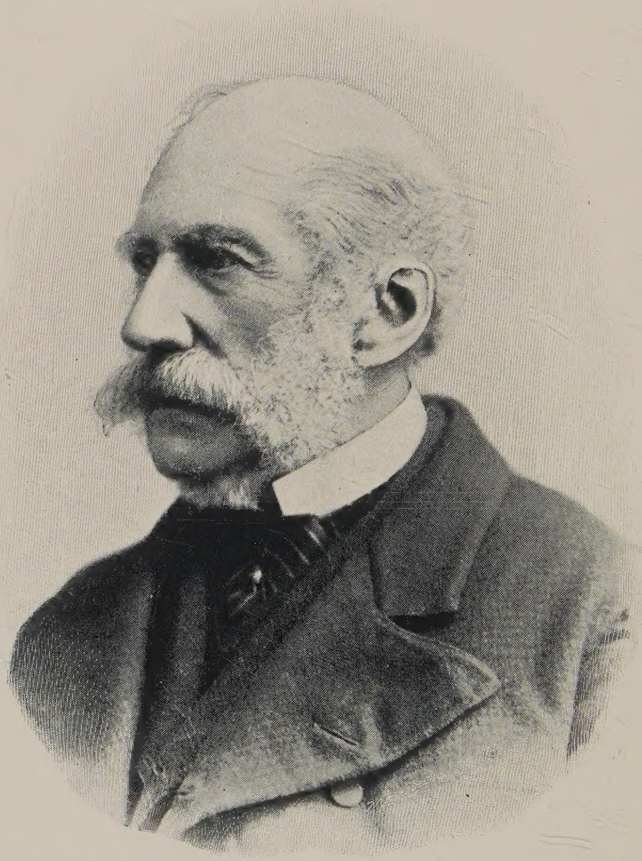

The Right Hon. the EARL OF CHICHESTER.

President of the Church Missionary Society, 1834-1886.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

ITS ENVIRONMENT, ITS MEN AND ITS WORK

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BY

EUGENE STOCK
EDITORIAL SECRETARY

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

"Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end should greatly increase. For enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of thy fathers. . . . Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart?"—Job viii. 7, 8, 10.

"That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments."—Ps. lxxviii. 7.

LONDON
CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
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1899

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TO

THE MOST REVEREND

FREDERICK

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND

AND METROPOLITAN

THIS WORK IS, BY HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION,

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PREFACE.

My friend and fellow-worker gives me the privilege of writing a few words of preface for his interesting and valuable contribution to the due celebration of our Centenary, of which I gladly avail myself.

If, as we earnestly hope, the completion of one hundred years of effort and of blessing is but the introduction to and the starting-point of the greater efforts and fuller blessings which our Heavenly Father has in store for us, it is surely right that we should be reminded of the faith and perseverance of the early founders of our Society, which enabled them to surmount obstacles from which our path is free, and overcome difficulties of which we have little conception.

The expansion of England, the stages of its development from the little kingdom of Alfred to the Empire within whose bounds nearly a third of the human race own allegiance to Queen Victoria, has for us all an absorbing interest. Little less marvellous, even more absorbing, is the record of the steps by which God has led us on our way. What joy it is to tell how there has been given to us day by day and year by year that of which we have had need: how door after door has been opened, and one after another has been raised up to enter in or to go out and take up the work that lay to our hand to do.

Side by side with the story of the C.M.S., nay, closely interwoven with it throughout, is the story of the awakening of the Church of England from a state of torpor and deadness to an increasing sense of its high vocation, its great responsibility. We read of the efforts made to remedy the results of past neglect, and to seize the glorious and ever-widening opportunities of to-day. Light will be thrown by these pages on the methods of the revival, and on the men who were the chief actors in it. I do

not think that more honour has been given to the Evangelicals than may be fairly claimed for them; nor has it been sought to depreciate the efforts of those who in all loyalty have sought to bring into greater prominence the teaching of the Prayer-book and to add beauty and dignity to the worship of Almighty God.

It is often assumed that the Evangelical movement has spent its force, and that it is no longer to be accounted as a power in the Church. To statements of this character the history as recorded here, not of thirty or forty, but of a hundred years of missionary work conducted on Evangelical lines, affords a full and adequate answer.

From the beginning to the end of the period under review, and even to this hour, we may claim for it an inspiring and continuing power which has made and is making its influence felt far outside the limits of its own party, and indeed of any particular school of religious thought. That this influence may be continued and extended to the end, even through the perilous times of the latter days upon which even now we may be entering, should be our earnest prayer.

May it be that when we shall have passed away, and the history of our time comes to be written, it shall be possible to say of us that we have not been unworthy of the great men who have gone before us, nor unfaithful to the great principles which they handed down to us. May ours be the honour to strive to keep alight the missionary torch which they placed in our hands—nay, more, so to feed and fan the flame that the dark places of the earth may be illuminated with increasing force and with brighter and clearer light.

JOHN H. KENNAWAY.

ESCOT, *January*, 1899.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I.

The History of the Church Missionary Society was first planned, in view of the coming Centenary, in 1891. The work was entrusted to the Rev. Charles Hole, Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. Mr. Hole's intimate knowledge of the Church history of the century, and particularly of the period at which the Society was founded, marked him out as pre-eminently the man for such a task. The plan was that he should compile what might be called the Library History of the Society, probably in four or five substantial volumes. But the thoroughness with which he executed the earlier part of his work became an insuperable obstacle to the accomplishment of this scheme. The time available was nearly half gone before he could complete the first volume, and that volume only brought the narrative to the year 1814. Moreover Mr. Hole's other engagements stood in the way of his continuing so large a work. What he had actually done was therefore published under the title of *The Early History of the Church Missionary Society;* and that book remains a monument of industrious research and skilful arrangement of materials, and must always be of the deepest interest to students of the period covered, as well as to all who love to trace out the providence of God in the beginnings of great enterprises.

It was then proposed to continue the History in much the same form, though on a smaller scale; and for this purpose the Committee engaged Dr. W. P. Mears, late of the South China Mission. He began admirably; but he was presently compelled by the state of his health to abandon the task.

Then it was found necessary to commit the work to me, and, for that purpose, to relieve me of my ordinary editorial duties. The time still available, however, did not allow of a compilation being prepared which should be a continuation of Mr. Hole's book, upon the same scale. A new History, therefore, had to be written independently from the beginning; although it could not but be largely indebted—as it is—to Mr. Hole's able and comprehensive account of the Society's earlier years.

The candid critic will probably complain of the size of the work. It may perhaps be pleaded that if biographies of individual men of the century required three and four volumes—Bishop Wilberforce three, Lord Shaftesbury three, Dr. Pusey four,—a History which contains in a condensed form materials for a hundred individual biographies is not unduly exacting in demanding three.

This consideration may be more fully appreciated if the scope and design of the History are explained. Let it be noticed that they are expressed in its title, THE HISTORY OF THE C.M.S.: ITS ENVIRONMENT, ITS MEN, AND ITS WORK. I have deliberately set myself to try and describe the Society's *environment* at home and abroad; and a very large part of the book is devoted to that attempt.

II.

There are the Environment abroad and the Environment at home. The treatment of the former has involved the inclusion of much collateral matter. Men are necessarily, and naturally, introduced who were not C.M.S. workers, and events that belong rather to general than to missionary history. For instance, Bishop Selwyn is a prominent character in some chapters; and both his struggle for what he regarded as the liberties of the Colonial Churches, and the sad story of the Maori war, are noticed more fully than the mere history of the New Zealand Mission would itself require. Again, the West Indies Mission was but short-lived; but the painful narrative of the oppression of the slaves is not omitted, nor the strenuous labours of Fowell Buxton in obtaining their freedom. Again, a good deal more is told of the origin and extension of the Colonial and Missionary Episcopate than is absolutely necessary to the story of the C.M.S. Missions. In the Africa chapters, also, and in those on China and North-West Canada, there is a good deal that is collateral. But naturally this feature of the work is most conspicuous in the India chapters. Rulers like Bentinck, Dalhousie, Canning, the Lawrences, Montgomery, Frere, and many others, are prominent figures. So are Bishops Heber, Wilson, Cotton, Milman, Dealtry, Gell, &c. The reforms under Bentinck, the developments under Dalhousie, the struggle with Caste, the Sepoy Mutiny, the Neutrality Controversy, the bold Christian Policy of the Punjab men, the Brahmo Samaj and similar movements, pass before us in succession.

On the same principle, the operations of other Societies, both within and without the Church of England, are frequently noticed. It has been my special desire to do justice to the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,—the elder sister of the C.M.S., as the founders and early leaders of the C.M.S. always called it. A careful study, indeed, of the missionary history of the century shows how much the C.M.S. owes to other organizations, of which its supporters are for the most part unconscious,—while on the other hand there can be no doubt that others are more indebted to the C.M.S. than is commonly acknowledged. What do not all Missions in India owe to the educational work of Duff and other missionaries of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland? What do not Missions in China owe to the China Inland Mission? What do not Missions in East Africa owe to the influence of Livingstone and to the linguistic labours of Bishop Steere?

Roman Catholic Missions also find frequent mention; generally, it is to be regretted, in regard to their aggressions on the work of Protestant Societies, of the S.P.G. and others as well as of the C.M.S.; particularly in India and New Zealand, and more recently in Uganda.

III.

The treatment of the Environment at home involves the study of the history of the Evangelical School or Party (or whatever it may be called) in the Church of England. It is usually said that the Church Missionary Society is the most important Evangelical achievement. I do not at all agree with this common opinion; but the fact that it prevails certainly shows that the Society's position at home, and its relations with the Church and with other Church organizations, call for special attention in such a book as the present. In short, the history of the Society is quite a different thing from the history of the Society's Missions. Accepting this fact as a guiding principle, I have devoted probably one-third of the whole work to the affairs of the Church and the Society at home.

But I have had another motive in doing this. The Evangelical body in the Church of England is constantly spoken of as dying or dead; and this view is fostered by the Church Histories of the period. They unanimously praise the men of the Evangelical Revival at the end of the last century—the men who in their own day were utterly despised, and altogether excluded from the counsels of the Church; and they affirm, with the most extraordinary inaccuracy, that the Evangelical School was dominant in the Church during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. But then they absolutely ignore all it has done in the past half-century—with possibly a passing acknowledgment that the C.M.S., after all, is alive,

and doing something. In fact, they treat the Evangelicals, in regard to the practical work of the Church, as "a negligeable quantity." My hope is that this History may do something to correct this curious misconception.

The chapters now referred to are, however, not merely a sketch of the history of the Evangelical School. They aim at being a sketch—very inadequate and imperfect, indeed, but still a sketch—of the history of the Church of England as a whole, from the Evangelical point of view. The growth of what may be called "Church feeling," as witnessed by the revival of Convocation, the establishment of the Church Congress, Diocesan Conferences, the Lambeth Conference, &c., &c., and the extension of the S.P.G., is traced out—and traced out, it is hoped, in an appreciative spirit.

In these chapters, I have not attempted to conceal what seem to me to have been the mistakes and the weaknesses of the Evangelical body. Although a writer who essays to be a historian cannot be neutral, he ought to strive to be fair and honest. That has been my unreserved desire and aim; and honesty and fairness are never manifested where a writer has only good words for his own "party," and only hard words for other "parties." But whatever mistakes may be admitted, it is nevertheless true that a large part of the immense development of the Church's practical work is due to Evangelical Churchmen. This, of course, is not the common opinion; but I think I have presented a good deal of indisputable evidence that it is the correct one. The general failure to perceive the fact is probably owing in part to the circumstance that some of the movements and agencies which have given warmer life to the Church of England during the last forty years have had a "non-denominational" origin; and it is true that a considerable section of the Evangelical clergy have held aloof from them on that account. But their influence has been great nevertheless: great for Evangelical religion; great for the progress of spiritual life in the Church of England. They have, in fact, corresponded in many respects to the revival movements of the eighteenth century: mainly, as then, carried on by Churchmen; though mainly, as then, not definitely "on Church lines." It is not wise to prophesy; but my expectation is that, although so ignored now, they will be recognized fifty years hence, just as the revival movements of the eighteenth century, not less ignored at the time, came to be recognized long afterwards.

For these reasons, the Home Chapters are not limited to an account of C.M.S. *personnel* and of the growth of its organiza-

tion. Among prominent characters in these pages appear such personages as Bishops Blomfield and S. Wilberforce and Archbishops Tait and Benson, as well as Canon Hoare, Mr. Pennefather, and Sir Arthur Blackwood—to say nothing of living men.

But of course the officers of the Society naturally occupy the most conspicuous place. Henry Venn is without doubt the leading figure in the whole book. Josiah Pratt and Edward Bickersteth are also in the front, and Henry Wright and F. E. Wigram; and Lord Chichester, the President for more than half a century; and Principals Childe and Green; and the editors of the *Intelligencer*, Ridgeway and Knox. Ridgeway's utterances on important questions are more often quoted than those of any other person except Venn and Pratt.

IV.

But undoubtedly the larger part of the work consists of the history of the Missions; and the student will be able to trace out the story of any particular Mission in which he is interested. Sierra Leone, for instance, or New Zealand, or Tinnevelly, or the Punjab, or China, or North-West Canada, or Uganda, can be studied period by period.

The missionaries themselves are naturally among the most important characters; and it is hoped that speakers at missionary meetings, and others, will find abundant material for sketches of the lives of men like W. A. B. Johnson, W. Jowett, S. Gobat, Henry and William Williams, H. W. Fox and R. Noble, T. G. Ragland, J. Thomas, J. Peet, C. G. Pfander, C. B. Leupolt, E. Sargent, G. M. Gordon, H. Townsend, Krapf and Rebmann, Bishop Horden, Bishops G. Smith and Russell, Bishop French and J. W. Knott, Bishop Hannington and Alexander Mackay. Or of living men like Robert Clark and W. S. Price, Bishop Moule and J. R. Wolfe, Bishop Ridley and Bishop Tucker. Or of Native clergymen and other converts, such as Abdul Masih, John Devasagayam, Paul Daniel, W. T. Satthianadhan, V. Sandosham, Nehemiah Goreh, Jani Alli, Imad-ud-din and Safdar Ali, Dilawar Khan and Fazl-i-Haqq, Manchala Ratnam and Ainala Bhushanam, Samuel Crowther and other Africans, Legaic the Tsimshean, Dzing Ts-sing, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and John Williams Hipango.

Many great questions of missionary policy are touched upon in these pages, not, indeed, in the way of formal discussion, but rather of historical record. The relations of a voluntary society of Churchmen to the official authorities of the Church come into view in many chapters; and so do its relations to the bishops of the dioceses in which it works, particularly in con-

nexion with Bishops Wilson, Selwyn, Alford, and Copleston.[1] The great problem of Church organization in the Mission-field has two chapters to itself, one on Colonial Churches[2] and one on Native Churches.[3] The varied methods in Missions, evangelistic, pastoral, educational, literary, medical, industrial, all receive more or less notice in various parts of the work. The political relations of Missions present important questions which are illustrated in many of the episodes recorded: particularly in India,[4] but also in Turkey,[5] in China,[6] in New Zealand,[7] in the West Indies,[8] and in the Yoruba Mission.[9] The duty of missionaries in times of danger is a question that may arise suddenly at any moment; and the utterances on it of Henry Venn in the name of the Society[10] deserve special attention. In the home organization and conduct of societies, the C.M.S. has initiated most of the methods which have come to be generally adopted, such as Public Meetings, Provincial Associations, Association Secretaries, Unions of different kinds, Missionary Boxes and Sunday-school Collections, Sales of Work and Exhibitions, Missionary Training Colleges, Finance Committees, a Working Capital, &c., &c., the origin and growth of which appear in these pages.[11] Some developments supposed to be quite modern are found to have been thought of, and some of them acted on, in bygone days. The plan of a family or a parish supporting its "own missionary" turns out to have been formulated in Annual Sermons preached sixty years ago.[12] What is now called the Policy of Faith—the sending out of all missionaries who appear to be chosen of God for the work in faith that He will also supply the means necessary—is found solemnly set forth by the C.M.S. Committee in 1853;[13] while evidence is afforded by the experience of the years 1865-72[14] that if the contrary principle of Retrenchment is acted upon, and men are kept back, the result may only be heavier deficits than before, while the total number of labourers actually shows retrogression.

V.

The history contained in these volumes cannot be regarded merely as the history of a Society, or of a School of Religious Thought, or of a Church; nor does it merely illustrate lines of policy, methods of work, systems of organization; nor does it

[1] Chaps. VII., X., XI., XXVI., XXVII., XXXIII., XXXVIII., LXIV., LXIX., LXXX., LXXXIV., LXXXVII., &c.
[2] XXXVIII. [3] LV. [4] XLIV., XLV., XLVI., LIX., &c.
[5] XLI., LXXV. [6] XLIX., LXIV., LXXXI. [7] XXVIII., LXVII.
[8] XXIII. [9] LVI. [10] XLV., LVI., ; see also XVI.
[11] X., XI., XIX., XXXI., XXXV., LIII., LIV., LXXI., LXXII., LXXXV., LXXXVI., &c.
[12] XIX. [13] XXXV. [14] LI., LII., LIII., LIV., LXXI.

merely commemorate the lives of men, however good and noble. It is concerned with something much greater and higher than these. The true idea of Missions is not grasped unless we have eyes to see, on the one hand, a human race needing a Saviour; on the other hand, a Divine Saviour for all; and, between the two, the men who know Him, commissioned by Him to proclaim His Message to those who know Him not. The history of a missionary society is the history of an association of some of His servants for the purpose of fulfilling that Commission; which Commission, therefore, is the subject of the First Chapter of the present work. Realizing this, we are at once lifted on to a level far higher than that of a rallying-point for a religious party, or of an instrument for the propagation of particular views. It is right and wise, indeed, remembering the wide diversity of opinion among Christian men upon all sorts of theological and ecclesiastical questions, for those who are substantially of one mind upon these questions to combine and work together. In so imperfect a state as the present, this method of doing God's work is the most practically successful. But while each association may rightly claim this liberty, and allow it to others, let its members rise in motive and aim to the height of their calling. If they are Churchmen, indeed, let them say so, and not be ashamed of it. If they are Evangelical Churchmen, let them say so, and not be ashamed of it. But let them, first of all and above all, be Christians, humbly rejoicing that they know Christ as their God and King, and working their association, consciously and purposely, for no object whatever—however good in itself—lower than the object of bringing their fellow-men to the knowledge of the same Christ.

The history of the Church Missionary Society, then, is the history of an attempt, through the medium of such an association, to take a definite part in the work of God in the word, the work of calling men back to their allegiance to their One Rightful Sovereign, and of proclaiming His gracious offer of pardon and restoration, through His Incarnate, Crucified, and Exalted Son, for all who return to Him.

This is the greatest of all "the principles of the Society." Three others naturally follow. The first is that those only are qualified to call men back to God's allegiance who are His true servants themselves. Perhaps we are too ready to boast of what is called "the C.M.S. principle, Spiritual men for spiritual work," considering our own spiritual failures and unworthiness; but the principle, nevertheless, is obviously and indisputably right. The second is that we are to be content, in actual missionary work, with nothing short of the real return to God of those who by nature are alienated from Him, that is, their

real conversion in heart and life. The third is that the qualifying of men for such a service, and the success of their efforts, are the work of the Holy Ghost alone.

The indirect and collateral influence of Missions is not to be despised, and is now generally acknowledged. They have promoted civilization; they have facilitated colonization; they have furthered geographical discovery; they have opened doors for commerce; they have done service to science; they have corrected national and social evils; they have sweetened family life. Many Christian communities in the Mission-field are very imperfect; but at least they are better than the Heathen. The shipwrecked sailor loses his fear of being robbed and murdered when he spies a Bible in a native hut. The Bible may belong to one who never reads it, and by whom its precepts are neglected; but its very presence is an indication of better things. Nevertheless, all these indirect and collateral results are not the primary aim of a Christian missionary society. That aim is the salvation of men.

There are also results of missionary work which, unlike those of a scientific or material character, cannot be called indirect. Missions extend the visible and organized Christian Church, or Churches; and, in due time, they make Christian nations. Such results as these are to be aimed at, and prayed for. Viewed, however, in the light of eternity, they are not the end, but the means to an end; they are chiefly valuable in so far as they promote the salvation of men. The grand aim of Missions is (1) to fulfil the Lord's command to preach the Gospel as a witness to all nations, which affects eternity because His Coming depends upon it; and (2) to gather out of the world the spiritual Church which is the true Body of Christ, and which will live on into a future when all earthly Church organization is forgotten.

While, therefore, the pages of this History which deal with ecclesiastical controversies, problems of organization, social reforms, and the like, may seem to be specially important, the reader who thinks of the salvation of men will turn with even more interest to those which sketch the story of the individual servant of the Lord who goes forth in His Name, or of the convert whose life and whose death illustrate the power of Divine Grace. Many pages that are thus occupied will, it is hoped, evoke songs of praise and thanksgiving, deepen the reader's faith in his Saviour and Lord, and send him to his knees in fresh and humble dedication of himself to the promotion of a cause so sacred, so blessed, so certain of ultimate triumph. He will learn that missionary advance abroad depends upon spiritual advance at home; that the increase of

men and the increase of means follow upon seasons of revival, of the reading of the Word of God, of united and believing prayer, of personal consecration to the Lord's service. He will —God grant it!—yield himself more wholly to his "glorious Victor," his "Prince Divine," and realize that even he, sinful and unworthy as he is, may, through the gracious condescension of his Heavenly Master, have a small share in the work of "bringing the King back."

VI.

It is right to say something touching the sources of this History. For the first fifteen years of the Society's existence, I am chiefly indebted to Mr. Hole's previous researches, embodied in the important volume before mentioned. The Eleventh Chapter in particular, on the first Associations and Deputations, is almost entirely based upon his work. The Society's Reports from the first, and its principal Periodicals, have of course been studied page by page. The forty-two volumes of the old *Missionary Register*, 1813 to 1854, are of extraordinary value to the student of the period, as containing the current history, not of the C.M.S. only, but of every other Society. I have described that wonderful periodical at the end of my Tenth Chapter. For the second half-century, the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* is the best source of information on C.M.S. affairs; but the *Missionary Register* has had no successor, and my notices of the work of other Societies become fewer and fewer in later years, because an examination of their several Reports would have been an utter impossibility in the time at my disposal. I have, however, made frequent use of the valuable S.P.G. *Digest*, and of several books of recent date describing the work of the London Missionary Society, the Universities' Mission, the China Inland Mission, &c. The Minute Books of the C.M.S. have of course been carefully examined, and also a host of documents, written and printed, on all sorts of subjects; but I have not followed Mr. Hole's good example of industry in reading the thousands and thousands of MS. letters among the Society's archives. He did search out those of the first fifteen years. To do so for a hundred years would be a task quite beyond my power consistently with other duties. Mr. Venn's Private Journals, and many of his letters, however, have been kindly placed at my disposal by his son and daughter, and have naturally supplied important information. The cream of them, however, had already been published in Mr. Knight's Biography, which book has in other ways also been a help to me.

Biographies, in fact, have been my best and most interesting authorities next to the current Reports and Magazines. They

have continually thrown side-lights on the history, and furnish the personal touches which, it is hoped, will be found to add much to its interest. No historian of a century could in two years examine the letters, &c., of a host of the leading men of the century, even if they were accessible to him; but when this has been done by their biographers severally, and the results published, the historian may rightly make good use of them, and is wise to do so. I certainly owe much to biographies such as those of Wilberforce and Buxton, Scott and Pratt and Bickersteth and Simeon, Martyn and Heber and Daniel Wilson, Marsden and Henry Williams and Selwyn, Carey and Duff and John Wilson, Cotton and Milman and French, the Lawrences and Herbert Edwardes and Bartle Frere, Fox and Noble and Ragland, Gobat and Bowen, G. M. Gordon and Hannington and Mackay—to name only a few of the more prominent. Upon Church affairs at home, besides some of those just mentioned, there have been the Lives of Bishops Blomfield and S. Wilberforce, Archbishop Tait and Lord Shaftesbury and Dr. Pusey, and many others.

A host of miscellaneous books might be mentioned, particularly those on Indian affairs by Sir John Kaye, Sir R. Temple, Dr. G. Smith, &c.; but a complete bibliography would occupy many pages, and most of the books are tolerably well known and easily accessible. I ought, however, to refer to the value of the old volumes of the *Christian Observer*, a leading Evangelical organ for more than seventy years. Nowhere else can one gather a more accurate impression of the actual contemporary opinions of Evangelical Churchmen. Through the kindness of the Editors of the *Record* and the *Guardian*, I have also been able to examine all the files of the former paper, and many of those of the latter, for the past half-century. Of the *Record*, I have turned over every single page for the past twenty years, and made careful notes, before writing the brief chapters on recent Church history.

References are everywhere given at the foot of the page to the various collateral sources of information. But I have not ordinarily given references to the Society's Reports and Magazines, except in some specially important and interesting cases. They are more frequently given in Vol. III., because the history of later years, especially of older fields like India, is so condensed that the reader is necessarily referred to the Reports, &c., and these later Reports are generally accessible. It should be explained that the Annual Report is always referred to by *the year of its issue;* thus "Report *of* 1895" means the Report *for* 1894-95. It should also be mentioned that the *Memoir of Henry Venn* used is the "revised and compressed edition" of 1882.

Here and there I have not hesitated to insert, without definite indication of the fact, particularly in two or three of the earlier chapters on Africa and Japan, extracts from my own writings in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, the *C.M. Atlas*, and elsewhere. The whole amount of matter thus borrowed is probably less than half a dozen pages; but it is right to acknowledge the fact. It must be further explained that in the small book entitled *One Hundred Years of the C.M.S.*, which was written after the first two volumes of the History, but before the third volume, paragraphs and sentences are frequently taken from the present work.

VII.

I have not thought it well to interrupt the narrative with the insertion of official documents and tables of statistics. There ought properly to be a fourth volume, for appendices containing lists of missionaries, of institutions, of Bible translations; important Minutes of the Committee and other documents; comparative statistical tables, &c. To prepare this, however, for the Centenary Year, has been impossible. But many extracts from official statements and reports occur in these pages, when they are necessary to make the story complete and are in themselves interesting.

No attempt has been made to secure scientific correctness, or even absolute uniformity, in the spelling of foreign names. The orthography usually to be found in the C.M.S. publications of recent years has been adopted. For example, the sacred book of Islam is written *Koran*, not, with some high authorities, *Coran* or *Quran*. The Province of the Five Rivers is called the *Punjab*, not *Punjaub* as formerly or *Panjâb* as more scientifically correct. When, of two missionaries who know a certain town in China well, one spells it *Z-ky'i* and the other *Tsi-chee*, an Englishman unlearned in the Chinese language may be pardoned for abandoning the attempt to make his spelling of foreign names acceptable to all experts alike.

This History is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, "illustrated." But portraits are given of many of the leading men who appear in its pages; and a very few small illustrations are placed at the end of certain chapters. There are also reproductions of three old maps of special interest: one, from the *Missionary Register* of 1816, showing the mission stations of the world at that time; the second, from the *C.M. Intelligencer* of 1850, Rebmann's first attempt at delineating East Africa; and the third, also from the *Intelligencer*, Erhardt's famous map of 1856, showing the "monster slug" (as it was called), the sup-

posed vast inland sea, which led to the first exploring journey of Burton and Speke. Many modern maps would be needed to make the work complete; but it is hoped that every reader will have the *Church Missionary Atlas* open at his side. That Atlas contains maps of all the Society's Mission-fields, and information concerning the countries and the people which may be regarded as preliminary to the study of the History.

I have, in conclusion, to thank very warmly several friends who have most kindly read the proofs of the work. In the earlier chapters, the Rev. C. Hole made important suggestions. The Rev. H. E. Perkins has done so throughout, particularly in the India chapters. The China chapters have been read by Archdeacon A. E. Moule; the New Zealand chapters by the Bishop of Waiapu; the North-West Canada chapters by the Archbishop of Rupert's Land. A large part of the work has been read by the Rev. Henry Venn (son of the Hon. Secretary) and the Rev. John Barton; some chapters by Archdeacon Long, who was a co-secretary with Mr. Venn; and others by the Rev. T. W. Drury and the Rev. Dr. S. Dyson, Principal and Vice-Principal of Islington College. The chapters on the Church history at home of the last forty years have been read by the Rev. Prebendary Barlow, the Rev. Prebendary Webb-Peploe, and the Rev. Dr. Moule. Although none of these friends, nor my fellow-secretaries who have also read the proofs, nor the C.M.S. Committee as a body, are to be held responsible for the views here and there expressed in these pages, it will be acknowledged that I have taken the best pains to secure the general approval of the most competent judges, as well as the substantial correctness of my statements. I must also thank the members of the staff of the Editorial Department in the Church Missionary House for important help cheerfully rendered in various ways; and, in particular, Mr. John Alt Porter, for many valuable corrections and emendations, and for the very complete Index at the end of the Third Volume.

I respectfully thank his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury —to whose ardent advocacy the cause of the Evangelization of the World is so deeply indebted—for permission, cordially given, to dedicate the work to him; and also the President of the Society, Sir John H. Kennaway, Bart., M.P., for the Preface he has kindly written.

Finally, I commit the book to Him who alone can make it helpful and useful in the promotion of His holy cause.

E. S.

CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE,
February 1*st*, 1899.

OUTLINE OF THE WORK.

The History is divided into Ten Parts. Five of these are in Vol. I., two in Vol. II., and three in Vol. III. The Nine Parts after the first cover Nine Periods of unequal length. In each Part after the first three, the Society's environment and history at home are reviewed in the earlier chapters, and then the Mission-fields in turn, concluding in some cases with a winding-up chapter.

VOL. I.

Part I. is preliminary. First, the Lord's Great Commission to His Church is recalled. Then in Chaps. II. and III. a rapid sketch is given of the work of the Church in executing that Commission during eighteen centuries. Primitive Missions, Mediæval Missions, Roman Missions, and Modern Protestant Missions, are glanced at. In particular, the establishment and early enterprises of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. are briefly noticed. We are thus brought on towards the close of the Eighteenth Century, the period which saw the foundation of the C.M.S. and several other missionary organizations.

Part II. is entitled "One Hundred Years Ago"; but it looks back over sixty years of the Eighteenth Century, and brings us down to the thirteenth year of the Nineteenth Century. It is essential to a right understanding of the origin and early years of the Church Missionary Society that the condition of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century should be realized. Chap. IV., therefore, sketches its leading features, and notices both the earlier Methodist Revival and the later Evangelical Circle within the Church; distinguishing, as it is important to do, the first generation of Evangelicals, among whom Henry Venn of Huddersfield was a leading figure, and the second generation of Evangelicals, of whom his son John Venn of Clapham was a leader. Then in Chap. V. we turn aside to view the condition of "Africa and the East" when the Society was founded, bringing the narrative of Wilberforce's efforts down to the year 1800. Chap. VI. concentrates our attention on the events, especially in 1786, which led to the Missionary Awakening, and introduces us to the Eclectic Society and its discussions. Chaps. VII. and VIII. tell the story of the actual establishment of the Society and the going forth of the first missionaries. In Chap. IX. we resume the review of African and Indian affairs, and rejoice with Wilberforce over both the Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Opening of India to the Gospel under the Charter of 1813.

Part III. is entitled "A Period of Development." The Society emerges from its feeble infancy and moves forward with the vigour of youth. Chap. x. describes a host of "forward steps" that marked the years 1812-18. Chap. xi. tells the story of the first Provincial Associations and Deputations. In Chap. xii. we turn aside to notice other Societies, both their work and progress and their relations with the C.M.S. In particular we see the very curious circumstances of the revival and expansion of the S.P.G. in 1818. The next five chapters take us into the Mission-field, and we read of the early trials and successes in West Africa (xiii.), the deaths of faithful labourers there (xiii., xiv.); the commencement of work in North and South India (xv.), and in New Zealand, Ceylon, &c. (xvi.); the Society's plans and efforts for the revival of the ancient Eastern Churches (xvii.), both in the Turkish Empire (as it was then) and in Travancore. Chap. xviii., from the standpoint of 1824, the date of Josiah Pratt's retirement from the Secretaryship, surveys the position and prospects of the work at home and abroad, and shows how hard experience had moderated the sanguine expectations of the early leaders of Missions.

Part IV. only contains six chapters, but they are long and important ones. The first two are devoted to home affairs. Chap. xix. introduces to us the *Personnel* of the Society, the Secretaries and Committee-men, the Preachers and Speakers at the Anniversaries, the Candidates and Missionaries, and those friends and fellow-workers who died in the period. Chap. xx. shows us the Society's Environment during the Period, particularly dwelling on the state and progress of the Church of England, with especial reference to the relations of the Evangelical school or party to other schools and parties. In this chapter we see something of the condition of England when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, the great improvements within the Church, certain internal differences among Evangelicals, and the rise of the Tractarian or Oxford Movement. The other four chapters take us again to the Mission-field. India absorbs two of them. Chap. xxi. is an important chapter, parallel to the "Environment" chapters at home. It notices the changes and developments in India in the period of the 'thirties, particularly the reforms of Lord W. Bentinck; also the episcopate of Daniel Wilson, and his struggle with Caste; also the advent of Alexander Duff and the commencement of Educational Missions under his auspices. Then Chap. xxii. turns our attention to the C.M.S. Missions, and takes a survey of them all round India, with a glance at the work of other Societies, and at Ceylon. Chap. xxiii. carries us back to Sierra Leone, and then across the Atlantic to the West Indies, telling the painful story of Slavery there and of Buxton's successful attack upon it. All the other Missions are grouped together in Chap. xxiv.,—Mediterranean, New Zealand, and Rupert's Land, and the short-lived attempts at work in Abyssinia, and in Zululand, and among the Australian Blacks.

Part V. is the shortest in regard to the length of time covered, comprising barely eight years, from the spring of 1841 to the Jubilee Commemoration, November, 1848, though in one or two chapters the

narrative is necessarily continued a little beyond that epoch. The first chapter, xxv., combines the *Personnel* and the Environment, introducing us to the new Secretary, Henry Venn, and his fellow-workers, and also noticing various controversies at home, and Missions, Protestant and Roman, abroad. It is supplemented by two chapters which take up definite subjects, and in doing so show us more of both the *Personnel* and the Environment. Chap. xxvi. describes the relations at the time between the C.M.S. and the Church, and relates the adhesion to the Society of the Archbishops and Bishops, the attitude towards it of men like Blomfield and S. Wilberforce, and its attitude towards the rising Tractarianism. Chap. xxvii. tells the story of the Colonial and Missionary Episcopate, and, in particular, of the establishment of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, of the New Zealand Bishopric, and of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem; also of the Society's controversy with Bishop D. Wilson. Then follow three chapters on the Missions. India is omitted in this Part, the history of the work there in the 'forties having been practically covered in the preceding Part. Chap. xxviii. gives a full narrative of the events and controversies of the period in New Zealand, with special reference to Bishop Selwyn and Sir G. Grey. Chap. xxix. comprises several interesting episodes in the history of Missions in Africa, the story of Crowther, the first Niger Expedition, the origin of the Yoruba Mission, and Krapf's commencement on the East Coast. Chap. xxx. takes us for the first time to China, and summarizes the events before and after the first Chinese War. The last two chapters are special ones. Chap. xxxi. reviews the Finances of the Society, the Contributions and the Expenditure, during the half-century. Chap. xxxii. describes the Jubilee Commemoration.

VOL. II.

The two Parts comprised in Vol. II. cover twenty-four years, 1849 to 1872. It would have been better to divide this period into three Parts, of about eight years each. As it is, the Parts are too long and full, and the chapters overlap more than is desirable. For example, the reader will find himself in the Revival period of 1860 at home before he comes to events abroad ten years older; and Dr. Pfander's later work at Constantinople has to be taken before his earlier work in India. But there need be no confusion if the dates are carefully noted.

The first two chapters of Part VI. deal with the Environment. Many of the events recorded in Chap. xxxiii., the Gorham Judgment, the Revival of Convocation, &c., are the commonplaces of modern Church Histories; but those of Chap. xxxiv., the new Evangelical Movements and their effect upon the Church, although equally important, are generally ignored. Chap. xxxv. introduces the *Personnel*, as in previous Parts. Chaps. xxxvi. and xxxvii. also introduce persons—the candidates from the Universities, and the Islington men—with many biographical details. Then, in turning to the Missions, we take New Zealand first (xxxviii.), because we have to review Bishop Selwyn's plans for Church

organization and the resulting controversies, thus continuing certain discussions in Chap. XXXIII., the first in this Part.

The rest of the Part, comprising twelve chapters, is devoted to the Mission-field. Chap. XXXIX., on West Africa, touches such matters as the interest taken by the Queen and Lord Palmerston in African affairs, the efforts of H. Venn to promote industry and commerce, and the brief episcopates and deaths of the first three Bishops of Sierra Leone. Chap. XL. introduces the story of East African exploration; and Chap. XLI. the "proselytism" controversy regarding Bishop Gobat, and the British relations with Turkey after the Crimean War. Chap. XLIX. also touches political matters, in reference to China, the T'aip'ing Rebellion, and the Opium Controversy; but Chaps. XLVIII. and L., on Ceylon and North-West America, are purely missionary.

But the six chapters on India, taken together, form one of the most important sections of the whole History, including the great epoch of Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship (XLII.), the conquest of the Punjab (XLIV.), the Mutiny (XLV.), the Neutrality Controversy in both India and England (XLV., XLVI.); with the remarkable development of Missions during the period, both in the North and in the South, especially in Tinnevelly and Travancore (XLIII.); the work of Pfander and French at Agra (XLII.), of Noble at Masulipatam (XLIII.), of Leupolt and Long in the North (XLVII.); and above all, the thrilling story of the commencement in the Punjab and on the Afghan Frontier (XLIV.) under the auspices of the Lawrences, Edwardes, Montgomery, and others.

Part VII., like Part VI., would have been better if a somewhat shorter period had been included in it. The fact, little known but very important, that the years 1865-72 were a time, not only of depression, but actually of retrogression, would have come out more clearly. Let it be emphasized here, however, that in 1872 the Society had actually twelve men *less* on the roll than in 1865. The careful reader will find why it was so.

The first two chapters of this Part also are devoted to the Environment. The "High" and "Low" movements are not taken separately, however, as they were in Part VI. One chapter is occupied with the controversies of the period, and the other with Church affairs and some Home Mission developments. Then Chaps. LIII. and LIV. give us, as in previous parts, the *personnel* and inner history of the Society; the account of the candidates in Chap. LIV. leading up to the establishment of the Day of Intercession.

Chap. LV., on Native Church Organization, is complementary to Chap. XXXVIII. in the preceding Part. The next twelve chapters again take us round the Mission-field. First, West Africa, telling, on the one hand, of the discouragements and repulses everywhere (LVI.), and, on the other hand, of Bishop Crowther's work on the Niger (LVII.); then Mauritius, and the short-lived Mission in Madagascar (LVIII.); then five chapters on India. Of these five, four are arranged neither geographically nor chronologically, but topically, introducing us to the great Anglo-Indians of the period (LIX.), to the Brahmo Samaj and similar

movements (LX.), to the varied missionary methods and agencies (LXI.), and commemorating the noble missionaries who died in the period (LXII.); while the fifth (LXIII.), on the Punjab, is notable for its narratives of converts from Islam. Advances and trials in China (LXIV.), the opening of Japan (LXV.), the establishment of Metlakahtla (LXVI.), follow in succession; and, lastly, comes a full account (LXVII.) of the dark period of war in New Zealand.

The last chapter of the Part, LXVIII., winds up the history of the period with a sketch of Henry Venn's latter days, closing with his death.

VOL. III.

Part VIII. covers the eight years of Henry Wright's Secretaryship, but carries on the history two years after his death, partly that the great epoch of change in Salisbury Square, 1880-82, may clearly appear, and partly to mark the epoch in English Church history of Archbishop Tait's death at the end of 1882.

We begin, as before, by surveying the Environment, first the Church Movements and leading men of the period (LXIX.), and then (LXX.) the Evangelistic and Spiritual Movements associated with the names of Aitken, Moody, Pennefather, Battersby, &c. Then we come to the Society itself, and note the men and work of these energetic years (LXXI.); stopping, however, just before Mr. Wright's death, and leaving that event and its issues to come at the end of the Part. A supplementary chapter (LXXII.) describes the Society's home organization.

The chapters on the Missions are eleven in number. First we see the revival of vigorous efforts in and for Africa (LXXIII.), mostly consequent on the death of Livingstone; and, in particular (LXXIV.), the commencement in Uganda. Then we take up Missions to Mohammedans (LXXV.) in Palestine, Persia, &c. India absorbs four chapters this time, three of them reviewing the work by dioceses. First, Calcutta and Bombay (LXXVI.), introducing the Prince of Wales's visit, Vaughan's struggle with Caste in Krishnagar, and some educational questions; then Lahore (LXXVII.), and the work of French, Clark, Bateman, and Gordon; and then Madras (LXXVIII.), with Bishops Sargent and Caldwell in Tinnevelly, the Great Famine, the Travancore Revival and Schism, &c. The fourth Indian chapter (LXXIX.) narrates the efforts to influence the non-Aryan Hill Tribes, Santals, Gonds, &c. Chap. LXXX. discusses the ecclesiastical questions that arose in both India and Ceylon at this time, and, in particular, tells the story of the famous Ceylon Controversy. The China chapter (LXXXI.) tells of development and advance amid many difficulties; and a short section at the end of it summarizes the few yet important incidents of the period in Japan. Chap. LXXXII. takes us back to North America, reviews the work by dioceses, and, at the end, begins the story of Bishop Ridley's episcopate on the North Pacific coast.

The closing chapter of the Part (LXXXIII.), as above indicated, relates

the important events of 1880-82, Mr. Wright's death, the changes in the Church Missionary House that followed, and the emergence of the Society from the Period of Retrenchment into the Period of Expansion.

Part IX. is devoted to the period of Mr. Wigram's Secretaryship, except that the events of his first two years, 1881-2, have been mostly included in Part VIII. The Home Chapters are relatively fuller in this Part than in any other, the Period having been marked by so many new developments. Commencing with the Environment as usual, Chapter LXXXIV. introduces us to Archbishop Benson's Primacy and many of the events that occurred in its earlier years; also to the rise of the modern missionary movements at Cambridge and in connexion with the Keswick Convention. In Chap. LXXXV. the *Personnel* of the Society during the period is described, and the incidents are noticed which made 1883-4 the commencement of a new era of progress. Chap. LXXXVI. is entirely devoted to the "three memorable years" that followed, 1885-7, dwelling on their encouraging features, while Chap. L XXXVII. notices various controversies of the period, touching the Jerusalem bishopric, &c. In Chap. LXXXVIII. the numerous missionary recruits of the period are introduced.

Then, turning to the foreign field, we have three long and full chapters on African affairs. The first two are entitled "High Hopes and Sore Sorrows": Chap. LXXXIX. relating the developments, difficulties, and deaths in the West Africa Missions, particularly on the Niger; and Chap. XC. the advances and the trials of the period in East Africa and Uganda. Chap. XCI. continues the latter story, with especial reference to the steps which led to the establishment of the Uganda Protectorate. The following seven chapters, XCII. to XCVIII., take us in succession to India, Ceylon, and Mauritius; to Persia, Palestine, and Egypt; to China and Japan; to New Zealand and the Dominion of Canada.

Finally, Chaps. XCIX. and C. resume the Home narrative, showing us, more especially, the results of "seven years of the Policy of Faith," and reviewing the proceedings of various Conferences and Congresses held during the period.

Part X., in a few closing chapters, reviews the events of the past four years, and seeks to draw from the whole history lessons for our guidance and encouragement in the time to come.

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Part I.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTERS.

NOTE ON PART I.

The Three Chapters in this Part are preliminary. First, the Lord's Great Commission to His Church is recalled. Then in Chaps. II. and III. a rapid sketch is given of the work of the Church in executing that Commission during eighteen centuries. Primitive Missions, Mediæval Missions, Roman Missions, and Modern Protestant Missions, are glanced at. In particular, the establishment and early enterprises of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. are briefly noticed. We are thus brought on towards the close of the Eighteenth Century, the period which saw the foundation of the C.M.S. and several other missionary organizations.

CHAPTER I.

The Great Commission.

"*Remember the words of the Lord Jesus.*"—Acts xx. 35.

THE History of Missions begins with the Day of Pentecost. Our familiar Creed, after affirming the facts of the Incarnation, Sufferings, Death, Burial, and Resurrection of the Son of God, continues, "He ascended into heaven; And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." The Past—"He ascended into heaven." The Future—"From thence He shall come." Between the Past and the Future is the Present—"He sitteth at the right hand of God." But what of the Present on earth? The Creed goes on, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church." While the Son of God is sitting on the Father's right hand, it is the dispensation of the Holy Ghost; and the work He is doing is the calling out of the Ecclesia, the "Holy Catholic Church." That is the purpose of Missions; and so the History of Missions begins with the Day of Pentecost.

The Voice of the Creed.

One of the first parts of the work of the Holy Ghost was to inspire the writers of the New Testament. The Four Evangelists were guided by Him to write their records of the Life of the Son of God on earth. When we examine these precious records, nothing is more significant than the brevity of the accounts of His visits to His disciples after the Resurrection. The narratives of the Sufferings and Death are full and detailed. The narratives of the Resurrection and the Forty Days are short and slight. St. Luke tells us in his second work, the Acts of the Apostles, that Christ, during those Forty Days, "gave commandments unto the apostles whom He had chosen," and that He spoke to them "of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God." The same evangelist, in his Gospel, shows us the Lord expounding to them the ancient Scriptures, the things "written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms." Now the interesting question is, Out of all these instructions and exhortations and expositions, what were the Evangelists guided by the Holy Ghost to record? The answer is most significant.

The Voice of the New Testament.

St. Matthew gives us only one fragment. It is this:—"All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore,

In St. Matthew.

PART I. Chap. 1.

and teach.[disciple] all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

St. Mark.

St. Mark—i.e. the postscript to His Gospel: into the textual question we need not enter—gives us only one fragment. It is this:—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," with the appended promise to him that believes and warning to him that believes not, and the reiterated insistence upon baptism as the public confession of Christ and sign of separation unto Him.

St. Luke.

St. Luke gives us the episode of the Walk to Emmaus; but in the narrative of the Lord's interview with His disciples as a body, there is again only one fragment of His instructions. In that fragment He lays definite stress upon three things. "Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." Three things put on a level, as apparently of equal importance in the work of redemption, viz., (1) the Death of Christ, (2) His Resurrection, (3) the preaching of repentance and remission of sins among all nations.

St. John.

St. John records the Lord's first appearance to the disciples on that first Easter-Day evening, when, after the word of salutation, "Peace," He instantly gives them, as the one thing of transcendent importance, their commission, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." It is interesting to notice further that, in the last and supplementary chapter of the Gospel, we have their work represented under two figures. First, we see them as fishers: "Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find." Secondly, as shepherds (for the injunctions to Peter cannot be regarded as merely personal to himself): "Feed My lambs," "Tend My sheep," "Feed My sheep." Here we have the two grand divisions of all work for Christ, at home and abroad, (1) the evangelistic, (2) the pastoral.

So we find that whatever the instructions and exhortations and expositions of those Forty Days were, and however numerous, the Evangelists were divinely inspired to record only *one Great Commission*, and that this is recorded by them all. There are but few things in the life and teaching of Christ that have a fourfold record. We have it of His Sufferings and Death; we have it of His Resurrection; we have it of one Miracle, and one only, the Feeding of the Five Thousand. We have it not of His Birth, nor of His Circumcision, nor of His Baptism, nor of His Temptation, nor of His Transfiguration, nor of His Ascension. The Great Commission, therefore, occupies an exceptional position in having a fourfold record.

And not an exceptional position merely. Its position is unique. For it actually has a fivefold record. We turn to the first chapter of

the Acts. We are there back again in the Forty Days. But there, too, only one thing is definitely mentioned. The disciples come to the Lord with a speculative question. Instantly, "It is not for you to know . . . but—" But what? He would not give them the knowledge they asked for, but He would give them power. Power for what? "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto Me . . . unto the uttermost part of the earth." "And when He had spoken *these things*, as they beheld, He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight." The very last words of Jesus: "uttermost part of the earth"!

How could the Holy Ghost have emphasized more strongly what work was to be done upon earth during the period between the Ascension and the Second Advent, while the Son of God "sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty"?

The World to be evangelized.

In a word, that work is the Evangelization of the World. The Evangelization—whatever that word may include; not necessarily the Conversion. Without entering into the difficult questions clustering round the Promise of the Second Coming, there seem to be two passages in the New Testament which indicate the two purposes of the present work of Evangelization. The first is Matt. xxiv. 14, "This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." The second is Acts xv. 14, "God did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for His name." The first announces the universal proclamation of the Gospel; the second announces the gathering out of the Ecclesia, "the Holy Catholic Church."

By the Church.

It is the Divine plan that the Church is to do this work, guided, administered, empowered, by the Holy Ghost. The Church is to evangelize the World. The Church is to gather out the Church. She is to be self-extending, self-propagating.

It is a humiliating thought that this one great Commission which the Church's Risen Lord gave her to execute is the very thing she has not done. She has accomplished magnificent work. She has covered Christendom with splendid buildings for the worship of God. She has cared for the poor, the sick, the infirm, the aged, the young. She has taught the world to build hospitals and schools. But her Lord's one grand Commission she has almost entirely neglected. It should have had the first place in her thoughts, sympathies, and prayers. It has had the last place, if indeed it can be said to have had a place at all. And all the while, her Lord and Saviour "sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty," "*expecting*," as the Epistle to the Hebrews expresses it.

But a few of the Church's members, sometimes as individuals, sometimes in bands and associations, have remembered their Lord's command and tried to do *something*. The story of one of these associations is the subject of the present volume.

CHAPTER II.

Missions before the Reformation.

The Apostolic Age—Conversion of the Roman Empire—Of the Northern Nations — Patrick — Iona — Augustin of Canterbury — Boniface — Anschar — Dark Ages — Crusades — Raymund Lull — Nestorian Missions in Asia—Islam and Christianity.

"*Ye did run well; who did hinder you?*"—Gal. v. 7.

Part I. Chap. 2. 30–1534.

BEFORE inquiring into the origin of the Society whose story this book is to tell, and into the circumstances amid which it was established, let us take a brief survey of the Church's evangelistic work during the preceding eighteen centuries.

The Acts a book on Missions.

The Acts of the Apostles is the Book of Evangelization. There we see the Church commencing the work given her to do, directed at every step by the Divine Administrator of her Missions, the Holy Ghost. That book is but a fragment. It gives us only a few illustrations of what the Apostles and their companions and followers did towards executing the great Commission. Yet its value is supreme, and its teachings regarding the conduct of Missions are most important. Into these we cannot now enter; but there is one fact revealed to us in the Acts which throws much light upon the history of the Church ever since.

Work of the first Christians.

It is this. From the very beginning, the work of evangelization was but partially—we might say feebly—taken up by the Church as a whole. The pictures sometimes drawn of the early Christians going forth by thousands in all directions as missionaries are entirely imaginary. Only once in the Acts is there anything in the least like this. They that were "scattered abroad" by the persecution which arose at Jerusalem after the murder of Stephen, and in which Saul of Tarsus took so leading a part, "went everywhere preaching the word." But they were fugitives, not missionaries. They were "all" scattered, men and women and children; the scattering was, for the most part, "throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria," not even so far as Galilee; and apparently the majority returned to the capital when the persecution was over, and formed a large part of the "thousands of Jews that believed" whom we meet with later, and of "the poor saints which were at Jerusalem." There were some, how-

ever, who went further, who "travelled as far as Phenice and Cyprus and Antioch"; but they also were fugitives, and not missionaries, and the Church of Antioch is the great typical example of God's blessing upon the personal and unofficial efforts of private Christians.

When the Church of Antioch itself, under the direction of the Holy Ghost, sent forth a Mission to the Heathen, it consisted of two missionaries and one "minister" or assistant; and the latter soon returned home. As this is the only recorded case, we have no other direct evidence; but to all appearance the Gospel was carried to Rome by converted Jews having business or other connexions there, of the type of Aquila and Priscilla. Of the foreign missionary work of the original Apostles no account is given. We may accept the traditions that they went in different directions preaching Christ; but of extensive evangelization by members of the Church generally there is little or no trace.

Its results, not to be over-stated.

St. Paul's words in the Epistle to the Colossians, "The gospel which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven" (ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν), have been much misunderstood. It is obvious that they cannot, as they stand in our Authorized Version, be taken literally. No one supposes that, at the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, every Pict and Scot in North Britain, every Teuton in the German forests, every Scythian and Parthian and Chinaman, had heard the Gospel. The Revised Version is, "Preached in all creation under heaven"; and Bishop Barry, in his note on the passage,* well says, "In idea and capacity the Gospel is universal; although in actual reality such universality can only be claimed by a natural hyperbole." If we put aside the literal English expression, "every creature," there is no difficulty in understanding the passage. Christian writers in all ages have quite rightly pointed to the rapid spread of Christianity in the first century as one of the evidences of its truth and power; but the tendency of the ordinary reader has been to over-estimate the results. Bishop Lightfoot, in his admirable survey of the question,† shows that the evidence of the early Christian Fathers testifies "rather to the wide diffusion than to the overflowing numbers of the Christians." His conclusion is that two centuries after Christ they were probably one-twentieth of the subjects of the Roman Empire, and one hundred and fiftieth of the whole human race. That they were mainly confined to the towns is evident from the curious fact that the word *pagani*, villagers, became a synonym for non-Christians, and is preserved to us in our familiar "Pagans."

Nor understated.

But while we guard ourselves against an exaggerated view of the missionary zeal of the early Church, we must not ignore what was actually done. Antioch sent out other missionaries besides St. Barnabas and St. Paul; and to this day the ancient Syrian

* Ellicott's Commentary, *in loco.*

† *Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions.* S.P.G.

Part I. Chap. 2. 30–1534.

Church of Southern India looks to Antioch as its ecclesiastical centre. In Alexandria, Pantænus presided over what we may call the first Missionary College, and then went forth himself to "India," though it has been doubted by some whether Ethiopia or Arabia is not really meant by the term in this case. The British Church of that day was in itself a brilliant result of missionary enterprise. An excellent summary of early Missions occurs in a remarkable Essay on the Progress of the Gospel, written by the Rev. Hugh Pearson (afterwards Dean of Salisbury) in 1812, to which was adjudged by the University of Oxford the Buchanan Prize of £500. An article by him, embodying much of the Essay, was printed in the second and third numbers of the first English missionary periodical, the *Missionary Register*.* It pointedly refers to Justin Martyr's well-known statement † that (about the middle of the second century) "there was not a nation, either of Greek or Barbarian or any other name, even of those who wander in tribes or live in tents, amongst whom prayers and thanksgivings were not offered to the Father and Creator of the Universe by the name of the crucified Jesus"; but Pearson remarks, "These expressions may be admitted to be somewhat general and declamatory."

External triumph of Christianity.

The great external triumph of Christianity came when Constantine, in A.D. 312, accepted the message, *In hoc signo vinces*, and established the new religion upon the ruins of the old. Paganism died hard; if indeed it can truly be said to have died at all. Is not the ancient bronze image of Jupiter in St. Peter's at Rome, which for centuries, as the supposed statue of the apostle, has been adored by countless multitudes until their kisses have worn away the foot, a sign and token of the practical paganization of a large part of Christendom? And the establishment of Christianity under Constantine and Theodosius was by no means of unmixed benefit to the cause of true religion. Prosperity and pomp succeeded to crucifixion and the lions; and Dr. George Smith scarcely uses too strong language when he says,‡ "From a purely missionary point of view, it began the system of compromise with error, of nationalism instead of individualism in conversion, which in the East made the Church an easy prey to Mohammedanism, and in the West produced Jesuit Missions." Nevertheless the fact remains, and it is a great and glorious fact, that for many centuries there has not been a nation—perhaps not one single person—on the face of the earth worshipping the gods of Greece and Rome. Jupiter and Juno, Mars and Minerva, Venus and Apollo, are names familiar to every schoolboy; but they are gods no longer. The Jericho of classic Paganism reared its

* The first number of the *Missionary Register*, edited by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, then Secretary of C.M.S., was published in January, 1813. (See p. 126.) Mr. Pearson's article appears in the February and March numbers.

† *Dial. cum Tryph.*, 117 *fin.*

‡ *Short History of Christian Missions*, chap. v.

mighty walls before the apostolic Israel; yet, like Joshua eighteen centuries before, the despised little Christian army "*took the city*."

Then came the overthrow of the Roman Empire by the Northern Barbarians; but this did not involve the overthrow of the Church. Some of the Gothic tribes already professed Christianity. In their earliest raids, they had carried off many Christian captives, particularly from Cappadocia; and these captives proved true missionaries of the cross, winning their savage masters to Christ, and then sending for more teachers to carry on the work. Ulfilas, the Apostle of the Goths, was the chief instrument in the enterprise; and his name will always be honoured as the translator of the Bible into the Gothic tongue; an achievement of which Professor Max Müller thus speaks:—"At this time there existed in Europe but two languages which a Christian bishop would have thought himself justified in employing—Greek and Latin. All other tongues were considered barbarous. It required a prophetic sight, and a faith in the destinies of those half-savage tribes, and a conviction also of the effeteness of the Roman and Byzantine empires, before a bishop could have brought himself to translate the Bible into the vulgar dialect of his barbarous countrymen." * Others of the invaders of the Empire, though they came in as Pagans, quickly embraced the religion of the conquered peoples; and Jerome wrote from his cell at Bethlehem, "Lo, the Armenian lays down his quiver; the Huns are learning the Psalter; the frosts of Scythia glow with the warmth of faith; the ruddy armies of the Goths bear about with them the tabernacles of the Church; and therefore, perhaps, do they fight with equal fortune against us, because they trust in the religion of Christ equally with us." †

Conversion of Goths and Vandals.

The history, however, is a sadly chequered one. Gothic Christianity was Arian, and the heresies which the Council of Nicæa had condemned again overspread Europe and North Africa. Religious wars ensued, and the "Christian" Vandals persecuted the orthodox believers as cruelly as Pagan Rome had done. But they destroyed the old heathen temples with still greater ferocity; and it cannot be denied that in the fourth and fifth centuries the religion of the Prince of Peace, like the religion of the False Prophet afterwards, was propagated by the sword. In the sack of Rome by Alaric, the churches were spared while the temples were razed to the ground; but there was little of the spirit of the Gospel in the Christendom of the Dark Ages that followed.

Except in our own country. While Arians and Pelagians waged war against the truth in East and West, while ecclesiastical pomp and pride were superseding the simplicity and devotion of earlier centuries, while the bishops of Rome were laying the foundations of Papal supremacy, England, Ireland, and Scotland presented scenes and illustrations of true missionary enterprise. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, deserves to rank with the greatest of

British Isles purest.

Patrick.

* *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Edn. 1861, p. 175.

† *Epist.* 107, 2.

Part I. Chap. 2. 30–1534.

missionaries. In his preaching from the Scriptures, in his schools for the children, in his training of evangelists, in his employment of women, he anticipated our modern methods; while his spirit is revealed by his celebrated hymn, one verse of which, translated from the Keltic, runs thus:—

Christ, as a light,
Illumine and guide me!
Christ, as a shield, o'ershadow and cover me!
Christ, be under me! Christ, be over me!
Christ, be beside me
On left hand and right!
Christ, be before me, behind me, about me!
Christ, this day, be within and without me!

The result of his labours was wonderful. Ireland became known as "the Island of Saints," and the European scholars who fled from the turmoil and bloodshed of the Continent to its peaceful shores called it "the University of the West." Then, as Scotland had in the fifth century sent Patrick to Ireland, so Ireland in the sixth sent Columba to Scotland; and on the little island of Iona arose the abbey and monastery whence missionaries evangelized all North Britain, and afterwards spread themselves over Europe. From Lindisfarne in Northumberland to Bobbio in the Appenines missionary centres were established; and a purer Gospel was diffused from them by Aidan and Cuthbert and Columbanus and Gallus and Fridolin and Willibrord than was by that time preached at Alexandria or at Rome. "The libraries of Milan preserve to this day the copies of Holy Scripture which belonged to those early evangelists, and which bear witness to their love of Scripture study by the numerous interlineations and comments which they exhibit in the Irish tongue." *

ona.

Augustin.

Meanwhile Augustin the monk had been sent by Gregory the Great to transform the *Angli* into *angeli*. The ancient British Church had been overwhelmed by the Saxons, and survived only in Wales and Cornwall, as well as in Scotland and Ireland; and while the evangelists of Iona brought the Gospel from the North into what had become a heathen country, Augustin from the South introduced the Papal system, so far as it had then been developed, and, with it, concessions to heathen customs which marred not a little the purity of the faith. The mission of Augustin was a great event in the ecclesiastical history of England, and its thirteenth centenary was rightly celebrated in 1897 by the gathering of Anglican bishops at Canterbury from all parts of the world; but the purer British Christianity of the North and the West, which prevailed before Augustin came, must never be forgotten. The Anglo-Roman Church thus founded also sent forth its missionaries to the Continent, who not only planted the Church among many of the Teutonic tribes, but were the chief promoters of civilization, by means of the industrial and agricul-

* Bp. Pakenham Walsh, *Heroes of the Mission Field*, chap. iii.

tural settlements that sprang up around the mission stations; while the monasteries, then in the earlier and purer stage of their history, were the centres of Scripture study and teaching. Of the agents of this important work, Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, was the greatest; but although he was in some respects a true missionary, he was undoubtedly the chief instrument of bringing German Christianity into union with the Papacy. Neander thus sums up the character and results of the rival Missions:—"The British and Irish missionaries certainly surpassed Boniface in freedom of spirit and purity of Christian knowledge; but Rome, by its superior organization, triumphed in the end, and though it introduced new and unscriptural elements into the Church, it helped at the same time to consolidate its outward framework against the assaults of Paganism."

Boniface.

The epoch of Charlemagne was an epoch of progress, but of progress achieved mainly by the sword. The great emperor imposed the profession of Christianity upon the nations he subdued, despite the protests of his learned English friend Alcuin, who, trained in the purer religion of Northumbria, urged that the baptism of pagans was useless without faith, and that faith came, not by compulsion, but by the grace of God. Our own King Alfred was the one example of a monarch in those ages who seems to have understood spiritual religion.

Anschar.

The next great missionary was Anschar, the Apostle of the North. His whole history is deeply interesting. Neander compares Boniface to St. Peter and Anschar to St. John. From a child he was the subject of divine grace. While still a boy he, in a dream, saw the Saviour in His glory, fell, like John in Patmos, "at his feet as dead," and received His forgiveness,—awaking from the dream with an assurance of salvation that lasted all his life. He became the evangelist of Denmark and Sweden, and did a mighty work amid perils and persecutions as great as have been encountered by any missionary in any age. If his divinity school in Schleswig does not entitle him to be called the first educational missionary, seeing that the training of native teachers was an accepted method before his time, it may be truly said that he was the first medical missionary, the cures wrought at his hospital at Bremen giving rise to a belief among the ignorant people that he wrought miracles—a power which he always disclaimed. It is noteworthy also that he anticipated Wilberforce by nearly ten centuries in his denunciation of the slave trade. For thirty-four years he laboured among the very Norsemen who were about to descend upon Europe; and it has been well observed that the harvest from the seed he sowed appeared long after, when the Dane Canute, having become King of England, suppressed the remnants of heathenism and sent missionaries back to the North to complete the evangelization of Scandinavia.*

* Dr. G. Smith, *Short History of Christian Missions*, chap. viii.

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Goths and Vandals, Huns and Franks, Celts and Saxons and Norsemen had now been brought within the pale of Christendom. In Europe there still remained the Slavs. Cyril and Methodius, Greeks of Thessalonica, did a noble work in the ninth century by translating portions of Scripture into the old Sclavonic tongue; Adalbert of Prague preached the Gospel in Bohemia and Eastern Prussia; and the baptism of Vladimir established Christianity in Russia, as that of Clovis had established it in France.

Cyril and Methodius.

The Dark Ages.

One thousand years of the Christian era had now run their course, and Christendom, in respect of spiritual tone and practical morality, was at the lowest point it has ever touched. Ignorance and superstition everywhere prevailed, and it might be said of Christian Europe what has often been said of Heathen Asia and Africa, that "the dark places of the earth were full of the habitations of cruelty." Reliance on the virtue of supposed relics of saints had practically superseded the believer's humble access to the Father through the Son. The clergy, debased as a body as they have never been before or since, traded upon all kinds of imposture, and descended to "unspeakable abominations." * Rome was governed by abandoned women, who put their lovers in the papal chair; and the principal dignitaries of the Church, being "past feeling," had "given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness." Suddenly, in the year 1000 A.D., a cry arose that the end of the world was at hand, the "thousand years" of Revelation being completed; and an extraordinary account of the panic that ensued is given by Mosheim, the ecclesiastical historian. But, like other panics, it soon subsided, and Christian Europe went upon its wicked way.

No wonder that the Lord's great Command was forgotten, and that even when Missions were carried on, they bore little resemblance indeed to the Acts of the Apostles. Meanwhile, the Mohammedan power had for four centuries wrought havoc in the lands of the Bible and of the Early Church. It had robbed the Eastern Empire and Church of some of its fairest domains; it had overrun a great part of Western Asia; it had totally destroyed the North African Church; it reigned supreme in Spain. Christendom in its decadence stood face to face with the Saracen and the Moor in the fulness of their vigour. Then arose Peter the Hermit; and the cry "Dieu le veut," rang through Europe, summoning Christians to a holy war. But the weapons of this warfare were carnal, and the purpose of the Crusades was not the evangelization of the Mohammedans, but their expulsion from the Holy Land. The purpose was not fulfilled; the Holy Sepulchre, rescued for a time, once more fell into the hands of the Saracens; and in Moslem hands it has remained ever since. But just as the Crusades were coming to a disastrous close, there was born in the island of Majorca, in 1236, the man who was to proclaim a

The Crusades.

* Canon George Trevor's *Rome*, (1868), p. 159. Canon Trevor was in his day a prominent High Churchman.

truer method of warring the Lord's war, and to become the first, and perhaps the greatest, missionary to Mohammedans.

Raymund Lull.

There is no more heroic figure in the history of Christendom than that of Raymund Lull. Though much less generally known, he deserves to be ranked with Francis of Assisi, who preceded him by a few years, who anticipated him in his desire to preach Christ to the Moslems, but who, in view of the revival work done in Europe by his preaching friars, may rather be regarded as the father of itinerant home missions. Raymund Lull, like St. Augustine, spent his earlier years in a life of sensuality, and like St. Augustine in his *Confessions*, recorded his spiritual experiences in a book, *On Divine Contemplation*. Converted to Christ at the age of thirty, the young noble thenceforward gave himself and all he possessed to the service of His Saviour. He soon saw what a true crusade ought to be. "The Holy Land," he said, "can be won in no other way than as Thou, O Lord Christ, and Thy Apostles won it, by love, by prayer, by shedding of tears and blood." He began, however, by writing a philosophical book, which was to convince all men, the Moors included, that Christianity was the only true religion; and then he persuaded the Council of Vienne to order the establishment of professorships of Arabic and other Oriental languages at the universities, Oxford included. Europe admired his philosophy, and the "Lullian Art" was famous for two centuries; but his appeals for missions and missionaries fell unheeded. At last, having learned Arabic from a Moorish slave, he resolved to go forth himself; and in North Africa, and Cyprus, and even Armenia, he patiently toiled among the Mohammedans. Thus he himself reviews his life:—

His self-denial.

"Once I was rich; I had a wife and children; I led a worldly life. All these I cheerfully resigned for the sake of promoting the common good and diffusing abroad the holy faith. I learned Arabic; I have gone abroad several times to preach the Gospel to the Saracens; I have, for the sake of the faith, been cast into prison; I have been scourged; I have laboured during forty-five years to win over the shepherds of the Church and the princes of Europe to the common good of Christendom. Now I am old and poor; but still I am intent on the same object, and I will persevere in it until death, if the Lord permit." Persevere he did, "until death." When nearly eighty years old, he once more crossed the Mediterranean and ministered to a little flock of converts. Then, in his unconquerable courage, he stood forth and called on the Moors who had imprisoned and banished him before to embrace the Gospel. Their response was to drag him out of the city and stone him to death. The motto of his great book, despite its elaborate system of philosophy, was "He who loves not lives not; he who lives by the Life cannot die." Raymund Lull loved, and lived; and while he now lives for ever in the presence of the Lord he loved, his example lives on earth for missionaries in every age.

His martyrdom.

Part I. Chap. 2. 30–1534.

Missions in Asia.

All through the centuries comprised in this brief sketch of Missions in Europe, the Churches of the East were also at work in Asia. Corrupt as they became, and sorely as they afterwards suffered from Mohammedan oppression, the evangelization of the Heathen was not wholly forgotten. Persia received the Gospel as early as the second century, and the terrible persecutions endured by the Church there under the Sassanian kings furnishes one of the most appalling chapters of Christian martyrology. The tradition that the Syrian Church of Malabar, in South India,—whose members call themselves "Christians of St. Thomas,"—was founded by the Apostle Thomas himself is not accepted by the best authorities; and it is more likely that the saint buried at the now familiar "St. Thomas's Mount," near Madras, was a monk of the eighth century. But it is certain that this interesting Church is very ancient. At the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, one of the assembled bishops was "Johannes, Metropolitan of Persia and the Great India." Two hundred years later, Cosmas, a merchant of Alexandria, who had made several voyages to the Far East, published a book called *The Christian Topography of the Whole World*, to prove from his travels that the earth was flat and not globular. This work Dr. G. Smith calls the first Indian Missionary Report, and he quotes an interesting passage from it.* "Even in Taprobane" [Ceylon], says Cosmas, "there is a Church of Christians with clergy and a congregation of believers. . . . So likewise among the Bactrians, and Huns, and Persians, and the rest of the Indians. . . . there is an infinite number of churches with bishops and a vast multitude of Christian people. . . . So also in Ethiopia. . . . and all through Arabia."

Nestorian Missions.

The Nestorian Church is honourably distinguished by its missionary zeal in Asia. At the very time that Mohammedanism was beginning its destructive course in Western Asia, Nestorian Christianity was spreading even to China and Tartary; and while Europe was in its darkest period of superstition, the tenth and eleventh centuries, Christian bishops were presiding over dioceses in Turkestan, Kashgar, and other parts of Central Asia where now, and for long ages past, Islam and Buddhism have divided the land. Although Zingis Khan, the Mongol conqueror and scourge of Asia, persecuted the Christians, his grandson Kublai Khan, in the thirteenth century, favoured them, and Marco Polo the Venetian traveller gives a deeply interesting account of Asiatic Christendom under his tolerant sway. By this time Rome was competing with the Nestorians for the spiritual dominion of Asia, and Kublai Khan sent from Peking to the Pope for wise and earnest Christian teachers to be posted all over the empire. The Church failed to respond, and to this day has never had a second chance of evangelizing Central Asia.† In the

A lost opportunity.

* *Conversion of India*, p. 29.

† Dr. G. Smith mentions as a sad illustration the Island of Socotra, whose rocky eminence is now familiar to thousands of English travellers across the

fourteenth century, the Turks and the Tartars destroyed the churches and put thousands of Christians to death with horrible tortures, while many others saved their lives by apostasy. The only remaining evidence to-day of the great Nestorian Missions is the celebrated monument at Si-ngan-fu in North-Western China, which records the fact that in the seventh century "the illustrious religion had spread itself in every direction, and Christian temples were in a hundred cities." *

Christianity repulsed.

Thus in the fifteenth century the tide of evangelization had actually ebbed, and Christendom occupied a smaller area than it had done two centuries before. In the eloquent words of Dr. Fleming Stevenson,—"Christianity had overrun Europe, but it had almost disappeared from Asia, where it was born. The very Palestine of Christ was in possession of the infidel. Antioch, that had stretched its patriarchate over the East, and fostered churches as far as the wall of China, was trodden by the feet of Moslem conquerors. The schools of Alexandria were silenced by the sword of Mohammed. Every sacred spot of the African Church, the memories of Augustine, of Alypius, of Cyprian and Tertullian, of Monica and Perpetua, the regions that had been hallowed by innumerable martyrs, were all overrun by Mohammedanism. Christianity was assailed even in Europe itself. The cry of the muezzin was heard from a hundred minarets in the city where Chrysostom preached to Christian emperors. The fierce, strong faith of the Arab not only held Constantinople but almost reached to Rome. Nothing but the narrow waters of the Adriatic lay between the centre of Latin Christendom and the eager outposts of the Turk. Hundreds of years before this, there had been a chain of mission churches from the Caspian almost to the Yellow Sea; the little Christian Kingdom of the Tartars, ruled by its Prester Johns, may not have stood alone; but now, the Nestorian occupation of Western China had shrunk down to a tablet with an inscription, and Tamerlane had swept every trace of Christianity off the face of Central Asia. Ground had been lost, century by century; and for half a millennium no ground had been won." †

Indian Ocean. So far back as the second century, Pantænus found Christians there. Marco Polo tells of bishop, clergy, and people. In the seventeenth century the inhabitants called themselves Christians, but mingled Moslem and Pagan rites with their corrupt worship. Now Islam reigns there undisturbed. Socotra, he observes, is "a living example of the failure of a false or imperfect Christianity to regenerate a people."

* A picture and full account of this remarkable monument are given in Dr. G. Smith's *Conversion of India*, p. 20.

† *Dawn of the Modern Mission*, p. 6. Edinburgh, 1887.

CHAPTER III.

Missions after the Reformation.

Roman Missions—Xavier—Erasmus—Early Protestant Efforts—Eliot and the Red Indians—Cromwell, Boyle, Dr. Bray—S.P.C.K. and S.P.G.—Bishop Berkeley—Lutheran Mission in India: Ziegenbalg and Schwartz—Hans Egede—Moravians—Brainerd.

"*How long are ye slack to go to possess the land?*"—Josh. xviii. 3.
"*While men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares.*"—Matt. xiii. 25.

Part I. Chap. 3. 1534-1786.

IT is a remarkable and a humbling thing that the great movement which delivered Northern Europe from the Papacy, and restored to the individual Christian the freedom of direct access to God through Christ, did little or nothing for the evangelization of the world. It did lead to Foreign Missions on a more extensive scale than the world had yet seen; but these Missions were organized, not by the Churches that were rejoicing in their light and liberty, but by the old corrupt Church whose yoke they had shaken off. Rome lost the nations that were destined to be in the van of progress in the following centuries; but she responded by sending her emissaries to the newly discovered America, and the East and West Coasts of Africa, and by the new sea-route to the mysterious East of Asia. To use Canning's famous phrase, she called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.

Why were post-Reformation Missions Roman and not Protestant?

The question may fairly be asked, How came it that the Reformed Churches were so slack while the unreformed Church was so vigorous? Various answers have been suggested to this question: for example, that the Reformers were too much occupied in making good their position at home to think of the Heathen abroad,* or that the Erastianism which subjected them to the secular power dulled their zeal. It does not, however, seem necessary to find reasons of this kind. A simple and sufficient cause is supplied by the fact that the navigating and exploring nations of the day were Spain and Portugal. As a Spanish Admiral (though himself a Genoese), Columbus discovered America; the Portuguese Vasco da Gama circumnavigated Africa

* "A victim escaping from the folds of a boa-constrictor is presumably not in the condition of a vigorous athlete." Dr. A. C. Thompson, *Protestant Missions: Their Rise and Early Progress*, New York, 1894.

and opened up the new route to India and China. It was natural that the first missionaries to the vast territories thus rendered accessible should be Spaniards and Portuguese; and being so, they were of course Romanists. It is the same principle that was embodied long afterwards in Livingstone's pregnant words, "The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise."

Still, if the opportunity was to be used, the agent was required. The hour had come for the extension of Roman Christianity; but with the hour there must be the man. In this case there were two men, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. Loyola founded the Order of the Jesuits, the most potent instrument Rome has had for extending her influence. Xavier was one of the seven men who, in the crypt of St. Denis on the heights of Montmartre, banded themselves together to form that Order, in the very year, 1534, in which the Act of Supremacy severed England from the Papacy; and he became the one missionary of the Roman Church whom all Christendom honours. He led the way to India and to Japan, and he died in the attempt to knock at the closed door of China. But much undeserved glamour attaches to Xavier's work. The marvellous results attributed to his labours exist only in the imagination of those whom a Roman Catholic historian, Mr. Stewart Rose, calls his "unwise biographers." He never learned an Oriental language. Although he "made Christians" (*feci Christianos* is his expression) rapidly in India by baptizing Heathen infants and the most ignorant of the Tamil fishermen, yet the Abbé Dubois, a Jesuit writer, says of him that he was "entirely disheartened by the invincible obstacles he everywhere met," and ultimately "left India in disgust"; and this is confirmed by his own letters to Loyola. Indeed, so hopeless did he regard any attempt to win the Heathen by preaching, that he called on King John of Portugal to lay upon the governors of his possessions in India the duty of forcing the Church upon the Natives, and to punish severely any governor whose "converts" were few. Bishop Cotton, most tolerant of Anglican prelates, considered Xavier's methods "utterly wrong, and the results in India and Ceylon most deplorable." Nevertheless, his zeal and devotion call for unstinted admiration. He did love his Divine Master; he did love the souls for whom his Master died. His toils and privations were heroically borne, and he never descended to the fraud and falsehood by which some of his successors sought to spread the religion of Christ as they understood it. Some great men are patterns; some are beacons. Xavier was both.*

Francis Xavier.

But most of his comrades and successors were beacons, and not patterns. The history of Jesuit Missions, as told by the Jesuits themselves, is one of the saddest portions of the Church's annals. Their identification with the aggrandizement of the

Jesuit Missions.

* The most instructive, and perfectly fair, *Life* of Xavier, is that by Henry Venn, Hon. Sec. of the C.M.S. (London, 1862.) See Chapter LXVIII.

nations that sent them forth, their use of the secular arm, their establishment of the Inquisition in Malabar, in Japan, in the Philippine Islands, in Mexico and South America; the frightful tortures inflicted by them on both Heathen and heretics (e.g. the burning alive at Goa of the Metropolitan of the Syrian Church in 1654); their "unholy accommodation of Christian truth and observances to heathenish superstitions and customs," as Mr. Rowley of the S.P.G. expresses it; the impostures practised by Robert de Nobili in the hope by their means of winning the Brahmans;—these are only some of their principal features. And what were the results? On both sides of Africa, on the Congo and in Mozambique, countries once nominally Christian are now Heathen, though some of the cities (like San Salvador) still bear Christian names. The really shocking story of the Congo Mission is told by a sympathizer, the Italian Pigafetta, Chamberlain to Pope Innocent IX. In India the adherents of Rome are numerous, but Bishop Caldwell of Tinnevelly was only one of the many witnesses to the same fact when he wrote, "The Roman Catholic Hindus, in intellect, habits, and morals, do not differ from the Heathen in the smallest degree." * Similar testimony comes from China.†

Men zealous; methods wrong.

While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge the self-denial and devotion of many of the Roman missionaries, and not to doubt that there have been among them not a few who, knowing Christ as their own Saviour, have earnestly preached Him to the Heathen, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the plain facts of history as recorded by themselves; and these facts of history exhibit a work which, upon the whole, however zealously done, no well-instructed Christian can suppose to have commanded the Divine blessing. The methods of the Jesuit missionaries, indeed, were repeatedly condemned by the Popes themselves; and it is right to say that the Dominicans and Franciscans have been less open to the same censure. The societies, orders, and other missionary bodies within the Roman Church are almost as numerous as those of Reformed Christendom, although to some extent they have been generally supervised by the College *De Propagandâ Fide*, established at Rome in 1622.

Erasmus on Missions.

We now turn to the beginnings of Protestant Missions. In the very year in which the Jesuit Order was founded, Erasmus wrote his famous Treatise on Preaching. He was only in a partial sense a Reformer, but his brilliant mind realized, as neither Luther nor Calvin nor Cranmer did, the duty of the Church to evangelize the world.

"Everlasting God!" he wrote; "how much ground there is in the world where the seed of the Gospel has never yet been sown, or where there is a greater crop of tares than of wheat! Europe is the smallest

* S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 541.

† Further evidence is given in a paper read by the Author of this History at the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894. *Report*, p. 171.

quarter of the globe. . . . What, I ask, do we now possess in Asia, which is the largest continent? In Africa what have we? There are surely in these vast tracts barbarous and simple tribes who could easily be attracted to Christ if we sent men among them to sow the good seed. Regions hitherto unknown are being daily discovered, and more there are, as we are told, into which the Gospel has never yet been carried. . . . Travellers bring home from distant lands gold and gems: but it is worthier to carry hence the wisdom of Christ, more precious than gold, and the pearl of the Gospel, which would put to shame all earthly riches. Christ orders us to pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers, because the harvest is plenteous and the labourers are few. Must we not then pray God to thrust forth labourers into such vast tracts? . . . Bestir yourselves, then, ye heroic and illustrious leaders of the army of Christ. . . . Address yourselves with fearless minds to such a glorious work. . . . It is a hard work I call you to, but it is the noblest and highest of all. Would that God had accounted me worthy to die in so holy a work!"*

But the Reformed Churches were slow to respond to this stirring appeal. For a century and a half Missions were mainly the work of isolated individuals. Apparently the very first attempt was that of the noble Huguenot, Admiral Coligny, in 1556. He obtained a band of men from Calvin at Geneva and sent them to Brazil, in connexion with a projected French colony there; but they were cruelly treated, and some of them killed, by a treacherous governor; and the enterprise came to naught. The second Protestant Mission was sent from Sweden to the Laplanders, under the patronage of Gustavus Vasa, in 1559. Early in the next century, the Dutch, now freed from the tyranny of Spain, began to engage in colonial enterprise, and, as in the case of Spain and Portugal, this led to Missions being planned also. In 1612, ten years before the establishment of the Propaganda at Rome, a missionary college was founded at Leyden by Anthony Walæus. Men were sent to the new colonies in the East Indies; and Grotius wrote for their use his great work on the Truth of Christianity. But the methods adopted cannot be commended. What Xavier had asked the King of Portugal to do, the Dutch governors did. They made the profession of Christianity a condition of civil rights, and the Natives were baptized by the thousand with the smallest modicum of instruction. The immediate external success, of course, was immense; but it did not last. Wherever the Dutch rule ceased, by British conquest or otherwise, these multitudes of nominal Christians reverted to Heathenism.

First Protestant attempts.

Swedish.

Dutch.

It was in Germany that the truer missionary spirit began to show itself here and there. Peter Heyling of Lubeck went to Abyssinia in 1632, and there translated the New Testament into Amharic. Von Welz, an Austrian baron, appealed to the German nobility in 1664 to send the Gospel to the Heathen, and projected for the purpose a Society of the Love of Jesus; but Lutheranism

German.

* The whole passage, a long and most eloquent one, is given by Dr. G. Smith, *Short History of Christian Missions*, chap. x.

Part I. Chap. 3. 1534-1786.

had then become almost dead and cold, and a leading theological professor protested against casting such pearls as "the holy things of God" before "dogs and swine" like Tartars and Greenlanders. "As for the Society of the Love of Jesus," he added, "God save us from it!" But the Pietist movement was commencing, which was destined to be in Germany what the Methodist movement was in England; and under devoted leaders like Francke at Halle and Spener at Berlin, the evangelistic spirit gradually spread which afterwards provided the English Church Societies with many of their earliest missionaries. This, however, would bring us into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Before leaving the seventeenth, we must come to England and America.

nglish.

English Missions also grew out of colonial enterprise. The very first missionary contribution in England was Sir Walter Raleigh's gift of £100 to the company which founded the Elizabethan colony of Virginia, "for the propagation of the Christian religion in that settlement." In the charter given by James I. to the same company, it was provided that "the word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colony, but, as much as may be, among the savages bordering among them"; and on November 13th, 1622, Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, delivered before this company what may fairly be regarded as the first missionary sermon preached in England. But the Pilgrim Fathers who colonized New England were the first to produce a

John Eliot.

genuine missionary, in the person of John Eliot. He was for sixty years the minister of the village of Roxbury, now a suburb of Boston; but the Red men of the Iroquois and other tribes, familiarized to a later generation by the picturesque tales of Fenimore Cooper, then peopled the forests covering what is now the prosperous state of Massachusetts; and among them Eliot laboured with a devotion and success that earned for him the title of Apostle of the Indians. It is a pathetic feature of his work that, inspired by his own motto, "Prayer and pains, through faith in Jesus Christ, will do anything," he mastered and reduced to writing the Mohican language,* and translated into it the whole Bible; which translation is still extant as a curiosity, but there is now not a single person on earth who can read it. Many of the Red Indian tribes utterly disappeared before the advance of the white settler. All the more must we honour the man who "served his own generation by the will of God" and evangelized them while there was time.

But who paid for the printing of the book, and otherwise supported Eliot's work? Shortly after he began his labours, England as a nation very nearly became a great missionary society. The

Cromwell founds the first "S.P.G."

House of Commons, under Cromwell's auspices, took up the question. Its journals record that, in 1648, "the Commons of England

* What the task was may be guessed if we print here one word, simply meaning "catechism":—*Kummogokdonattoottammoctiteaongannunnonash.*

assembled in Parliament, having received intelligence that the heathens in New England are beginning to call upon the name of the Lord, feel bound to assist in the work." A "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England" was established, the first of three distinct organizations which have borne the initials S.P.G. A collection was made for it throughout England, which, invested in land, produced an income of £600 a year; and from this fund grants were made to John Eliot. Cromwell had also a project for converting the old Chelsea College into a great missionary institution, dividing the world into four great Mission-fields, and directing the work in them by four secretaries paid by the State; but his death, and the Restoration, put an end to these plans. Under Charles II. the Society was reorganized by the energy of the Hon. Robert Boyle, and may be said to have become a second S.P.G. It still exists under the name of the New England Company, and disburses its funds in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.* Robert Boyle was a man of true missionary ardour. The Lectureship he endowed, and which bears his name, was designed for missionary appeals. He paid for a translation into Arabic of the treatise by Grotius before mentioned, and also for a translation of part of the New Testament into Malay, evidently for the use of the Dutch missionaries. He bequeathed a large sum to found a "Christian Faith Society" for the evangelization of Virginia; which society also still exists, applying its funds, since the secession of the United States, to the benefit of the British West Indies and Mauritius. About the same time, Dean Prideaux set forth a scheme for Missions in India; the result of which was that at the next revision of the East India Company's charter, in 1698, Parliament enacted that the ministers sent to India for the English traders "should apply themselves to learn the language of the country, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos [Gentiles or Heathen] who should be the servants of the Company in the Protestant religion." This enactment, however, was not obeyed until the days of Henry Martyn, more than a century afterwards.

Second S.P.G.

We now come to a great epoch in the history of English Missions. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701.

The S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. epoch.

These two great societies owed their origin to the zeal and energy of one man, Dr. Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire. He was one of a little group of men to whom the Church of England at that day owed much. The most striking figure among them was that of Robert Nelson, the typical High Church layman, as the term "High Church" was then understood.† The group

Dr. Bray's efforts.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1886.

† See the extremely interesting essay by C. J. Abbey, in Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, on "Robert Nelson and his Friends."

included both Jurors and Non-jurors, that is, those who did and those who did not take the oath of allegiance to William III. Dr. Bray was a supporter of the new régime; Nelson was not; but they worked together with exemplary cordiality in various schemes of moral and social reform. Bray's thoughtful energy took two directions: he devised plans for establishing libraries for poor clergy at home and abroad, and his interest in the Colonies took him across the Atlantic to Maryland under a special commission from the Bishop of London. In these two enterprises we see the germs of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. respectively.

The S.P.C.K. was founded in 1698, as a voluntary and, one may almost say, private society, by Dr. Bray and four lay friends, who signed their names to the following statement:—"Whereas the growth of vice and immorality is greatly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion, we whose names are underwritten do agree to meet together as often as we can conveniently to consult (under the conduct of the Divine Providence and assistance) how we may be able by due and lawful methods to promote Christian knowledge." But Dr. Bray wanted more than this. The new society was to provide schools and literature, and to subsidize other institutions with the same object. It was not proposed to employ living agents, and it was living agents that the Colonies required. The good doctor therefore planned another organization for that purpose, and drew up a petition to the King for the incorporation of a new society, which was backed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Simultaneously with this, the attention of Convocation was called to the needs of the Colonies, and a Committee was appointed to consider them. The two movements appear to have been quite independent, and possibly both may have had influence; but the charter granted by the Crown was certainly in response to Dr. Bray's petition.*

Third S.P.G.

The name of the new body thus established was The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the same title as had been borne by the two associations before mentioned, but with the words "in Foreign Parts" added. This was therefore the third "S.P.G.," and the permanent one.

Its constitution.

The S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. differed, not only in object, but also in constitution. The former was a private society, to the membership of which, at first, even bishops were only elected "after inquiries"; and for many years it published no historical account of itself and held no anniversary. The S.P.G., though also a voluntary society, in that it was not established by the Church as such, and even the President was not the Archbishop of Canterbury *ex officio*, but was elected annually,† yet was a great public organization, with eleven bishops among its incor-

* See S.P.G. *Digest*, pp. 4-7; also Hole, *Early History of C.M.S.*, p. xxvii.

† This continued to be the case until recently, under the original Charter. The new Charter, granted in 1882, provides that the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being shall be President.

porated members, an anniversary sermon and meeting, and a printed annual report.

Its scope.

By "Foreign Parts" in the title of S.P.G. was understood the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain; and the purpose of the society, as defined in the charter, was the spiritual benefit of "our loving subjects" who were in danger of falling into "atheism, infidelity, popish superstition, and idolatry." In the very first annual sermon, however, Dr. Willis, Dean of Lincoln, announced that the design was "first, to settle the state of religion, as well as may be, among our own people there, . . . and then to proceed in the best methods . . . toward the conversion of the Natives"; and, from the first, the Society took measures to reach both the Red Indians and the Negro slaves in the American Colonies. But Heathen and Mohammedan nations outside the limits of the British Empire were not included in the range of the Society's direct work until it had been in existence a century and a half. It was owing to this limitation that the Danish Mission to India, presently to be noticed, was not taken up by the S.P.G., but by the S.P.C.K.; for it was in territory not then belonging to England. The S.P.G. did indeed, when only eight years old, show its sympathy with that Mission by a gift of £20 from some of its members; a gift memorable as the first English contribution to the evangelization of India. But after that, for a whole century, the India Mission was supported in England only by the S.P.C.K.; and not only supported, but virtually directed. The missionaries were all Germans or Danes, of the Lutheran Church, trained in their own country and ordained according to their own rite. But they came to England for instructions before sailing; and excellent "Charges" were delivered to them by clergymen of reputation.* It is interesting to notice that when the most eminent of them, Schwartz, ordained, according to the Lutheran use, a catechist named Satyanadhan, to be what was called a "country priest," the S.P.C.K. recorded this ordination, not by a bishop, but by a Lutheran minister, with special pleasure. "If we wish," said the venerable Society in its next Report, "to establish the Gospel in India, we ought in time to give the Natives a Church of their own, independent of our support . . . and secure a regular succession of truly apostolical pastors, even if all communication with their parent Church should be annihilated." The Mission was transferred to the S.P.G. in 1824, after just one hundred years' labour.

S.P.C.K. in India.

The most important British Colonies being those on the American Continent, viz., what are now the United States, the

* A volume of these "Charges" was published by the S.P.C.K. in 1822. One, by Archdeacon Middleton, afterwards first Bishop of Calcutta, delivered to a German missionary, Jacobi, in 1813, is very able and interesting, and is particularly notable for its fearless condemnation of Roman Missions, and its warm recognition of the work of the Lutherans and of the Natives they had ordained.

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West Indies, and also Canada after its conquest from the French, the S.P.G. operations were for a long period chiefly concentrated there; and a noble work was done, both among the settlers and among the Indians and Negroes. It is a memorable fact that when John Wesley went to Georgia in 1736, it was as an S.P.G. clergyman. The most interesting of the Society's other enterprises in the eighteenth century was in West Africa. One of its clergy in America, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, the Rev. T. Thompson, offered to go to the Gold Coast, and actually laboured there for three or four years from 1752. An African boy whom he sent to England to be educated, Philip Quaque, was ultimately ordained as his successor, "the first of any non-European race since the Reformation to receive Anglican orders," * and for fifty years laboured amid painfully difficult surroundings.

S.P.G. in America and Africa.

Bishop Berkeley.

One other Church movement in this century must be noticed. In 1725, Bishop Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, set forth a proposal for establishing a college at Bermuda, and making that island a modern Iona, as a base for Missions to the Red Indians and the Negro slaves. Having, by dint of indomitable perseverance, obtained a royal charter and a parliamentary grant of £20,000 for the endowment of the college, he actually himself sailed for America, intending to purchase land as an investment for its support. But every obstacle was thrown in his way by the Colonial Office; the money promised was never paid; and Berkeley had ultimately to abandon the scheme.† "A glaring instance," says Dr. Overton, "of the blighting effects of the Walpole Ministry upon the Church."‡ "Betrayed by Walpole," is the comment of Dr. G. Smith.§

Danish Mission to India.

We now revert to the Pietist movement in Germany, to find the origin of that India Mission which the S.P.C.K. adopted. True missionary zeal is ever preceded by a quickening of spiritual life; and it was the revival of spiritual religion in the midst of the cold latitudinarianism into which the Lutheran Church had fallen that led to the most effective missionary work of the eighteenth century. But it was a king of Denmark (Frederick IV.) to whom God's message first came in 1705, through a petition from a poor widow whose husband had been murdered by natives in the Danish settlement at Tranquebar, on the south-east coast of India. The king reflected that "for ninety years there had been a Danish East India Company; for ninety years Danish ships had sailed to Tranquebar; Danish merchants had traded and grown rich in the settlement, Danish governors had ruled it, Danish soldiers had protected it; but no ship had ever carried a Danish missionary to preach the Gospel."‖ He appealed to his chaplain

* S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 256.
† Bishop S. Wilberforce, *History of the American Church*, p. 155.
‡ *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, chap. viii.
§ *Life of Bishop Heber*, p. 5.
‖ W. Fleming Stevenson, *Dawn of the Modern Mission*, p. 56.

for men; the chaplain wrote to the Pietist leaders, Francke and Lange; they sent him a young Saxon, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and a fellow-student of his, Henry Plutscho; and these two were sent to India at the king's own expense. The story of the arrival and landing of these two pioneers, of the opposition of the Danish governor and their consequent trials, of their extraordinary industry and patience and devotion, is one of the most thrilling in the whole history of Missions.* No truer missionary than Ziegenbalg ever went to Heathendom. His greatest work was the translation of the New Testament and part of the Old into Tamil, the first Indian version of the Scriptures. He visited Europe in 1715, and came to England; and here he was warmly received by King George I. and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Returning to India, he died in 1719 at the age of thirty-six, leaving behind him three hundred and fifty Tamil converts, some schools, the Tamil Scriptures just mentioned, and a Tamil dictionary and grammar.

The greatest of Ziegenbalg's immediate successors was Schulze, a learned scholar and capable organizer. In later years the names of Fabricius, Kohlhoff, Gericke, and Jænicke appear. But as an historic character, the first name of all in importance is that of Christian Frederick Schwartz, who must always be regarded as standing in the front rank of Indian missionaries. Like most of the others, he was a fruit of the Pietist movement; and he was enlisted in missionary service by Schulze, who had retired to Germany. He went out in 1749, the very year in which Von Bogatsky composed the first German missionary hymn, with the title, "A Prayer to the Lord to send faithful labourers into His harvest, that His Word may be spread over all the world." It begins thus:—

Schwartz.

Wach auf, du Geist der ersten Zeugen.

Awake, Thou Spirit, Who of old
Didst fire the watchmen of the Church's youth,
Who faced the foe, unshrinking, bold,
Who witnessed day and night the eternal truth;
Whose voices through the world are ringing still,
And bringing hosts to know and do Thy will!

Under Schwartz the Mission was extended far beyond the little Danish settlement of Tranquebar. From Madras to Tinnevelly, over the whole Tamil country,—in particular in what was then the independent kingdom of Tanjore,—its influence spread, and numerous congregations were gathered. These Missions, unlike Tranquebar itself, were not under the Danish administration, but were more directly the work of the S.P.C.K., though the missionaries came from the same German sources. The external results were considerable. At least fifty thousand Tamils were baptized before the close of the century. Schwartz himself gained

* It is picturesquely told by Dr. Fleming Stevenson in *The Dawn of the Modern Mission* (Edinburgh, 1887), and by Dr. A. C. Thompson in *Protestant Missions* (New York, 1894).

extraordinary influence over both Europeans and Indians. No other missionary has ever wielded such political authority. What would be dangerous, and compromising to a Mission, in almost any one else, became in Schwartz a power for good. Hyder Ali, the famous Rajah of Mysore, certainly the most formidable Native ruler with whom England has had to cope, on one occasion declined to receive any emissary from the British authorities except Schwartz. "Send me *the Christian*," he exclaimed; "I can trust him!" When Schwartz died in 1798, after almost half a century's unbroken labours—for he never returned to Europe,—the Rajah of Tanjore gave a commission, which Flaxman the sculptor executed, for a monument to be put up in the garrison church at Tanjore; and there this monument, representing the Rajah himself receiving the benediction of the dying missionary, may be seen to this day.

Decay of the Mission.

But while Schwartz and his comrades are to be admired and their memory cherished, their missionary policy was not one that can be altogether approved. They baptized inquirers far too readily; they tolerated many heathen customs; they chose, as Mr. Sherring expresses it,* to make caste a friend rather than an enemy, and thereby admitted a traitor within the citadel and prepared the way for the ruin of the work. After Schwartz's death the professing Christians relapsed by thousands into Heathenism; and when the eighteenth century closed, there was comparatively little to show as the result of its labours. A few Lutheran missionaries were still at work; but the funds of the S.P.C.K. were slack at the time, and the whole enterprise languished for many years. Slower progress, we can now see, would have been surer; and if a more solid foundation had been laid, the edifice would not have fallen into ruin. How the Mission revived under the S.P.G., in the present century, will appear hereafter.

To go back to King Frederick IV. of Denmark. It was not only India that owed its first Protestant Mission to him. Under his royal and godly auspices, too, Hans Egede, the Norwegian pastor, went with his noble wife to Greenland. The story of their sufferings is most touching. Egede returned, a solitary widower, after fourteen years' indescribable privations and bitter disappointments, and after preaching on these words in Isaiah xlix.:—"I said, . . . I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain: yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God." His own labours had indeed seemed almost fruitless; but their fruits appeared afterwards, and indirectly they led to one of the grandest missionary enterprises of modern times.

Hans Egede.

For it was in the same year, 1722, in which Egede sailed for Greenland, that a band of those old Moravian Christians who had,

* *History of Protestant Missions in India*, edition of 1884, p. 50.

since the fifteenth century, borne the name of Unitas Fratrum, migrated into Saxon Silesia to escape persecution. There, welcomed by that devoted servant of the Lord, Count Zinzendorf, they established their famous settlement of Herrnhut. Eleven years later, Count Zinzendorf was at Copenhagen representing Saxony at the coronation of a new king of Denmark. This new king had commanded Egede's Mission in Greenland to be given up—that is, that no more supplies be sent to it; and the Count, stirred by the sight of two Eskimo boys whom Egede had baptized and sent to Europe, went back to Herrnhut, and told the Brethren of the crisis. Just at the same time, they heard of the sufferings of the Negro slaves in the West Indies. These two pieces of intelligence were God's message to the Unitas Fratrum. Two men volunteered for Greenland, and two for the island of St. Thomas; and the Moravian Missions began. No Church has obeyed the Lord's command with the same devotion and self-forgetfulness that have been manifested by the Church of the United Brethren. In Greenland and Labrador, in Central and South America, in West and South Africa, on the borders of Thibet, and among the Australian aborigines, they have fearlessly preached the Gospel of Christ. This little community, never exceeding 70,000 souls, has sent forth two thousand missionaries.

Moravian Missions.

In the meantime, besides the Missions among the American Indians and Negroes carried on by the S.P.G., the Christian communities of New England, Pennsylvania, and other colonies were engaged in the same work. Of the many faithful men who gave their lives to it in the eighteenth century, the most celebrated was David Brainerd. In 1709 a "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge" had been founded in Scotland. Its primary object was home missions in the Highlands; but for a time it gave the Presbyterian colonists of New York and New Jersey a grant to maintain two missionaries to the Indians. In 1744 Brainerd was chosen as one of these two. He laboured among the Delaware tribe less than three years, and died of consumption at the age of twenty-nine; but in that short time a wonderful work of the Spirit of God was done. But Brainerd did less in his lifetime than his biography, by President Edwards, did after he was gone. In its pages is presented the picture of a man of God such as is rarely seen. No book has, directly or indirectly, borne richer fruit. It exercised a definite spiritual influence upon William Carey and Samuel Marsden and Henry Martyn and Thomas Chalmers, and, through them, indirectly, upon countless multitudes. Sometimes God ordains for His servants a long life of blessing. Sometimes He calls them away after a few brief years' service, but then makes their names and memories an inspiration to others. Such have been David Brainerd, Henry Martyn, and James Hannington. Being dead, they yet speak.

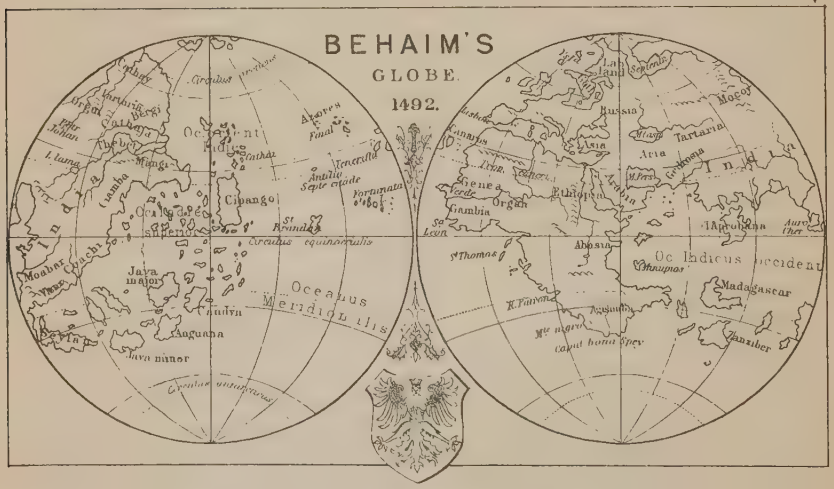
Brainerd.

This long and yet brief sketch of the Missions of eighteen centuries will show that the Lord has never suffered His great

Part I. Chap. 3. 1534-1786.

Command to be wholly forgotten. In every age the Gospel has been preached as a witness somewhere among the Heathen nations. The eighteenth century itself, with all its spiritual deadness, was, as we have seen, a period whose Missions are not to be despised. Nevertheless, one can find in the England of this period scarcely any trace of the true missionary spirit which seeks the evangelization of the world. Our hymn-writers, indeed, had already caught the inspiration. Watts rendered the great missionary Psalm into English verse, in his "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun," as far back as 1719; and within the next three or four years Williams's "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness" and Shrubsole's "Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!" were written. But they failed to suggest to Christians who sang them their personal duty in the matter. The great awakening only came in the closing years of the century.

Missionary Hymns.



From *Columbus*, by C. R. Markham (G. Philip & Son).

Part II.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO: 1786–1811.

NOTE ON PART II.

This Part is entitled "One Hundred Years Ago"; but it looks back over sixty years of the Eighteenth Century, and brings us down to the thirteenth year of the Nineteenth Century. It is essential to a right understanding of the origin and early years of the Church Missionary Society that the condition of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century is realized. Chap. IV., therefore, sketches its leading features, and notices both the earlier Methodist Revival and the later Evangelical Movement within the Church; distinguishing, as it is important to do, the first generation of Evangelicals, among whom Henry Venn of Huddersfield was a leading figure, and the second generation of Evangelicals, of whom his son John Venn of Clapham was a leader. Then in Chap. V. we turn aside to view the condition of "Africa and the East" when the Society was founded, bringing the narrative of Wilberforce's efforts down to the year 1800. Chap. VI. concentrates our attention on the events, especially in 1786, which led to the Missionary Awakening, and introduces us to the Eclectic Society and its discussions. Chaps. VII. and VIII. tell the story of the actual establishment of the Society and the going forth of the first missionaries. In Chap. IX. we resume the review of African and Indian affairs, and rejoice with Wilberforce over both the Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Opening of India to the Gospel under the Charter of 1813.

THOMAS CLARKSON.

ZACHARY MACAULAY

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

JOHN BACON

HENRY THORNTON.

Thomas Clarkson, Leader in Anti-Slave Trade Campaign. (Photograph by Walker & Boutall, Clifford's Inn.)
Zachary Macaulay, Leader in Anti-Slave Trade Campaign.
William Wilberforce, M.P., Leader in Anti-Slave Trade Campaign.
John Bacon, Sculptor, Member of Original C.M.S. Committee.
Henry Thornton, Banker and Philanthropist.

CHAPTER IV.

The Eighteenth Century and the Evangelical Revival.

The Church under the Georges—Butler and Wesley—The Methodist Movement—Wesleyans, Calvinists, Evangelicals—The Last Decade—Second Generation of Evangelicals—The Clapham Sect.

"Our fathers understood not Thy wonders . . . they remembered not the multitude of Thy mercies; . . . Nevertheless He saved them for His name's sake, that He might make His mighty power to be known."—Ps. cvi. 7, 8.

A Survey 100 years ago.

LET us take our stand in England one hundred years ago, and survey the world—the world which God loved, the world for which the Son of God became incarnate, and died, and rose again—the world which He gave in charge to His Church, that she might proclaim to every creature the good tidings of His redemption. Nearly eighteen centuries have run their course since He went up from Olivet to the right hand of the Father: what has the Church done?

Europe—but for the ruling race in Turkey—is Christian, that is, Christian by profession, Christian according to statistical tables. Asia is Mohammedan or Heathen. In India the English conquerors have done almost nothing to pass on the great Message to the multitudes lately come under their sway. A handful of Germans have laboured in the south, and gathered a good many small congregations of converts; and a self-educated English cobbler has just settled in Bengal with a like object in view; and that is all. In Ceylon, the Dutch *régime* has compelled thousands to call themselves Christians, who, at the first convenient opportunity, will slip back into Buddhism. China is closed, though within her gates there are scattered bands of men acknowledging "the Lord of heaven" and owning allegiance to the Pope of Rome. Japan is hermetically sealed: the Jesuit tyranny of the sixteenth century is one of the most hateful of national memories, and no Christian has been allowed to land for nearly two hundred years. Africa is only a coast-line: the interior is unknown; and the principal link between Christendom and the Dark Continent is the slave-trade. South America, for the most part nominally Christian, is sunk in superstition; North America is Christian in a more enlightened sense: but neither in the South nor in the North are there any serious efforts to

evangelize the Red men of the far interior, still less those towards the Arctic Circle or Cape Horn—though Europe has sent devoted Moravians to Greenland. The countless islands of the Southern Seas are not yet touched, though a band of artizan missionaries has lately sailed in that direction. Such, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, is the condition of God's earth; and, standing in thought in England at that date, we may add, *Who cares?*

The Church under the Georges.

We have looked around: let us look back. What has been the condition of our Church and nation during this eighteenth century?

The century opened with some little promise. Notwithstanding the virulent hostility of rival ecclesiastical parties at the time, the Church was certainly not asleep. The two newly-formed Societies, for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, were just starting on their beneficent career; and, as we have already seen in our Third Chapter, did, during the whole century, practically all that was done by Englishmen for the evangelization of the world. But after the death of Queen Anne, and the advent of the Hanoverian kings, there came a time of decadence and depression; one may almost say of despair, remembering that the great Bishop Butler refused the Primacy because he thought it too late to save a falling Church, and penned that sad sentence in the Preface to his *Analogy*, "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject for inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment." The sneering attacks of the Deists were indeed among the most formidable that the Christian religion had encountered; and although they were successfully resisted by Butler himself, and Paley, and Warburton, and other doughty champions of the faith, it must be acknowledged that the majority of the clergy were led by the assumed necessity of arguing against them to neglect the preaching of the Gospel altogether:—

Butler's Lament.

> "Men were pondering over abstract questions of faith and morality who else might have been engaged in planning or carrying out plans for the more active propagation of the faith, or a more general improvement in popular morals. The defenders of Christianity were searching out evidences, and battling with deistical objections, while they slackened in their fight against the more palpable assaults of the world and the flesh. Pulpits resounded with theological arguments where admonitions were urgently needed. Above all, reason was called to decide upon questions before which man's reason stands impotent; and imagination and emotion, those great auxiliaries to all deep religious feeling, were bid to stand rebuked in her presence, as hinderers of the rational faculty, and upstart pretenders to rights which were not theirs. 'Enthusiasm' was frowned down, and no small part of the light and fire of religion fell with it." *

* C. J. Abbey, *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd Edn., p. 4.

Condition of the Clergy,

Indeed, many of the clergy, following Bishop Hoadly's Latitudinarian views and even Dr. Samuel Clarke's openly-avowed Arian opinions, wrote pamphlets to justify their nevertheless subscribing to what they acknowledged to be Trinitarian Articles and formularies. And meanwhile, numbers of thoughtful men were led astray by Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire.

Blackstone's oft-quoted remark, that he had gone from church to church in London, and that "it would have been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard, whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ," though it may give a somewhat exaggerated view of the actual fact, yet is most significant of what the actual fact must have been. Nor were the Nonconformists of the period any better. One of them, Dr. Guyse, wrote, "The religion of Nature is the darling topic of our age; and the religion of Jesus is valued only for the sake of that. . . . All that is distinctively Christian . . . is waived and banished and despised." * Of the clergy themselves Bishop Ryle writes:—

> "The vast majority of them were sunk in worldliness, and neither knew nor cared anything about their profession They neither did good themselves, nor liked any one else to do it for them. They hunted, they shot, they farmed; they swore, they drank, they gambled. When they assembled, it was generally to toast 'Church and King,' and to build one another up in earthly-mindedness, prejudice, ignorance, and formality. When they retired to their own homes, it was to do as little and preach as seldom as possible. And when they did preach, their sermons were so unspeakably bad, that it is comforting to reflect that they were generally preached to empty benches." †

This is severe, and perhaps it generalizes too much, and fails to allow for numerous exceptions; but what shall we say of Boswell's statement to Wilberforce that Dr. Johnson, strong Churchman as he was, had affirmed that he had never been acquainted with one "religious clergyman"? ‡ Dr. Overton, though he balances the favourable and unfavourable evidence in more neutral fashion than Bishop Ryle, yet gives actual facts which go far to justify Bishop Ryle's strictures. § Plurality and non-residence, in particular, were colossal evils. Bishop Watson of Llandaff held sixteen livings in different parts of England, taking the tithes from them all, and employing a curate in each—probably one of those who were "passing rich on forty pounds a year"; and living, not in his diocese, but at Windermere, he occupied most of his own time "as an improver of land and planter of trees," thinking, as he himself said, "the improvement of a man's fortune by cultivating the earth was the most useful and honourable way of providing for a family." When only twenty-

And the Bishops.

* Quoted by Ryle, *Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, p. 16.

† *Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, p. 17.

‡ *Life of Wilberforce*, p. 423.

§ *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, chap. viii., "Church Abuses."

seven years of age, he had been appointed Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, though he says himself that he "had never read a syllable on the subject, nor seen a single experiment in it"; and seven years later he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, whereupon, he writes, "I immediately applied myself with great eagerness to the study of divinity." * This is the Bishop Watson who wrote an *Apology for the Bible*, which led to George III.'s remark that he did not know the Bible needed any apology! One example is perhaps sufficient. Dr. Overton gives many more.

Green's picture.

Naturally the general condition of the people corresponded. Let us quote Mr. Green's striking description of it:—

"In the higher circles 'every one laughs,' said Montesquieu on his visit to England, 'if one talks of religion.' Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. Drunkenness and foul talk were thought no discredit to Walpole. . . . Purity and fidelity to the marriage vow were sneered out of fashion. . . . At the other end of the social scale lay the masses of the poor. They were ignorant and brutal to a degree which it is hard to conceive, for the vast increase of population which followed on the growth of towns and the development of manufactures had been met by no effort for their religious or educational improvement. Not a new parish had been created. Hardly a single new church had been built. Schools there were none, save the grammar-schools of Edward and Elizabeth. The rural peasantry, who were fast being reduced to pauperism by the abuse of the poor-laws, were left without moral or religious training of any sort. 'We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar,' said Hannah More at a far later time, 'and that was used to prop a flower-pot.' Within the towns they were worse. There was no effective police; and in great outbreaks the mob of London or Birmingham burnt houses, flung open prisons, and sacked and pillaged at their will. . . . The introduction of gin gave a new impetus to drunkenness. In the streets of London gin-shops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny or dead drunk for twopence." †

The great victory, therefore, which, by the instrumentality of Butler, Warburton, and many others, the Church had gained over the assailants of Christianity as a system, left her still helpless before the more dangerous assailants of Christianity as a life, the world, the flesh, and the devil. "Intellectually," remarks Dr. Overton, "her work was a great triumph; morally and spiritually it was a great failure." ‡

Two divisions of the Lord's army.

Then came the Evangelical Movement, the leaders of which flung themselves into the harder battle with sin and Satan. But both divisions of the army of the Lord were needed. To quote Overton again,—"Neither could have done the other's part of the work. Warburton could no more have moved the hearts of living

* One is not surprised to find the sister University of Oxford expelling six students for praying and reading the Scriptures in private houses; which led to the remark that though extempore swearing was permitted at Oxford, extempore praying could not be borne.

† *Short History of the English People*, chap. x., sect. 1.

‡ *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, chap. ix.

masses to their inmost depths, as Whitefield did, than Whitefield could have written the *Divine Legation*. Butler could no more have carried on the great crusade which Wesley did, than Wesley could have written the *Analogy*. But without such work as Whitefield or Wesley did, Butler's and Warburton's would have been comparatively inefficacious ; and without such work as Butler and Warburton did, Wesley's and Whitefield's work would have been, humanly speaking, impossible." *

In one short paragraph, Green thus describes the revolution that ensued :—

"In the middle-class the old piety lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth, which changed in a few years the whole temper of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the poor a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave-trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education."

This, however, is a compendious statement, which leaps over long years of struggle. Bishop Butler wrote the sad sentence before quoted in 1736. As we stand surveying the century in its last decade, most of the triumphs of moral reform enumerated by Green are, after sixty years, still in the future. Yet over those sixty years we can look back with profound thankfulness. Seven years prior to 1736, John Wesley had formed his little society of praying friends at Oxford ; when that year opened he was on his voyage across the Atlantic to Georgia, whence he returned with new light as to his own sinfulness and inability to save himself, and as to the all-sufficiency of Christ ; and two years later he began that wonderful career of preaching and organizing which continued uninterrupted for more than half a century. On Trinity Sunday in that same year, 1736, George Whitefield was ordained at Gloucester, and preached his first sermon in St. Mary-le-Crypt, which, as was complained to the Bishop, "drove fifteen persons mad!" To these two great names, we must add those of Grimshaw, Berridge, the first Henry Venn, Rowlands, Romaine, Hervey, Toplady, and Fletcher of Madeley ; every one of them, be it remembered, a clergyman of the Church of England. To them, in the main, was due, under God, the Evangelical Revival.

Wesley, Whitefield, H. Venn, &c.

How was their work done? Let Bishop Ryle reply :—

"The men who wrought deliverance for us were a few individuals, most of them clergymen, whose hearts God touched about the same time in various parts of the country. They were not wealthy or highly connected. They were not put forward by any Church, party, society, or institution. They were simply men whom God stirred up and brought out to do His work, without previous concert, scheme, or plan. They did His work in the old apostolic way, by becoming evangelists. They taught one set of truths. They taught them in the same way,

How they preached.

* *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, chap. ix.

with fire, reality, earnestness, as men fully convinced of what they taught. They taught them in the same spirit, always loving, compassionate, and, like Paul, even weeping, but always bold, unflinching, and not fearing the face of man. And they taught them on the same plan, always acting on the aggressive; not waiting for sinners to come to them, but going after and seeking sinners; not sitting idle till sinners offered to repent, but assaulting the high places of ungodliness like men storming a breach, and giving sinners no rest so long as they stuck to their sins."

These striking words accurately sum up the features of the movement, as revealed in biographies, memoirs, journals, letters, and sermons innumerable. Bishop Ryle goes on to describe both the methods of the evangelists and the substance of their preaching. They preached *everywhere:* * in parish churches when permitted; "in the field or by the road-side, on the village-green or in the market-place, in lanes or in alleys, in cellars or in garrets, on a tub or on a table, on a bench or on a horse-block; no place came amiss to them." They preached *simply*, following Augustine's maxim, "A wooden key is not so beautiful as a golden one, but if it can open the door when the golden one cannot, it is far more useful." They preached *fervently and directly*. "They believed that you must speak *from* the heart if you wish to speak *to* the heart." Then as to the substance of their preaching: it was above all things doctrinal, one may say dogmatical. They believed they had definite truths to set forth, and they set them forth definitely. They taught that men were dead in sins and guilty before God; that Christ died to save men from sin's penalty, and lives to save them from sin's power; that only faith in Him could give them His salvation; that absolute conversion of heart and life was needed by all, and that the Holy Ghost alone could convert and sanctify them. Standing in thought in the closing decade of the eighteenth century, we find that the proclamation of these essential and fundamental truths has, by the power of the Spirit, directly revolutionized thousands of lives, and is indirectly and gradually revolutionizing the Church of England.

What they preached.

But the revolution, we observe, is very gradual. Its force has been minimized by its divisions. From the beginning of the movement there were lines of cleavage. Three distinct sections among the men of the Revival are easily traced. There were, first, the Methodists proper, under John Wesley. They were gathered into communities called the "Methodist Societies," although as long as Wesley lived they continued in at least a loose connexion with the Church of England, and certainly repudiated the term "Dissenter." But notwithstanding Wesley's

The three parties.

(*a*) The Wesleyans

* But to this there were exceptions among those whose names are given above. Some of them worked only within parochial limits; Romaine, for instance. Bishop Ryle's words apply rather to Wesley and Whitefield and their followers.

repeated declaration that "if the Methodists left the Church he would leave them," separation was really inevitable. Many of the bishops were personally kind to Wesley, but the clergy generally could not abide either the teaching or the ways of the Methodists. Itinerant preaching was of the essence of their method, and itinerant preaching was regarded as utterly subversive of the parochial system. In the last decade of the century, in which we are in imagination standing, the Wesleyan Methodists (John Wesley having died in 1791) have practically become a distinct religious body.

(b) The Calvinists.

The second section were the Calvinistic Methodists, under Whitefield, with the Countess of Huntingdon as their great patroness and in some respects virtual leader, who succeeded in bringing many of the aristocracy under the sound of the Gospel. A duchess * might complain of Methodist preaching as "tinctured with impertinence and disrespect towards . . . superiors," and consider it "monstrous to be told she had a heart as sinful as the common wretches" of the lower orders; but still she did not refuse Lady Huntingdon's invitations, nor did scores of the most distinguished denizens of the political and fashionable world. It was the poor, however, who were chiefly reached by the preaching of Whitefield and his associates; and it was chiefly in their interest that Lady Huntingdon built chapel after chapel for what in time came to be called "The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion." She was, indeed, as reluctant as Wesley to be a "Dissenter"; but undenominational preaching-halls were then illegal, and a building could only be used for worship if properly registered; and as her chapels were not churches, they had, to her vexation, to be registered as "dissenting." Her preachers, however, were all known as Methodists, which was a generic term and by no means confined to Wesley's followers; but the Calvinistic controversy, which was conducted for many years with a bitterness and rancour quite inconceivable even in these latter polemical days, clave a great gulf between the two sections.

(c) The Evangelicals.

Then, thirdly, there was a section that clung steadfastly to the Church, and submitted to the limitations involved in so doing. To this section belonged Romaine, Venn, Toplady, Walker of Truro, and many others. They were allied with Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon in the Calvinistic controversy, against Wesley and Fletcher. Indeed Toplady was the principal antagonist of Arminian views, and, it must be regretfully added of the author of "Rock of Ages," one of the most bitter. The extreme predestinarian views, however, of Toplady and Romaine were not held by Venn and many others of the clergy of this section. But while they were supporters of the Methodist movement generally, they disapproved of the itinerant preaching which ignored the parochial system and intruded even into parishes where, as in Venn's,

* The Duchess of Buckingham.

Part II. 1786-1811. Chap. 4.

Evangelical teaching prevailed; and though for a time they were enrolled as members of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, while it was a Society within the Church, they withdrew from it when her chapels were registered as "Dissenting places of worship."

As, therefore, we survey England in the last decade of the century, we see that the Revival movement, while it has done God's work nobly in saving multitudes of individual souls, has yet not leavened the Church at large; and still less has it leavened the regular Nonconformist denominations, the Independents and the Baptists. There have been honoured names in those denominations during the century, notably those of Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge; but the great revival movement has only influenced them indirectly. The Wesleyan Methodists are organized on their own lines; the Calvinistic Methodists—except in Wales, where they already form a distinct community—correspond roughly with the numerous but unorganized non-denominationalists of a century later. The Evangelicals, properly so called, are but a small body, within the Church; distinct from either section of Methodists, though often called by that despised name; and totally distinct from the old Puritans of the seventeenth century, though even that title is sometimes applied to them. For, to quote Overton again,

> "The typical Puritan was gloomy and austere; the typical Evangelical was bright and genial. The Puritan would not be kept within the pale of the National Church; the Evangelical would not be kept out of it. The Puritan was dissatisfied with our liturgy, our ceremonies, our vestments, and our hierarchy; the Evangelical was perfectly contented with them. If Puritanism was the more fruitful in theological literature, Evangelicalism was infinitely more fruitful in works of piety and benevolence; there was hardly a single missionary or philanthropic scheme of the day which was not either originated or warmly taken up by the Evangelical party. The Puritans were frequently in antagonism with 'the powers that be,' the Evangelicals never: no amount of ill-treatment could put them out of love with our constitution in both Church and State."*

Were the Evangelicals dominant?

What, then, was really the condition of the Church in that closing decade? Was Evangelicalism dominant, as is so often carelessly affirmed? That it was growing in influence, and was indisputably the strongest spiritual force in the country, is true. But it still represented only a small minority; it was either despised or hated by most Churchmen; one bishop wrote, "Church-Methodism is the disease of my diocese; it shall be the business of my life to extirpate it." † The report that one of "the serious clergy" (as they were called) was appointed to a parish was in many cases the signal for an outcry as great as if a pestilence were coming; ‡ Trinity College, Cambridge, declined

No, hated and despised.

* *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, chap. ix.
† See Hole's *Early History of C.M.S.*, p. 53.
‡ See *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, chap. iii.

to receive their sons as undergraduates; * Hugh Pearson, afterwards Dean of Salisbury, narrowly escaped rejection by his ordaining bishop because he spoke favourably of Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity;* † if the Bishop of London's carriage conveyed a visitor from his house to that of a leading Evangelical rector, it must put her down at a neighbouring public-house, to avoid being seen to stop at such a clergyman's door; ‡ and when Henry Martyn visited his native Cornwall after his ordination, he, though Senior Wrangler and Fellow of his College, was not allowed to preach in any church in the county except his brother-in-law's.§ The Bishops were continually uttering warnings against "Methodists" in their charges, and were careful to explain that they included under that name the "serious clergy" within the Church. Not a few even doubted their loyalty to the Government and the Constitution. William Wilberforce relates the difficulty he had in re-assuring Pitt on this point. From their great opponent, Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, Pitt had learned to think them "great rascals," and even to question their moral character.‖ On the other hand, High Churchmen, as the phrase would now be understood—i.e. men of what are colloquially, however inaccurately, termed "Catholic" principles,—had been few and far between ever since the days of the Non-jurors; but there was a small body of them afterwards known as the "Clapton Sect," in contradistinction to the Evangelical "Clapham Sect," and because some of its leaders lived at Clapton or Hackney, notably Joshua Watson, the typical Church layman of those days. The vast majority of the bishops and clergy would perhaps be best described, as to their teaching and general attitude, by the Scotch term "Moderate." They were equally opposed to Rome and to Dissent, and they hated "enthusiasm" of any kind. The union of Church and State, with the State practically ruling the Church, was their ideal, one may say their idol. "Our happy Establishment" was their favourite phrase.

Who were dominant

Had the religious condition of the clergy and people improved in the preceding half-century? No doubt it had; but abuses and scandals were still sadly rife. In the country districts few

The Church at the end of the century.

* John Venn was so refused, "not that he was either dissolute or ignorant, but because he was the son of Henry Venn." Moule, *Charles Simeon*, p. 65.

† Private Journal of H. Venn the younger, December, 1852.

‡ "A near relative of the Bishop, after being a guest at Fulham Palace, was to visit Mr. Venn at Clapham. We were ourselves sent to wait at the Bull's Head, 300 yards from the Rectory, and to bring the visitor round. The Bishop could not let his carriage be seen to draw up at Mr. Venn's Rectory, though it might be seen to set down a lady at a small public-house." *Christian Observer*, January, 1870. The writer is evidently Henry Venn the younger (the C.M.S. Secretary), who in 1870 was editing the *Christian Observer*.

§ Dr. G. Smith, *Henry Martyn*, p. 41.

‖ *Life of Wilberforce*, chap. xii.

attended church, and too many of the clergy were glad enough when none appeared at all, and they were relieved from the necessity of holding a service. They were pluralists; they were keen sportsmen; some of them drank heavily; not a few were openly vicious.* Few of the bishops set a good example. "We hear," says Dr. Overton, "strange tales of one bishop examining his candidates for ordination in a tent on a cricket-field, he himself being one of the players; of another sending a message, by his butler, to the candidate, to write an essay; of another examining a man while shaving, and, not unnaturally, stopping the examination when the examinee had construed two words." † The sermons of the day called forth the sarcasm of Sydney Smith. "We have," he says, "persevered in dignified tameness so long, that while we are freezing common sense for large salaries in stately churches, amid whole acres and furlongs of empty pews, the crowd are feasting on ungrammatical fervour and illiterate animation in the crumbling hovels of Methodists." Any "semi-delirious sectary," he complains, could "gesticulate away the congregation of the most profound and learned divine of the Established Church, and in two Sundays preach him bare to the very sexton." ‡ Few new churches were built—only six in all London during the fifty-nine years of George III.'s reign; and great parishes like Marylebone and St. Pancras, with populations even then of 50,000 and 60,000, had only one church apiece. Meanwhile the despised handful of Evangelicals were crowding their proprietary "episcopal chapels," multiplying Communions and communicants, introducing week-day services and even the dreaded innovation of evening services, and lending brightness to their worship by the use of hymns, to the horror of the clergy generally, and even of so able a prelate as Bishop Marsh, who strongly condemned them in one of his charges. And William Wilberforce, solemnly called of God, as he believed, to work for "the reformation of manners," was pushing the Society he had formed for that purpose, despite the warning he had received from a nobleman he called upon, who pointed to a picture of the crucifixion, saying, "See there the end of reformers"; and followed this up by his great work, *A Practical View of Christianity*, which immediately sold by thousands, and has since gone through fifty editions.

Evangelical improvements.

The decade in which we are surveying the country was in other

* *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, chap. i. Even at a much later period, the daily service in Chester Cathedral changed its hour in the race-week, to enable the clergy and congregation to attend the races! (*Christian Observer*, July, 1863, p. 540.)

† *Ibid.* The particulars of these cases are given in the *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, vol. i. p. 59. It there appears that the cricketer was not the bishop himself, but his examining chaplain.

‡ Quoted in *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, chap. v. Of course there were exceptions to Sydney Smith's sweeping statements. Bishop Porteus, for instance, had immense congregations at St. James's, Piccadilly.

respects a dark and discouraging period. The French Revolution filled the British mind with terror and dismay, and all the more because sympathy with it on the part of some who called themselves "patriots" led to open disaffection, the king being violently mobbed on his way to open Parliament, and the most inflammatory publications being actively distributed.* Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* leaped into popularity, while it was regarded by the majority of sober citizens as subversive of the constitution. To subsidize the Continental Powers that were fighting France, taxes were heaped upon taxes, and the national debt rose by leaps and bounds. In 1797 the Bank of England stopped payment,† and a mutiny on board the fleet that was guarding our shores brought the country into more imminent peril than it had incurred for centuries. All this affected the Church seriously. On the one hand, her position was strengthened by the general desire to stand by all that was stable and respectable in the national institutions. On the other hand, the dread of any and every innovation, which was the natural result of the alarm excited by the revolutionary excesses in France, was a great obstacle to any new plans for the religious improvement of the people.

The country: a dark period.

It was at such a time as this that the little band of Evangelical Churchmen began to consider their responsibilities regarding the evangelization of the world. Let us now take our stand again in the year 1796, and see who these men are and what they are doing.

It is the second generation of Evangelicals with whom we have now to do. All the leaders of the great revival movement are dead. Henry Venn was the last to be taken. He is succeeded in the counsels of the brethren by his son John, Rector of Clapham, a man of culture, judgment, and sanctified common sense, well fitted to be the leader of the coterie of friends living in his parish to whom by-and-by is to be given the nickname of the "Clapham Sect." A nickname indeed, but one that will be held in honour in years to come by many who have had no connexion with the "Sect"; for the men to whom it is given are the salt of the earth among the laity of the period. William Wilberforce, the brilliant and fascinating M.P. for Yorkshire, ranking in Parliament with Pitt and Fox and Burke, and, through his intimate friendship with Pitt, exercising no small influence on public affairs; Henry Thornton, the excellent and munificent son of an excellent and munificent father, spending, like his father, an ample fortune in doing good; Charles Grant, of the East India Company, one of the chief instruments in opening up India to the Gospel; James Stephen, the legal adviser of the Evangelicals, father and grandfather of still better known men; Zachary Macaulay, the devoted

Second generation of Evangelicals.

Clapham Sect.

* See *Life of Wilberforce*, chap. x.

† A national subscription of two millions sterling was raised to assist the Treasury to pay the expenses of the war. Wilberforce subscribed an eighth of his income.

friend of Africa, who is presently to become editor of the Evangelical organ,—father, too, of a more famous son; Lord Teignmouth, returned from the Governor-Generalship of India;—all these belong to the "Sect."

A brilliant picture is drawn of this coterie of friends and fellow-workers in Sir James Stephen's famous Essay on "The Clapham Sect." * But still more graphic and life-like are the pictures of Mr. J. C. Colquhoun, in his delightful volume, *Wilberforce and His Friends*.† Henry Thornton, in 1792, bought a house and grounds on Battersea Rise, at the west end of Clapham Common. On the estate he built two other houses, one of which was presently occupied by Charles Grant, and the other by William Wilberforce; and these three friends, with Zachary Macaulay and James Stephen, formed the inner Cabinet whence so many philanthropic and Christian enterprises emanated. Let us read a few brief fragments of Colquhoun's vivid description of a summer evening in Thornton's demesne:— ‡

The friends at Clapham.

"The sheltered garden behind, with its arbeil-trees and elms and Scotch firs, as it lay so still, with its close-shaven lawn, looked gay on a May afternoon, when groups of young and old seated themselves under the shade of the trees, or were scattered over the grounds. Matrons of households were there, who had strolled in to enjoy a social meeting; and their children busied themselves in sports with a youthful glee which was cheered, not checked, by the presence of their elders. For neighbourly hospitality and easy friendship were features of that family life.

"Presently, streaming from adjoining villas or crossing the common, appeared others who, like Henry Thornton, had spent an occupied day in town, and now resorted to this well-known garden to gather up their families and enjoy a pleasant hour. Hannah More is there, with her sparkling talk; and the benevolent Patty, the delight of young and old; and the long-faced, blue-eyed Scotchman, § with his fixed, calm look, unchanged as an aloe-tree, known as the Indian Director, one of the kings of Leadenhall Street; and the gentle Thane, Lord Teignmouth, whose easy talk flowed on, like a southern brook, with a sort of drowsy murmur; and Macaulay stands by listening, silent, with hanging eyebrows; and Babington, in blue coat, dropping weighty words with husky voice; and young listeners, starting into life, who draw round the thoughtful host, and gather up his words—the young Grants, and young Stephen, and Copley,‖ a 'very clever young lawyer.' . . .

"But whilst these things are talked of in the shade, and the knot of wise men draw close together, in darts the member for Yorkshire ¶ from the green fields to the south, like a sunbeam into a shady room, and the faces of the old brighten, and the children clap their hands with joy. He joins the group of the elders, catches up a thread of their talk, dashes off a bright remark, pours a ray of happy illumina-

* In his *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*. But the term "Clapham Sect" seems to have originated with Sydney Smith.

† Longmans, 1867.

‡ J. C. Colquhoun, *Wilberforce and his Friends*, pp. 306—308.

§ Charles Grant.

‖ Afterwards Lord Lyndhurst.

¶ Wilberforce.

tion, and for a few moments seems as wise, as thoughtful, and as constant as themselves. But this dream will not last, and these watchful young eyes know it. They remember that he is as restless as they are, as fond of fun and movement. So, on the first youthful challenge, away flies the volatile statesman. A bunch of flowers, a ball, is thrown in sport, and away dash, in joyous rivalry, the children and the philanthropist. Law and statesmanship forgotten, he is the gayest child of them all.

"But presently when the group is broken up, and the friends have gone to their homes, the circle under Henry Thornton's roof gathers for its evening talk. In the Oval Library, which Pitt planned, niched, and fringed all round with books, looking out on the pleasant lawn, they meet for their more sustained conversation. In this easy intercourse even the shy Gisborne* opens himself. . . .

"Or they vary their summer evenings by strolling through the fresh green fields into the wilder shrubbery which encloses Mr. Wilberforce's demesne, Broomfield, not like Battersea Rise, with trim parterres and close-mown lawn, but unkempt,—a picture of stray genius and irregular thoughts. As they pass near the windows that look out on the north, and admire the old elms that shade the slopes to the stream, the kindly host hears their voices, and runs out with his welcome. So they are led into that charmed circle, and find there the portly Dean,† with his stentorian voice, and the eager Stephen, Admiral Gambier and his wife, and the good Bishop Porteus, who has come from Fulham to see his old friends, the Mores.

"Another evening the party cross the common, and drop into the villa of the Teignmouths, or spend a pleasant hour in Robert Thornton's decorated grounds, to look into his conservatory full of rare plants, and his library with its costly volumes. On Sunday they take their seats in the old church, with the Wilberforces' and Macaulays' and Stephens' pews close to their own, and in the front gallery the Teignmouths'; and they listen to the wise discourses of Venn. Another Sunday they sit enchanted under the preaching of Gisborne."

Evangelicals in London,

Let us now leave Clapham, and come into the great metropolis itself. At St. Mary Woolnoth, at the corner of Lombard Street, is old John Newton, once a slave-dealer and immersed in the grossest vices, now the venerated Nestor of the Evangelical body, to whom Wilberforce, Thomas Scott, Cowper the poet, Milner the Church historian, Claudius Buchanan, and Hannah More, owe much of their spiritual enlightenment, and who (in the language of his own hymn) has taught hundreds of less-known souls "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds in a believer's ear." ‡ At St. Anne's, Blackfriars, there is William Goode, wise and patient counsellor and committee-man. Only two or three other London parishes are in Evangelical hands; but there are licensed proprietary "episcopal chapels" with able pastors, exercising a wide influence: such as St. John's, Bedford Row, where Richard Cecil is still ministering, scholarly, refined, brilliant,—"the one clerical genius of his party," Bishop S. Wilberforce calls him; or Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone, where

* Rev. Thomas Gisborne, of Yoxall Lodge, Needwood Forest.

† Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle.

‡ Mr. Lecky calls Newton "one of the most devoted and single-hearted of Christian ministers."

Basil Woodd is surrounded by an influential and liberal congregation; or the Lock Chapel (then near Hyde Park Corner), where Thomas Scott is manfully preaching righteousness to an ultra-Calvinistic people whose lives differ widely from their high professions, eking out his miserable income by walking fourteen miles every Sunday to give "lectures" in two other churches at 7*s.* 6*d.* apiece, and writing the great Commentary which crushes him by the expense of its production, though its sale in the next half-century is to produce half a million of pounds sterling.

And in the Provinces.

In the provinces there are by this time not a few faithful and successful Evangelical clergymen, such as Robinson of Leicester and Richardson of York; above all there is Charles Simeon at Cambridge, still "boycotted" (to use a word not yet in the English language) by both "town" and "gown," but "increasing the more in strength," and laying the foundation of that unique influence which will make him for forty years the most conspicuous figure in Cambridge.

These are some of the men of light and leading in the sparse and scattered ranks of the Evangelical clergy and laity as the eighteenth century draws to its close. Not a single bishop gives them the slightest recognition beyond what he is officially obliged to give.* Only one dignitary—Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle—is counted among them. But the power of the Lord is with them. They are not only, by His grace, bringing thousands of individual souls out of darkness into light, but they are gradually leavening the teaching of the Church, to such an extent that the doctrines which they alone in 1796 are setting forth in Scriptural fulness will, fifty and a hundred years later, although still hated by some and ridiculed by others, be admitted, even in derision, to be "the popular theology," that is, the theology which is in fact the religion of the English people.

* It is usually said that Bishop Porteus of London was, if not an Evangelical himself, favourably disposed towards them. He certainly joined them in philanthropic enterprises like Wilberforce's against the slave-trade; and he manifested some religious sympathy with them. Probably he felt obliged to be cautious.

CHAPTER V.

Africa and the East—Waiting.

The Dark Continent—England and the Slave Trade—Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce—The Struggle for Abolition—The East India Company—Religion in British India in the Eighteenth Century—Charles Grant and Wilberforce—The Dark Period in India—Other Eastern Lands, Waiting.

"*Thou wicked and slothful servant.*"—Matt. xxv. 26.
"*The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you.*"—Rom. ii. 24.

WHEN the Evangelical Revival had reached the point to which our last chapter brought it, Africa and India had waited two hundred years for Christian England to give them the Gospel. English intercourse and traffic with both the Dark Continent and the East Indies had begun in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In West Africa, as we have before seen, the S.P.G. had one missionary, for three or four years, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and a Negro clergyman for fifty years following. In the Tamil country of South India the S.P.C.K. had done a great work by the agency of German Lutherans. That was all. Let us now briefly review the connexion of England with both India and Africa before the epoch of extended missionary effort began.

The Dark Continent.

Africa was then a Dark Continent indeed. Dark it is still; but dark it was a century ago in a sense we can hardly realize now. For many years past, in successive editions of the *Church Missionary Atlas*, the article on Africa has commenced with these words: "Africa has been described 'as one universal den of desolation, misery, and crime'; and certainly, of all the divisions of the globe it has always had an unfortunate pre-eminence in degradation, wretchedness, and woe." Gleams of light are to be seen now, here and there, athwart the moral darkness; yet those old words need little modification to-day. But when the Church Missionary Society was founded, Africa was a dark continent in another sense. It was almost wholly unknown. The coast-line had been traced by the Portuguese explorers of the fifteenth century; but although the course of some of the rivers and the position of some of the lakes had been fairly guessed at by Mercator, Ogilby, and other map-makers of the seventeenth century, the more careful accuracy of the

eighteenth century had discarded this guess-work, and in 1788, the newly-formed African Association said in its prospectus that Africa stood alone "in a geographical view" because it was "penetrated by no inland seas, nor overspread with extensive lakes like those of North America, nor had, like other continents, rivers running from the centre to the extremities"! The only British traveller who had made any discoveries was James Bruce, and his narratives of journeys in Nubia and Abyssinia had been received with scepticism. Mungo Park was then on the travels which in 1796 revealed the existence of the Niger, though its course to the sea was not determined till 1830. That was all. Very happily did William Jowett, the first Cambridge missionary of the C.M.S., when considering the peoples and religions of Africa from his watch-tower at Malta, exclaim,—"Even the geographer, whose task lies merely with the surface of the land and sea, confesses that all he has to show of Africa is but as *the hem of a garment!*"

The Slave Trade.

Dark also, in a moral sense, was the connexion of England with Africa. It is a humiliating fact that for more than two centuries England was the chief slave-trading nation. She did not indeed begin the detestable traffic. It was the Portuguese and the Spaniards who first kidnapped Negroes, and carried them across the Atlantic to provide labour for the early settlements in the New World, because the Natives they found there proved incapable of steady work; and in the first decade of the sixteenth century, a Papal bull authorized the opening of a slave-market at Lisbon. But in 1562 an Act was passed by the English Parliament legalizing the purchase of Negroes; and Queen Elizabeth's famous naval commander, Sir John Hawkins, sailed at once to a small peninsula in West Africa, named by the Portuguese Sierra Leone, forcibly and fraudulently seized three hundred Negroes, carried them across the Atlantic to Haytí, and sold them there. During the hundred years preceding 1786, the number of slaves imported into British Colonies exceeded two millions. In 1771, no less than 192 slave-ships left England for Africa, fitted up for exactly 47,146 slaves. Slaves formed an important part of the property of well-to-do families in England. Most people of consideration had estates in the West Indies, and thence they brought Negroes home as domestic servants. So late as 1772, advertisements appeared in the London newspapers of black boys and girls to be sold.* But it was in that year, 1772, that the freedom of the slave on British soil was secured. Granville

Slaves in England.

* Here is the advertisement of an auction:—"Twelve pipes of raisin wine, two boxes of bottled cyder, six sacks of flour, three negro men, two negro women, two negro boys, one negro girl." Here is a bill of lading:—"Shipped by the grace of God, in good order and well-conditioned, in and upon the good ship *Mary Borough*, twenty-four prime slaves, six prime women slaves, marked and numbered as in the margin"—the marks being branded on a certain part of the body.—*The Liverpool Privateers* (London, 1897), quoted in the *Times*, December 4th, 1897.

Sharp, then a clerk in a government office, whose sympathies had been drawn out by the sufferings of some Negro slaves who had been cruelly treated, had determined to test the legality of slavery in England; and his unyielding perseverance, in the face of all sorts of obstacles, brought the question, at last, to a plain issue before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield. On June 22nd, 1772, was delivered the memorable judgment which settled the controversy once for all. "The claim of slavery," said the Lord Chief Justice, "never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law. . . . *As soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground he becomes free.*"

English Slavery pronounced illegal.

This judgment did not stop the slave-trade as between Africa and the Colonies; but it at once set free all the slaves in the British Isles. The immediate result, however, was not good. Claiming their liberty, they deserted their masters, and then suddenly found themselves without employment or means of subsistence; and the streets of London began to swarm with Negro beggars. Granville Sharp now turned his energy into schemes for their benefit; and it was in 1786 that, with the help of Government, he formed a plan for settling them on that very peninsula of Sierra Leone where Hawkins had kidnapped the first British slave-cargo. Four hundred liberated Negro slaves were shipped thither, under English superintendence; and a district twenty miles square having been purchased from a Native chief, the British flag was hoisted, and the Negroes were planted out upon the land. Other shiploads followed; about a thousand Negroes came over from Nova Scotia, whither they had fled from the United States; a good many English, farmers and artizans, sought their fortune in the new settlement; and the population grew apace. Disaster after disaster, however, fell upon the colony: the Native chiefs plundered it, and sickness carried off most of the English settlers — which led to Sierra Leone receiving the *sobriquet* of the White Man's Grave. To promote the safety and prosperity of the people, the Sierra Leone Company was formed in 1791, to introduce trade, industry, and Christian knowledge. Henry Thornton was the chairman, and Wilberforce a director; and among the leading men were other magnates of the "Clapham Sect." But further disasters ensued; and in 1794, Freetown, the capital, was destroyed by a French squadron, and the inhabitants treated with merciless barbarity. Zachary Macaulay, father of the great historian, was governor of the settlement at that time. A previous governor, Lieutenant Clarkson, should also be mentioned, for his singular devotion and genuine piety.*

Sierra Leone Colony founded.

In the meanwhile, at the very time that Granville Sharp was forming his first plans for sending liberated slaves to West Africa, the University of Cambridge had propounded, as the subject for

* Lieut. Clarkson's Journal, a touchingly interesting narrative, is published by Bishop Ingham in his *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years* (Seeley, 1894).

the Latin Essay of 1785, the question, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" The prize was awarded to Thomas Clarkson; and on gaining it he reflected that "if the contents of his essay were true, it was time that some one should see these calamities to their end." He republished it in English, and it became a classic in the controversy of the next twenty years.

Clarkson's Essay.

William Wilberforce.

William Wilberforce, too, had begun his great campaign against the Slave Trade itself. Even in his earlier years there had been signs that God had marked him out to be the leader in the great enterprise. "His abomination of the slave-trade," wrote a schoolfellow long afterwards, "he evinced when he was not more than fourteen years of age." He wrote to the newspapers on the subject while still a boy; and even amid the gaieties of his early adult life the sufferings of the slaves in the West Indies oppressed his spirit. "In 1780," he afterwards wrote, "I expressed my hope that I should redress the wrongs of those wretched beings." But the youthful lover of freedom had not yet entered into the liberty wherewith Christ makes His people free, and did not yet see that the deliverance of the slave from earthly bondage must, if any real good was to be done, be accompanied by efforts, in the name and in the strength of the Lord, to deliver him also from spiritual bondage. It was in 1785 that Wilberforce, while on a continental tour with his friend Isaac Milner,* was awakened by reading Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul;* and on October 21st, in that year, it pleased God to make His gracious promise of the Spirit to those that ask Him, in Luke xi. 13, the turning point of the young statesman's life, and by that Spirit to enable him to yield his whole self, body, soul, and spirit, to the service of his Divine Master.† Then Wilberforce advanced from feeling to action; and it was in the memorable succeeding year, 1786—concerning which more will be said in the next chapter,—that he wrote, "God has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the slave-trade and the reformation of manners"—and that under the celebrated oak at Keston, he devoted himself definitely to the campaign against the traffic in human flesh and blood.

His conversion.

His dedication.

That Wilberforce was specially raised up by God for this great work, no one can doubt who reads the long story of the twenty years' struggle. Edmund Burke had formed plans a few years previously for mitigating the horrors of the slave-trade and ultimately suppressing it, but had given up the idea as hopeless. No mere political movement could have accomplished it. "The powerful interests with which the battle must be fought," writes Wilberforce's son and biographer, "could be resisted only by the general moral feeling of the nation. There was then no example upon record of any such achievement, and in entering upon the

* Afterwards Dean of Carlisle and President of Queens', Cambridge.

† But Wilberforce, though undoubtedly converted to God in October, 1785, did not fully realize his new state of salvation for some few months. See p. 57.

struggle it was of the utmost moment that its leader should be one who could combine, and so render irresistible, the scattered sympathies of all the religious classes." This Wilberforce alone could do, and did do.

It is important to distinguish between the Slave Trade and Slavery. Slavery on British soil was declared illegal by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield's judgment. Slavery in the British West Indies was not touched by that judgment; and its abolition was not to come for half a century, and then not by Wilberforce's hands, but by Buxton's. Wilberforce's campaign, though inspired by his distress at the sufferings of the West Indian slaves, was not against Slavery—for that the time had not come—but against the Slave Trade.

His anti-Slave Trade campaign.

At first it seemed to Wilberforce and his comrades that the abolition of the Slave Trade would be speedily decreed. They had with them the sympathies of the three foremost statesmen and orators of the day, Pitt, Fox, and Burke; and Wilberforce's intimate friendship with Pitt, who was then almost at the height of his power as Prime Minister, gave him exceptional opportunities of pushing the cause. They little anticipated the prolonged struggle that was before them. They quite failed to estimate the strength of the vested interests of a great trade. And it very soon appeared that the walls of Jericho would not fall at the first trumpet blast. The slave-traders and slave-holders boldly disputed the very facts on which the abolitionists relied. Yet the horrors of the "middle passage" across the Atlantic were already notorious. One example will suffice. A slave-ship with 562 slaves on board lost fifty-five by death in seventeen days. They were stowed between decks under grated hatchways. They sat between each other's legs, and could neither lie down nor in any way change their position night or day. They were branded like sheep with the marks of various owners, these being burned on their breasts with a red-hot iron. Zachary Macaulay actually crossed the Atlantic in a ship full of slaves, on purpose to see these horrors for himself. But "the trade" gravely affirmed that the slave-ships were "redolent with frankincense"; that the voyage across the Atlantic was the happiest period of the Negro's life; and that the involuntary convulsions caused by the heavy irons on his body came from his love of dancing.* They declared that insubordination and crime would be the only result of milder treatment. They raised the cry of "Property! property!" and thus appealed to all the selfishness of British human nature. And they hinted that the abolitionists were no better than the

Opposition of "the trade."

* These actual statements, from the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee, are quoted in the *Life of Wilberforce*, chap. vii. In 1788, a slave-ship that was being fitted out in the Thames was visited by some members of Parliament, and the result was an Act limiting the number of slaves, which was passed at the very beginning of the controversy. But it was totally disregarded, and never enforced.

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republicans who were then deluging Paris with blood. One result was that Mr. Ramsay, a clergyman who had lived in the West Indies, and spoke the truth concerning the traffic, literally died under the distress caused by the calumnies which were heaped upon him.* Another result was that their audacious misrepresentations were successful, year after year, in staving off the final decision.

In 1789 Wilberforce made his first great speech in Parliament on the subject, occupying three hours and a half. The Bishop of London, Dr. Porteus, wrote that it was "one of the ablest and most eloquent speeches ever heard in that or any other place," and added, "It was a glorious night for the country." The slaveholders, however, succeeded in getting the motion deferred till after the examination of witnesses; which involved a postponement to the next session. The collection and marshalling of evidence involved immense labour, and Wilberforce's diary shows that for months he gave nine hours a day to the task. Entries abound like this, "Slave-trade — quite exhausted." Zachary Macaulay, who knew West Africa, and James Stephen, who knew the West Indies, were his chief lieutenants, and rendered important service. For three years the struggle went on, and in 1791 the question again came before a full House.

Wesley's dying message.

It was at this point that John Wesley sent from his dying bed his memorable message to Wilberforce, probably one of the last things, if not the very last thing, that he ever wrote. Encouraging the young statesman to be an "Athanasius contra mundum," the aged saint adjured him to be "not weary in well-doing." "If God be for you, who can be against you? Go on in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish before it. That He who has guided you from your youth up may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of your affectionate servant, John Wesley." But on this occasion "the trade" triumphed by a large majority.

The cruel attempt to identify the abolitionists with the infidel followers of Tom Paine, on the ground that, like them, they aimed at overthrowing property and civil order, had its effect upon the mind of King George III., and he became their determined opponent, as already were the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) and other of the royal dukes. This added greatly to the difficulty of the position; but Wilberforce, strong in the righteousness of his cause, persevered year after year,

Hope deferred.

* Wilberforce himself incurred great obloquy, and many stories to his discredit were put in circulation by his enemies. On one occasion Clarkson was travelling by coach, and the passengers were discussing the slave-trade question. "Mr. Wilberforce," said one, "is no doubt a great philanthropist in public; but I happen to know that he is a cruel husband and beats his wife." In point of fact, Wilberforce was not yet married!—Harford's *Recollections of Wilberforce*, p. 141.

although in 1795, in 1796, in 1798, in 1799, he was beaten, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another.

Having thus brought Wilberforce and his campaign to the close of the century, let us now turn to India.

In the gradual "Expansion of England" as manifested in the growth of the Empire in all parts of the world, an important part has been borne by those voluntary yet, in a sense, authorized associations called Chartered Companies. In the present work we shall see something, by-and-by, of the influence, generally for good, of the Hudson's Bay Company, the British East Africa Company, and the Royal Niger Company. The first led the way to the greatness and completeness of the Dominion of Canada. The second has given us the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates, with all their illimitable possibilities. The third, in preparing the basin of the great river for the Niger Protectorate, has done excellent work. So has the British South Africa Company, which has already extended over vast regions the Pax Britannica. But the greatest of all these associations has been the East India Company.

On the last day of the sixteenth century, December 31st, 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted a royal charter to "one Body Corporate and Politick, in Deed and in Name, by the name of *The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.*" So was born the famous "John Company," which for two hundred and fifty-seven years represented Great Britain in India. "During one half of this period it was a trading, and during the other half a political and administrative organization; while all through its history, when it departed from the principles of toleration, it was hostile to Christian Missions from a blinded selfishness. Yet it was used by the Sovereign Ruler of the human race to prepare the way and open wide the door for the first hopeful and ultimately assuredly successful attempt, since the Apostolic Church swept away Paganism, to destroy the idolatrous and Musalman cults of Asia." *

The East India Company.

The early agents of the Company were very different men from the early "pilgrims" to the American Colonies. To the efforts made to evangelize the Red Men of New England there was no parallel in India; and the impression made by Englishmen on the Hindu mind may be gathered from the oft-quoted words addressed to the chaplain who accompanied Sir T. Roe, the British Ambassador to the Mogul Emperor,—"Christian religion devil religion; Christian much drunk, much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others." Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta and first Governor of Bengal, became an avowed Pagan under the influence of his Native wife, and after her death annually sacrificed a cock upon her tomb. Civil and military officers kept their

English irreligion in India.

* Dr. G. Smith, *Conversion of India*, p. 84.

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zenanas, "where," as one described it, "they allowed their numerous black wives to roam about picking up a little rice, while they pleased them by worshipping their favourite idol." The pages of Sir John Kaye's *History of Christianity in India* teem with similar illustrations—and worse—of the social and moral condition of Anglo-Indian society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After this, it is a small thing to say that the East India Company was eighty years in India before a church was built. When two or three had been supplied, it became fashionable at Madras to attend public worship twice a year, on Christmas and Easter days; and on these occasions the Natives crowded to see the strange spectacle of Europeans going to "do pujah." The new charter before mentioned, issued by William III. in 1698, which required the Company to provide a chaplain in every garrison and principal factory, and enjoined on such chaplains the duty of learning the native languages, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that are servants or slaves of the same Company in the Protestant religion," produced little effect;* and so late as 1795 Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), then Governor-General, reported officially that the clergy in Bengal, "with some exceptions," were "not respectable characters." "A black coat," he added, "is no security from the general relaxation of morals." Some of them returned home with large fortunes, made by trading and even gambling.

First Missions.

Meanwhile, all through the eighteenth century, missionary work among the Natives was going on in the south of India. It began, indeed, in Danish territory, but it spread both into Native States and into the districts occupied by the Company. This was the Mission founded by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho under the auspices of King Frederick IV. of Denmark, and subsidized and in great part directed by the S.P.C.K., as mentioned in our Third Chapter. But this was only in the Tamil country. In 1758, however, Clive, whose victories really laid the foundation of English supremacy in India, invited Kiernander, one of the Danish missionaries, to Calcutta, and thus began Missions in the North. In 1771, Kiernander built a church, and called it by the Hebrew name Beth Tephillah (House of Prayer). It was generally known as the Mission Church, but in later years as the Old Church. His labours, however, were mainly confined to the poor Portuguese and Eurasians, from amongst whom he gathered a small congregation; a few adherents won from Heathenism being also baptized. He worked well according to his lights, but the character of his teaching may be imagined from the fact that when Charles Grant, then a young

Kiernander.

Charles Grant.

* Occasionally "black servants" were *bought*, and then baptized and instructed; and "Portuguese" (i.e. half-castes) in humble life were to some extent cared for. The earliest recorded "convert," mentioned as far back as 1674, was, curiously enough, named John Lawrence. See an article in the *Madras Mail*, July 21st, 1897.

official of the Company, who had been awakened to a sense of sin and of the just claims of a holy God, went to him in deep concern, —"my anxious inquiries," writes Grant, "as to what I should do to be saved embarrassed and confused him exceedingly; and he could not answer my questions." His old age was clouded by heavy pecuniary embarrassments, and his church in 1787 was seized by the Sheriff of Calcutta in behalf of his creditors.

Then Charles Grant,* who had risen rapidly in the Company's service, and held what was then the high rank of Senior Merchant, stepped forward, and, in conjunction with Mr. William Chambers, the Company's chief linguist, and the Rev. David Brown, a friend of Charles Simeon's, who had come out as chaplain to the Military Orphan Asylum, purchased the church, and having vested it in their three names, wrote to the S.P.C.K. in England to send out a clergyman, Grant offering to pay him 360*l.* a year out of his own pocket. The S.P.C.K. did (1789) send out a clergyman named Clarke, who was really the first English missionary sent to India; but as he did not turn out well, and only stayed a few months, he is not usually counted. Not till eight years afterwards (1797) did the S.P.C.K. succeed in finding a successor, and he, like the missionaries in the South, was a Dane in Lutheran orders, Mr. Ringeltaube; but, after a year or two, he joined the London Missionary Society,† and the S.P.C.K. never sent a third man. Meanwhile David Brown had resigned his post at the Asylum to take charge of the church on Clarke leaving; and, except during Ringeltaube's tenure of the post, continued to minister to a growing and influential English and Eurasian congregation, without pay, for twenty-three years.‡ He was also appointed a Company's chaplain, and ministered for part of the time simultaneously in the official church, St. John's; and he constantly attended the hospital and the gaol. He never took furlough. In the whole period he was only once absent, for a short trip up the Ganges. "In the religious progress of the European community," writes Sir John Kaye,§ "he found his reward. He lived to see the streets opposite to our churches blocked up with carriages and palanquins, and to welcome hundreds of communicants to the Supper of the Lord. He lived to see the manners and conversation of those by whom he was surrounded purified and elevated; the doctrines of his Master openly acknowledged in word and

David Brown.

* An extremely interesting sketch of Charles Grant's career, by Mr. Henry Morris, has been recently published at Madras by the Christian Literature Society for India, and in London by the S.P.C.K. See also Dr. George Smith's chapter on Grant in *Twelve Indian Statesmen*.

† Ringeltaube afterwards began the great work of the London Missionary Society in South Travancore. Though a man of great devotion, he was very eccentric, and after labouring for some years and baptizing many converts, he suddenly disappeared in 1815, and was never heard of again.

‡ The church continued in the hands of trustees till 1870, when it was handed over to the Church Missionary Society.

§ *Christianity in India*, p. 165.

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deed, where once they had been scouted by the one and violated by the other." The religious history of Calcutta during a quarter of a century is the history of David Brown's life.

Plans of Grant and Brown.

The three friends, Grant, Chambers, and Brown, together with another Company's official, George Udny,* formed, in 1786, a large scheme for a Bengal Mission under Government auspices, and submitted it to influential persons in England, as we shall see hereafter. Nothing came of it directly, but it was one of the causes which led indirectly to the establishment of the Church Missionary Society. Grant, however, made a small beginning himself by commissioning, at his own charges, a ship's surgeon named Thomas to start a Mission at a place called Gomalty; but this scheme failed also.

Grant's influence.

Grant returned to England in 1790, and was at once in communication with William Wilberforce and other influential Christian men regarding possible plans for the evangelization of India. He published an able and elaborate pamphlet entitled "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain," which is characterized by Sir John Kaye and other good authorities as one of the most statesmanlike papers ever written upon British influence in India. He became a Director of the East India Company, and was three times Chairman of the Board; and for many years all his energies were thrown into the arduous work of supervising the government of the great Dependency. Sir John Kaye thus writes of him:—

"The headpiece of the Company in Leadenhall Street, the mouthpiece of the Company in St. Stephen's, the oracle on all subjects of Indian import, of that little knot of warm-hearted, earnest-minded men who discussed great measures of humanity on Clapham Common, Charles Grant so tempered the earnestness of his spiritual zeal with sound knowledge and strong practical sense, that whatever he said carried a weighty significance with it. Such a man was much needed at that time. He was needed to exercise a double influence—an influence alike over the minds of men of different classes in India, and of his colleagues and compatriots at home."

And Dr. George Smith sums up his career in these eloquent words:†—

"In the seventy-seven years ending 1823 Charles Grant lived, a servant of the East India Company in Bengal, and then Chairman of its Court of Directors; a member of Parliament, and father of two statesmen as pure as himself and only less able—Lord Glenelg and Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay. Charles Grant saw and mitigated the greatest famine on record, which swept off four millions of beings in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, a century and a quarter ago. He purged the Com-

* In 1893, the Commissioner of Peshawar, a descendant of Udny's, and bearing the same name, held a drawing-room meeting at his house at that frontier city, which was addressed by the Author of this work and the late Rev. R. W. Stewart.

† In an article in *Good Words*, September, 1891; reproduced, in substance, in *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, 1897.

pany's government of abuses at the worst period of its history. A friend of Schwartz, the great missionary, he helped Carey to Serampore, he sent out the Evangelical chaplains through Simeon, he founded Haileybury College, he was the chief agent * in the institution of the Church Missionary and Bible Societies, he fought for the freedom of the African slave as wisely as for the enlightenment of the caste-bound Hindu. He was the authority from whom Wilberforce derived at once the impulse and the knowledge which gained the first battle for toleration in the Hon. East India Company's charters of 1793 and 1813. Above all, Charles Grant wrote in 1792 the noblest treatise on the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, and the means of improving their moral condition, which the English language has ever yet seen."

It was in 1793 that William Wilberforce, influenced by Grant, first moved Parliament to afford facilities for Missions in India. The East India Company's Charter had to be renewed, and he proposed resolutions in favour of promoting the moral and religious improvement of the Natives. These resolutions were carried in Committee of the House, but before the third reading of the Charter Bill the East India Directors took alarm, and the result was that Wilberforce had in sorrow to write, "All my clauses were struck out last night, and our territories in Hindostan, twenty millions of people included, are left in the undisturbed and peaceable possession, and committed to the providential protection, of—Brama."

Defeat of Wilberforce.

From that year, 1793, may be reckoned what has been well called the Dark Period of twenty years in the history of Christianity in India, during which all possible discouragement was given by the East India Company to every effort to spread the Gospel. It is significant that, in that same year, Lord Macartney, on his embassy from Great Britain to China, made the following humiliating declaration: "The English never attempt to disturb or dispute the worship or tenets of others; they come to China with no such views; they have no priests or chaplains with them, as have other European nations." Chaplains, however, there were in India; and we may thank God for them. During the twenty years, all that was done in India, by the Church of England, for the spread of the Gospel, was done by them, and especially the famous "Five Chaplains," David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and Thomas Thomason.

The Dark Period.

It is a curious coincidence that this same date, 1793, was the date of Sir John Shore's accession to the Governor-Generalship. For Shore was a godly Christian, who made no secret of his personal religion, refusing to transact business on Sundays, and getting churches built at the civil and military stations. But more than this he could not do. To Wilberforce, who had written to him about Missions, he replied that the English in India would not tolerate them: indeed "they needed first to Christianize themselves." After four years he returned to England, became Lord

Lord Teignmouth.

* Rather, "one of the chief agents."

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Teignmouth, joined the Evangelical coterie at Clapham, and, when the Bible Society was established, was elected its President. But meanwhile India continued—*waiting*.

The rest of the East—waiting.

Thus we have seen Africa and India *waiting*. But India is not the whole of "the East." What of the rest of Asia? First there was the Turkish Empire. The Levant was not in those days the scene of holiday tours. Few Englishmen had ever visited Syria or Asia Minor. But the Lands of the Bible, where the first Christian Churches had been planted, and in particular the Holy Land itself, the sacred ground on which the Lord's own feet had trod, were not forgotten by the few large-hearted souls that could look beyond the bounds of their own parishes. Those lands, however, were practically inaccessible. Mohammedan tyranny ruled undisturbed. European Powers had not yet begun to interfere in the East. It was but a few years before that the Turk was thundering at the gates of Vienna. Moreover, in the closing decade of the century, the Mediterranean was the battle-field of hostile fleets. So "the East," in so far as it meant the Levant, was still—*waiting*. But had it not, all this while, its own Christianity? Yes, the ancient Churches of "the East" still lived, and had, through the wonderful providence of God, been preserved through twelve centuries of Moslem oppression. But if alive in one sense, they were dead, or all but dead, in another. Not one of them was even attempting to win the Mohammedan to Christ; and, their presence notwithstanding, the Lands of Islam were still *waiting*—waiting for an aggressive Gospel.

So also was it with Persia; so with Tartary; and as for Central Asia, no one knew anything of it. Ceylon and the other East Indian possessions of Holland had had a dull and formal Protestant Christianity imposed upon them by their well-meaning but unspiritual Dutch rulers. China, on the other hand, was the scene of extensive Roman Missions, but the converts were scarcely distinguishable from the Heathen, and had only exchanged—painful though it is to state the actual truth—one idolatry for another. Moreover, although, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jesuits had contrived to get into the country, and by their scientific attainments to maintain a position there, China, at the close of the eighteenth century, was closed against foreigners. Still more securely was Japan locked and barred against all intercourse with the outer world. The great nations of the Far East were still—*waiting*.

And in the heavens, the Lord of all these Eastern lands, the Lord of the whole earth, was—*waiting*. Nearly eighteen centuries had passed away since He started His Church on what should have been her career of world-wide blessing; and while the Church had corrupted herself, torn herself to pieces with internal dissension, and at last gone to sleep, the Church's Lord was still—*waiting*.

REV. JOHN VENN.

REV. THOMAS SCOTT.

REV. CHARLES SIMEON.

REV. JOHN NEWTON.

REV. RICHARD CECIL.

John Venn, Rector of Clapham; First Chairman of C.M.S. Committee.
Thomas Scott, Commentator; First Secretary of C.M.S.
Charles Simeon, Incumbent of Trinity, Cambridge; Originator of idea of C.M.S.
John Newton, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth.
Richard Cecil, Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row.

CHAPTER VI.

The Missionary Awakening, 1786—1799.

The Twelve Events of 1786—Charles Simeon—Carey—The Baptist and London Missionary Societies—The Eclectic Discussions—Botany Bay—Simeon in earnest—Josiah Pratt and John Venn—Why form a new Society?—L.M.S. not desirable, S.P.G. not possible.

"*When ye shall see these things come to pass, know that it is nigh.*"—St. Mark xiii. 29.

"*What have I now done? Is there not a cause?*"—1 Sam. xvii. 29.

IN our Fourth Chapter we took a rapid survey of the World, the Country, and the Church, from the point of view of the closing decade of the Eighteenth Century. Our Fifth Chapter showed us "Africa and the East—Waiting," till the Evangelical Revival should set on foot the forces for their evangelization. We must now trace out the story of the Missionary Awakening, and particularly the story of the Church Missionary Society.

The great year 1786.

The year 1786 was an epoch-making year in the history of Missions. In that year twelve different events occurred, many of them quite unconnected with one another, but most of them combining to produce the Missionary Awakening which led to the establishment of the Church Missionary Society, while others of them were more or less connected with that Awakening.

Twelve events.

(1) In 1786, William Wilberforce entered into the peace of God, received the Lord's Supper for the first time on Good Friday, solemnly resolved "to live to God's glory and his fellow-creatures' good," and, as before mentioned, dedicated himself, under the oak-tree at Keston, to the task of abolishing the slave-trade.

(2) In 1786, Thomas Clarkson's essay against the slave-trade was published, and began its work of influencing the public mind.

(3) In 1786, Granville Sharp formulated his plan for settling liberated slaves at Sierra Leone.

(4) In 1786, David Brown, the first of the "Five Chaplains," landed in Bengal.

(5) In 1786, Charles Grant at Calcutta conceived the idea of a great Mission to India.

(6) In 1786, William Carey proposed at a Baptist ministers' meeting the consideration of their responsibility to the Heathen, and was told by the chairman to sit down.

(7) In 1786, the first ship-load of convicts was sent to Australia, and a chaplain with them.

(8) In 1786, the Eclectic Society discussed Foreign Missions for the first time.

(9) In 1786 occurred the visit of Schwartz, the S.P.C.K. Lutheran missionary in South India, to Tinnevelly, which led, more than twenty years after, to the establishment of the C.M.S. Tinnevelly Mission.

(10) In 1786, Dr. Coke, the great Wesleyan missionary leader, made the first of his eighteen voyages across the Atlantic to carry the Gospel to the negro slaves in the West Indies, an enterprise afterwards joined in by the C.M.S. and several other societies.

(11) In 1786 was passed the Act of Parliament which enabled the Church of England to commence its Colonial and Missionary Episcopate.

(12) In 1786, Dr. Thurlow, Bishop of Lincoln, preaching the annual sermon of the S.P.G., advocated the evangelization of India. "Can we," he urged, "withhold from so many millions of rational beings, unhappily deluded by error or degraded by superstition, the privilege of an emancipation from their chains of darkness and an admission into the glorious liberty of the children of God?" And he appealed to the East India Company to build churches and support clergymen for them.

Some of these events have been noticed before. Some will demand our attention by-and-by. Let us now take No. 5, with Nos. 4 and 12, and then Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

Grant's Indian scheme.

It was a similar plan to Bishop Thurlow's that Charles Grant had conceived, as before mentioned. Upon the Company and the Government he relied for the propagation of Christianity in Bengal. He, together with his three coadjutors before named, David Brown, Chambers and Udny, addressed letters regarding the great scheme for a Bengal Mission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and also to influential members of Parliament. The two men in England, however, on whom they relied to push it forward were William Wilberforce and Charles Simeon. Both were young; neither had yet gained their subsequent unique influence; but with an instinct in which we must see the guidance of God, Brown, who had been Simeon's intimate friend at Cambridge, and Grant, who must have heard of Wilberforce's new fame as a religious man, fixed on the clergyman and the layman who, above all others, were likely to influence godly people in England. Wilberforce has been already introduced. Let us now introduce Simeon.

Charles Simeon.

Charles Simeon, on first entering King's College, Cambridge, had been aroused from a life for self and the world by the summons of the Provost to receive the Lord's Supper; and had found light for his perplexed mind and peace for his quickened conscience by reading Bishop T. Wilson's book on the Sacrament.

During his undergraduate days he had gradually grown in the Christian life, though meeting with not a single man who knew the doctrines of grace. Just before his ordination on his fellowship in 1782, he had come across John Venn,* of Sidney Sussex College, who became his life-long friend. He served as curate at St. Edward's for a few months, at once crowding the church by his awakening sermons, and then was appointed by the Bishop of Ely, who was a friend of his father's, to Trinity Church. The parishioners, alarmed at the advent of a "Methodist," locked the pews and stayed away from church; but the aisles were soon thronged by casual hearers. When he started an evening service —an outrageous novelty in those days,—the churchwardens, to prevent it, locked up the church. For years Simeon underwent persecution of all kinds, from both town and gown; but he always said, "The servant of the Lord must not strive"; and his quiet but unconquerable patience gradually won a complete victory. This was the clergyman to whom Charles Grant and David Brown sent from Calcutta their scheme for a great official Church Mission to India.

The evangelization of India, however, was, in God's purposes, not to come that way. It was the Dutch method of Missions,† and it had been tried and found wanting. Not by the official action of Government, but by the devotion of an obscure Baptist cobbler, was a Bengal Mission to be established. Yet the letters of Brown and Grant bore fruit. Nearly half a century afterwards Simeon endorsed the original joint letter he had received from the Calcutta friends with the words, "It shows how early God enabled me to act for India, to provide for which has now for forty-two years been a principal and an incessant object of my care and labour. . . . I used to call India my *Diocese*. Since there has been a Bishop, I modestly call it my *Province*." ‡ If it were only for his having, at a time when godly clergymen were so sorely needed in the Church at home, influenced such men to go out as Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and Thomas Thomason —the other four of the "five chaplains,"—India owes to Charles Simeon an untold debt of gratitude.

William Carey.

The obscure Baptist cobbler was of course William Carey. Carey owed his interest in the heathen world to the perusal of Cook's Voyages; but his spiritual fervour he owed, under God, to Thomas Scott, afterwards the first Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Long afterwards he wrote, "If I know anything of the work of God in my soul, I owe it to the preaching of Mr. Scott." It was in 1786 that he in vain invited his brethren to give attention to the Lord's last command. "Sit down,

* Who had been excluded from Trinity College because he was the son of one of the "serious" clergy. See p. 39.

† See p. 19.

‡ This document, with Simeon's endorsement, is now in the possession of Ridley Hall.

young man," said the chairman of the meeting; "when it pleases God to convert the Heathen, He'll do it without your help, or mine." Although his first attempt to awaken a missionary spirit failed, he went on praying and studying, learning Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Dutch. In 1792 he published his famous *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen.* In the same year, on May 30th, he preached his memorable sermon before his fellow-ministers at Nottingham, on Isa. liv. 2, 3, "Enlarge the place of thy tent," &c., dividing it under those two heads which have been an inspiration to the whole Church of Christ from that day to this, "(1) *Expect great things from God*; (2) *Attempt great things for God.*"

Baptist Missionary Society.

On October 2nd the first fruit of it sprang up: the Baptist Missionary Society was formed; and in the following year Carey himself sailed for India as its first missionary.

Carey's enterprise also led to the formation, in 1795, of the second great missionary society of that period. Its founders were Dr. Haweis, Rector of Aldwinkle, and Mr. Pentycross, Vicar of Wallingford, together with some Independent and Presbyterian ministers,—not Baptists, and not Wesleyans; and its basis was undenominational. It was called simply The Missionary Society; but as, shortly afterwards, two Scotch associations were founded, which were called respectively the Edinburgh and the Glasgow

London Missionary Society.

Societies, it quite naturally came to be known as the *London* Missionary Society, and ultimately adopted that title. Its establishment was hailed with great enthusiasm by a wide circle of Christian people, which culminated when, in the following year, the ship *Duff* sailed with its first party of missionaries for the South Sea Islands. Although its constitution has always remained unsectarian, it has practically, from the first, been the missionary organization of the Congregationalists. No society has had greater names on its roll: it may suffice to mention Morrison, John Williams, Moffat, Livingstone, Ellis, Mullens, and Gilmour.

The two Scotch societies just mentioned were founded in 1796. An attempt in the same year to induce the General Assembly to take up Missions officially was not successful, despite Dr. Erskine's memorable appeal to Scripture—"Moderator, rax me that Bible!"

Let us now turn to the Evangelical leaders within the Church of England. They had begun to consider the subject of Missions some years before. The Eclectic Society had been founded in 1783 by a few clergymen and laymen, for the discussion of topics interesting to them. They met fortnightly in the vestry of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, of which Richard Cecil was then minister. A missionary subject came before them for the first time on November 13th in that epoch-making year, 1786, when the question for consideration was, "What is the best method of planting and propagating the Gospel in Botany Bay?" "Botany Bay" stood for what we now know as the Australian Continent, and was a familiar name to the readers of the Voyages of Captain

Eclectic Society discussions.

The Gospel for Botany Bay.

Cook, by whom the eastern coast of that portion of Australia now called New South Wales had been explored. The new continent had been chosen by the British Government as a penal settlement, and the first ship-load of convicts was, as above-mentioned, despatched to Botany Bay* in this same year, 1786. One of Wilberforce's first efforts for the good of his fellow-creatures was in their behalf. He and John Thornton interviewed Pitt, and induced the young Prime Minister to send a chaplain with them —which circumstance was to Henry Venn the elder, then in his old age, the token of coming blessing for the distant regions of the earth. Throughout the world, he wrote on the occasion, "a vast multitude whom no man could number should call upon the name of the Lord." Though he, "stricken in years," would not live to see it, he "would be well informed of it above." "All heaven," he goes on, "will break forth in that song of praise, Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." The first chaplain was Richard Johnson;† his assistant and successor, appointed in 1793, was Samuel Marsden, afterwards the Apostle of New Zealand, whose heroic labours resulted in an abundant fulfilment of Venn's prophecy.

In 1789, the Eclectic Society again discussed a missionary subject, "What is the best method of propagating the Gospel in the East Indies?" In the propounding of this question we see the influence of the communications received by Simeon and Wilberforce from Brown and Grant; but there is no record of the discussion.

The Gospel for India.

In 1791, a third missionary question was considered at an Eclectic gathering, viz., "What is the best method of propagating the Gospel in Africa?"—which carries us back to two other of the events of 1786. The subject was no doubt suggested both by Wilberforce's Parliamentary campaign against the Slave Trade and by the then struggling freed-slave settlement at Sierra Leone; both which have been already noticed. Of this discussion, again, no account has been preserved.

The Gospel for Africa.

Not until 1796 did the Eclectic brethren again discuss Foreign Missions; and in the meanwhile the Baptist and London Missionary Societies had been founded. In the year that saw the birth of the latter, 1795, Charles Simeon and other Evangelical Churchmen were discussing at two clerical meetings at Rauceby in Lincolnshire the possibility of using a legacy of £4000, left to the Vicar to lay out "in the service of true religion," in training young men for missionary service. Nothing came of this, and

* The name of Botany Bay long remained a synonym for a place of punishment, but the Bay itself was soon superseded as a landing-place by Port Jackson, a few miles north, now the magnificent harbour of Sydney.

† A curious and interesting Memoir of Richard Johnson has lately been published, under the title of *Australia's First Preacher*, by James Bonwick (S. Low and Co., 1898). His little-known history deserved to be ferreted out; but the author might have spared his reflections on Marsden.

the money was used, it is believed, for a similar purpose for the home ministry; but the incident shows that Simeon and others were not forgetting the Lord's Command, though as yet the way in which they could do their part in fulfilling it had not appeared. But on February 8th, 1796, Simeon opened a discussion at an Eclectic meeting on the question, "With what propriety, and in what mode, can a Mission be attempted to the Heathen from the Established Church?"

The Gospel for the World.

The very form of the question marks a step in advance. No longer do Botany Bay, or the East Indies, or Africa, fill up the field of vision. It is "the Heathen" that are thought of. The Evangelization of the World is contemplated, however remotely. And the mention of "the Established Church" indicates, what was the fact, that while the brethren gave hearty God-speed to the non-denominational "Missionary Society" lately founded, and some of them contributed to it, they felt nevertheless that the Church of England must have its own Missions.

Some particulars of the discussion have been preserved.* Only "two or three" out of the seventeen members present—presumably Simeon, Scott, and Basil Woodd—were favourable to any definite attempt being made. The majority were afraid of the bishops, or shrank from seeming to interfere with the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., or doubted the possibility of obtaining men, or urged the claims of the Church at home. Nevertheless, the "two or three" ardent spirits did not lose heart; and long afterwards Basil Woodd wrote across his MS. notes of the discussion, "This conversation proved the foundation of the Church Missionary Society."

Three years, however, elapsed before action was taken; and we have only a few occasional hints that the great subject was not forgotten. At Charles Simeon's suggestion, the clerical society at Rauceby, above mentioned, and the Elland Society, which supported young men of Evangelical principles at the Universities with a view to holy orders (as it does still), were considering the question; and on their behalf the Rev. C. Knight, a leading member, was in correspondence with the Bishop of London. Of this correspondence the Minutes of the Elland Society (still extant) give an interesting account; but nothing came of it. Again, in the *Life of Wilberforce* we find the following two entries in his journal:—

Simeon in earnest.

> 1797. July 27th. "To town, and back to dine at Henry Thornton's, where Simeon and Grant to talk over Mission scheme."
>
> November 9th. "Dined and slept at Battersea Rise for missionary meeting; Simeon, Charles Grant, Venn. Something, but not much, done. Simeon in earnest."

* They were summarized in an Appendix to the Funeral Sermon preached by the younger Henry Venn (Hon. Sec. of C.M.S.) on the death of Josiah Pratt. This Appendix is printed at the end of Pratt's *Life*. See also J. H. Pratt's *Eclectic Notes*.

That dinner at Clapham on November 9th was more important in the world's history than the Lord Mayor's banquet at the Guildhall the same evening!

Josiah Pratt.

It was in this year, 1797, that a young clergyman, lately come to London as curate to Cecil, joined the Eclectic Society. This was Josiah Pratt, whom we shall often meet hereafter. His first religious impressions, as a youth at Birmingham, had come through hearing the impressive reading of the *Venite** by Charles Simeon, then also quite a young man; and it was the solemn utterance, by Thomas Robinson of Leicester, of the words, "Let us pray," before the sermon, that led to his conversion of heart to God. On February 4th, 1799, he, the youngest of the Eclectic brethren, proposed this question for discussion: "How far may a Periodical Publication be made subservient to the interest of Religion?" This discussion bore fruit. It led to the starting, two years later, of the *Christian Observer*, which quickly became, and for three quarters of a century continued, a valuable organ of Evangelical principles and work. Pratt himself was the first editor, but was soon succeeded by Zachary Macaulay. It is mentioned here, partly to introduce Pratt, and partly because his proposal was immediately followed, at last, by a reconsideration of the subject of Missions.

"What can *we* do?"

For on February 18th, 1799, the Eclectic Society once more faced the question. There was, indeed, only what is recorded as "a general conversation on the subject of a Mission connected with the Evangelical part of the Church of England"; but it issued in a notice for a more regular discussion on March 18th, when John Venn himself would introduce the subject in the following form: "What methods can we use more effectually to promote the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen?" This again was a further advance upon the thesis of three years before. The question was now not merely "What ought the Church to do?" but "What can *we* do?"

John Venn's wisdom and judgment are very manifest in the summaries of his address which have been preserved.† He laid down three principles: (1) Follow God's leading, and look for success only from the Spirit. This was the primitive policy. "The nearer we approach the ancient Church the better." (2) Under God, all will depend on the type of men sent forth. A missionary "should have heaven in his heart, and tread the world under his foot." And such men only God can raise up. (3) Begin on a small scale. "Nature follows this rule. Colonies creep from small beginnings. Christianity was thus first propagated." In applying these principles Mr. Venn deprecated beginning by collecting money. Rather, let each member (1) admonish his people to promote Missions, (2) pray constantly for guidance,

* The singing of the Canticles, except by cathedral choirs, was a later Evangelical innovation.

† Notes by both W. Goode and Josiah Pratt are printed in the Appendix cited in a previous Note.

(3) study and inquire as to possible future plans, (4) speak to Christian friends on the subject. Finally, the Mission must be founded upon "the *Church-principle*, not the *high-Church principle*"; and if clergymen cannot be found, send out laymen.

The remarks of Grant, Pratt, Simeon, Scott, and Goode are also briefly recorded. Simeon, with characteristic directness, proposed three questions: "What can we do? When shall we do it? How shall we do it?" and answered them thus, (1) "We must stand forth before the public"; (2) "Not a moment to be lost. We have been dreaming these four years, while all Europe is awake" [with the excitement of the great war]; (3) "Hopeless to wait for missionaries; send out catechists." Ultimately it was resolved to form a Society immediately. On April 1st, another meeting was held to prepare the Rules; and on Friday, April 12th, 1799, the public meeting took place which established the Church Missionary Society.

Must form a new Society.

But why?

But why was the new Society established at all? Were there not Church Societies already in existence? And was there not also a younger Society which, though not conducted by Churchmen only, was one in which Churchmen could certainly, if they would, exercise great influence? The answer to this last question is found in John Venn's dictum that the projected Missions must be based on the "Church-principle." It may be doubted whether even his foresight could then perceive that while simple evangelistic preaching can be carried on in common by Evangelical Christians divided on Church questions, the non-denominational method becomes impracticable when converts are being gathered into communities; but if not, it was a true instinct that led him to the conclusion. A Native Christian community must either be linked with an existing body or become a new independent body itself. In the former case it cannot help following some denominational lead; in the latter case it adds one to the number of distinct bodies that already divide Christendom. On the Congregational principle, the latter result is unobjectionable; but neither Presbyterianism nor Methodism accepts that principle, and still less does the Church of England do so. The decision of the Evangelical brethren, therefore, not to throw their energies into the new London Missionary Society, was inevitable. And not only inevitable. It was not because they could not help it that they formed a Church Society. With all their true love for the godly men outside the Church, and their large-hearted readiness to unite with them in every religious and philanthropic enterprise in which union did not compromise principle—as, for instance, in the Religious Tract Society, founded in that same year, 1799, and in the Bible Society, founded in 1804,—they nevertheless were *ex animo* loyal members of the Church of England. They thoroughly believed in Episcopacy and Liturgical Worship; and while no doubt, in common with Churchmen of all schools at that time, they set a higher value on "Establishment" than men of any

L.M.S. not desirable.

school do now, they were far too well instructed to imagine that the Church of England only dates from the Reformation. As we shall see presently, they looked back to the primitive Church for guidance in the details of their enterprise. One of their leaders, Joseph Milner, had but recently published his great *History of the Church of Christ*, in which, while faithfully setting forth Evangelical doctrine as the life of the Church, he showed the continuity of the Church from the Apostolic Age downwards, and dwelt lovingly on the characters and careers of the holy men of even the darkest periods of mediæval superstition.

S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. not possible,

The answer to the other question, Why did not the Evangelical leaders throw their energies into the existing Church Societies, the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G.? is not fully seen in Venn's other dictum, that the projected Missions must not be based on the "High-Church principle." There is more behind than appears on the surface. The expression "High-Church principle" would, in the present day, mean that missionary work could only be effectively done by the Church in her corporate capacity, or by missionaries of a Church holding the apostolical succession. But it is doubtful whether Venn meant that. As stated in the previous chapter, real High Churchmen were but few then. The S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. had both been founded as voluntary societies, and though the latter had a royal charter, it would be the extremest Erastianism to suggest that a royal charter represented "the Church in her corporate capacity." Moreover the S.P.C.K. was at that very time employing and supporting missionaries in Lutheran orders in India, and rejoicing over the news of those missionaries themselves ordaining Natives after the Lutheran use.* More probably Venn meant two other things, viz., (1) that no Church enterprise ought to be undertaken by individual clergymen, without the bishops at their head, and (2) that every man ordained by a bishop was *ipso facto* fit to be a missionary. If these two propositions constituted what Venn meant by the "High-Church principle," it is no marvel that he objected to it; for (1) the question he propounded to the Eclectic brethren was "What can *we* do?"—we individual men of a despised school; and (2) the leading principle he laid down was that all would depend, under God, on the type of men sent out, and that God only could provide the right ones. Here, in fact, we have the two essential and unchanging principles of the Church Missionary Society, viz., (1) It is the right of Christian men who sympathize with one another to combine for a common object, (2) Spiritual work must be done by spiritual men.

Because principles differed,

Apart, however, from all differences of opinion on points like these, there was one sufficient reason for not working through the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. John Venn and several other of his associates were subscribers to both Societies; but at that

* See the quotation from an S.P.C.K. Report, *ante*, p. 23.

Part II. 1786-1811. Chap. 6.

Because co-operation unwelcome,

time they had not the slightest chance of being permitted to exercise any influence in the counsels of either. Illustrations have been given in the previous chapter of the hatred and contempt with which the "feeble folk" of the still small though increasing body of "serious clergy" were regarded by their fellow-Churchmen. It is fashionable now to allow that they did good in their day; but all they got then was the barest toleration. "Your fathers killed the prophets, and ye build their sepulchres." In a letter written some years afterwards, Pratt stated that at this time so exclusive a spirit reigned in the S.P.C.K. that although he and his brethren were subscribing members, any offer of active co-operation with a view to Missions would have been instantly rejected; and mentioned the fact that "a most worthy man" had been refused admission to membership because he was recommended by Wilberforce!* If, therefore, the Evangelicals were to do anything at all for the evangelization of the Heathen, they must act for themselves; and this being so, they naturally and rightly determined, under God, to work upon their own lines and in accordance with their own principles.

Because condition feeble.

It must be added that both the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. were then at the lowest point of energy and efficiency. The zeal and earnestness that had set them going a hundred years before had almost died out; and the wonderful vigour and resourcefulness that have given both of them world-wide spheres of usefulness in our own day had not yet been awakened. The S.P.C.K. was so short of funds that its India Missions were starved, and the Native Christian communities were rapidly diminishing; while the S.P.G. was only able to keep up its grants to the Colonies by means of the interest on its invested funds, its voluntary income being then under £800 a year.† As we shall see hereafter, the S.P.G. owed its revival in no small degree to the Church Missionary Society; not merely through the natural action of a healthy emulation, but through the direct efforts of some of the Evangelical leaders. In later times, owing to the rise of the Tractarians and their successors, theological differences have become more acute; and it is inevitable that a Society which, on its own legitimate principle, is as broad as the Church, should have some men upon its staff

* See C. Hole, *Early History of C.M.S.*, p. 407. At a much later period, between 1820 and 1824, Charles Simeon, when proposed as a member of the S.P.C.K., was "black-balled," and he was only admitted subsequently owing to the personal efforts of C. J. Blomfield, afterwards Bishop of London. (See *Christian Observer*, July, 1863, p. 536.) This was in the very midst of the period when, according to most Church writers, the Evangelicals were dominant!

† The S.P.G. had, however, a considerable public position. When Edward Bickersteth was a lad (probably in 1801), he was present at the Anniversary Sermon at Bow Church in Cheapside, and was much impressed by the equipages of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who attended in state, and also by the handsome carriages of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and many of the Bishops. *Life of E. Bickersteth*, vol. i. p. 6.

whose views and methods cannot be approved by most supporters of the C.M.S.; but this should not blind any of us to the magnificent work which, with whatever deductions, the S.P.G. has done and is doing all round the globe.

John Venn and his principles.

But John Venn's address on that memorable 18th of March, perhaps without his seeing the full bearing of what he said, laid down other important missionary principles. (1) "Follow God's leading." This seems a trite remark; but in the practical conduct of missionary enterprise nothing is more important. It is one thing to lay a large map on the table and say, "We will go here, and we will not go there." It is quite another thing to watch the indications of the Divine will, not moving till they are clear, but, when they are clear, moving fearlessly. Many illustrations of the importance of this principle will appear in this History. (2) "Begin on a small scale." This, again, seems a trite thing to say; but experience has shown its value. Very likely Venn had in his mind the virtual collapse of the London Missionary Society's first expedition to Tahiti, attempted on too grand a scale, sent forth with immense *éclat*, and furnishing even then useful lessons on the vanity of human plans—though it was so greatly blessed afterwards. (3) "Put money in the second place, not the first; let prayer, study, and mutual converse precede its collection." Even at the end of the nineteenth century, we are only beginning to see the bearing of this all-important principle. (4) "Depend wholly upon the Spirit of God." This seems a matter of course; yet nothing is more often forgotten. The Church is only slowly learning that fundamental article of her Creed, "I believe in the Holy Ghost."

The full significance of Venn's utterances does not appear ever to have been pointed out before. Only fragmentary notes of them survive, and these seem to have been regarded as merely of a mild historical interest. We shall see presently that the Rector of Clapham was the author also of the Rules of the new Society, and of its first Account of itself for the public. Justly does the Society's Jubilee Statement (1848) describe him as "a man of such wisdom and comprehension of mind that he laid down on that memorable occasion, before a small company of fellow-helpers, those principles and regulations which have formed the basis of the Society," and upon which its work has been carried on ever since. Truly the name of Venn deserves to be held in honour by all its members. Henry Venn the First was one of the chief leaders in the Evangelical Revival which necessarily preceded Evangelical Missions. His son John Venn took a principal part in building and launching the new Society. Henry Venn the Second was afterwards, for thirty years, its wise and indomitable Honorary Secretary and virtual Director.

The three Venns.

CHAPTER VII.

The New Society and its Early Struggles.

April 12th, 1799—The Men and their Plans—Waiting for the Archbishop—Men, Money, and Openings wanted—The First Five Sermons—Thomas Scott and Josiah Pratt.

"*Who hath despised the day of small things?*"—Zech. iv. 10.

April 12th, 1799.

WE have seen the principles and objects of the founders of the new Missionary Society. Let us now take up the story of its birth and early years.

It is Friday, the 12th of April, 1799. We are in a first-floor room in a hotel in Aldersgate Street, the Castle and Falcon. It is not an unfamiliar hostelry. In it were held the earlier meetings of the Eclectic Society, before they were moved to the Vestry of St. John's, Bedford Row. In it the London Missionary Society was founded, four years before. And the three windows of this first-floor room on the right will still be pointed out a hundred years after as marking the birthplace of the largest missionary organization in the world.

The "upper room."

In this "upper room" are gathered, on this 12th of April, sixteen clergymen and nine laymen.* The Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham, is in the chair. The speeches are short and business-like. All know what they have come for, and there is no occasion for moving oratory. Four Resolutions are adopted. The first puts the fundamental principle of Missions in the fewest possible words:—

> (1) "That it is a duty highly incumbent upon every Christian to endeavour to propagate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen."

Not "the Church," merely, be it observed; but "every Christian." Then if the Church does not move, individual Christians must move. Thus simply is justified the establishment of the new Society. The second Resolution justifies it in regard to another point:—

> (2) "That as it appears from the printed Reports of the Societies for Propagating the Gospel and for Promoting Christian Know-

* The list has often been given, but as some who were present soon withdrew from the infant Society, it is more interesting to print the names of the first Committee. Moreover, at this first meeting, some of the most ardent leaders, as Simeon, Cecil, Grant, and H. Thornton, were not present.

ledge that those respectable societies confine their labours to the British Plantations in America and to the West Indies,* there seems to be still wanting in the Established Church a society for sending missionaries to the Continent of Africa, or the other parts of the heathen world."

The next Resolution forms the Society and adopts the Rules submitted :— The new Society formed.

(3) "That the persons present at this meeting do form themselves into a Society for that purpose, and that the following rules be adopted."

(In the original Minutes the Rules follow.)

Then a fourth Resolution directs the first practical step :—

(4) "That a Deputation be sent from this Society to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan, the Bishop of London as Diocesan, and the Bishop of Durham as Chairman of the Mission Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with a copy of the Rules of the Society and a respectful letter."

Then comes the election of the officers and committee. It is resolved to request Mr. Wilberforce to be President ; but he proves to be unwilling to take this prominent position in the infancy of the Society, and he therefore becomes a Vice-President, along with Sir R. Hill, Bart., M.P., Vice-Admiral Gambier, Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Henry Hoare, Mr. Edward Parry, and Mr. Samuel Thornton, M.P. The Treasurer appointed is Mr. Henry Thornton, M.P. The Committee chosen number twenty-four, as follows :— Officers and Committee.

Rev. W. J. Abdy, Curate of St. John's, Horsleydown, Southwark.
Rev. R. Cecil, Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row.
Rev. E. Cuthbert, Minister of Long Acre Chapel.
Rev. J. Davies, Lecturer at two London churches.
Rev. H. Foster, Lecturer at four London churches.
Rev. W. Goode, Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars.†
Rev. John Newton, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street.
Rev. Dr. J. W. Peers, Rector of Morden.
Rev. G. Pattrick, Lecturer at two London churches.
Rev. Josiah Pratt, Curate of St. John's, Bedford Row.
Rev. T. Scott, Minister of the Lock Chapel.
Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham.
Rev. Basil Woodd, Minister of Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone.
Mr. John Bacon, R.A., Sculptor.
Mr. J. Brasier, Merchant.
Mr. W. Cardale, Solicitor.
Mr. N. Downer, Merchant.

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* It has sometimes been suggested that "West" here is an accidental slip, and that "East" was meant. But is this so? The S.P.G. had, even then, some little connexion with the West Indies ; and although the S.P.C.K. was supporting with its funds the Lutheran missionaries in the East Indies, it is quite possible that the Resolution did not refer to what was not strictly an English Mission.

† Properly St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, with which St. Anne's had been united.

Mr. C. Elliott, Upholsterer.
Mr. J. Jowett, Skinner.
Mr. Ambrose Martin, Banker.
Mr. J. Pearson, Surgeon.
Mr. H. Stokes, Merchant.
Mr. E. Venn, Tea-broker.
Mr. W. Wilson, Silk-merchant.

It will be observed that of the thirteen clergymen, only four were beneficed. Four had proprietary chapels licensed by the Bishop of London. The rest were curates or lecturers. The "serious clergy" had then few chances of being appointed to livings, and it speaks much for the good sense of the bishops that they were willing to license the proprietary chapels for Church services. As for the lectureships, they were usually endowed offices to which the parishioners had the appointment; and a good many Evangelical clergymen found employment that way.

Among the lay members, the most remarkable was John Bacon, R.A., the celebrated sculptor,* who, after executing so many elaborate monuments, was commemorated, as directed by his will, only by a tablet with the following epitaph:—"What I was as an artist seemed to me of some importance while I lived; but what I really was as a believer in Jesus Christ is the only thing of importance to me *now*." Mr. Elliott is notable as the father and grandfather of distinguished children and grandchildren, among them the two famous Brighton clergymen (E. B. and H. V. Elliott), the authoresses of "Just as I am" and of *Copsley Annals*, and Sir Charles Elliott, late Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. Mr. Jowett was the father of the first Cambridge graduate sent out by C.M.S., William Jowett, who was 12th Wrangler in 1812. Mr. Wilson was uncle to Daniel Wilson, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta.

Bacon, Jowett, and Pattrick died very shortly, and Cecil resigned owing to ill-health. Among the four who filled their places, two should be mentioned, viz., the Rev. Samuel Crowther, Vicar of Christ Church, Newgate, after whom was named, long afterwards, the rescued slave-boy who became the first Bishop of the Niger; and Mr. Zachary Macaulay, governor of Sierra Leone, editor of the *Christian Observer*, and father of the historian.

It will be observed that—of all men!—Simeon's name was not on the list. This was because, in those days of slow travelling, it was essential that the Committee should consist of London men. But soon afterwards twenty-six country members were elected in addition, among whom, besides Simeon, were Biddulph and Vaughan of Bristol, Dikes of Hull, Fawcett of Carlisle,† Melville Horne of Macclesfield, Robinson of Leicester, and Richardson of York, all men of mark and influence.

Country members.

* Bacon presented a silver teapot to the Eclectic Society for use at its meetings; which teapot is still preserved in the Church Missionary House.

† Mr. Fawcett was the only one of the founders who lived to be present at the Jubilee.

What was the name of the new Society? The Resolutions passed at the meeting did not give it a name; nor did the original Rules. But six weeks afterwards a second General Meeting was held, at which the Rules were revised, and the name settled, "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East." But this title never came into practical use. For some years the words "The Missions Society," or "The Society for Missions," were colloquially used. Gradually people began to add the word "Church," to distinguish the Society from others; but not until 1812 was the present full title formally adopted, "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East."

The new Society's name.

It is not necessary here to give the original Rules. Suffice it to say that they made (as at present) every subscriber of a guinea (or, if a clergyman, half a guinea) a member; that they provided for the appointment of a General Committee of twenty-four, one-half of whom were to be clergymen (the rule making all subscribing clergymen members of the Committee not being added till 1812); also a Committee of Correspondence to obtain, train, and superintend the missionaries; and that they directed that the acceptance of missionary candidates should be voted on by ballot. The present Law XXXI., "A friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant Societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ," was No. XX.; and the concluding Rule, commending the Society to the prayers of its friends, was the same as the last Law now. There was no provision for the appointment of Patrons, or of Secretaries. Thomas Scott, who became the first Secretary, was appointed by the Committee.

The Rules.

The next thing was to prepare a statement for publication; and John Venn drew up a paper entitled *An Account of a Society for Missions to Africa and the East.** This paper has one singular feature. It contains no reference to what is, after all, the one great reason and motive for Missions, viz., the solemn Commission given by our Lord to His Church, and binding upon every member. But it dwells impressively on the blessings of the Gospel, and the world's need of them; and it touchingly refers to the condition of Europe at the time, expressing the hope "that since God had so signally defended this Island with His mercy as with a shield, His gracious hand, to which, amidst the wreck of nations, our safety had been owing," would be "acknowledged, and His goodness gratefully recorded, even in distant lands." It refers to the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., notes the work they were doing, and shows the openings left by them for a fresh organization, explaining that the words in the title, "for Africa and the East," indicate that the new Society would not interfere with the S.P.G., whose principal field was North America. It also lays down clearly the principle of "Spiritual men for spiritual work," stating

The Prospectus.

* One copy of the original *Account* is preserved at the C.M. House. It was reproduced in fac-simile, and republished, in 1886.

that it would be the Committee's aim to recommend such men only as "have themselves experienced the benefits of the Gospel, and therefore earnestly desire to make known to their perishing fellow-sinners the grace and power of a Redeemer, and the inestimable blessings of His salvation." It also has some remarkable paragraphs on the proposed appointment of "catechists," or as we should now call them, lay evangelists. It is explained that men not fitted by education for English ordination might yet prove good missionaries to "savages rude and illiterate," and it appeals (with references to Hooker and Bingham) to the usage of the primitive Church for authority to use such men as "catechists." Lay missionaries do not need any apology in the present day; but at that time the proposal was a bold one, and, as a matter of fact, such serious objections were urged against it by some of the Evangelical leaders themselves, including even John Newton and an ultra-Calvinist like Dr. Hawker of Plymouth, that it had soon to be dropped altogether; and in the *Account* as printed with the First Annual Report these paragraphs have disappeared. So strict were the ecclesiastical principles of men whom some regarded as scarcely Churchmen at all.

Mr. Wilberforce and the Archbishop.

A deputation, to consist of Wilberforce, Grant, and Venn, was now appointed to wait upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to present to him the *Account* and the Rules, together with a letter, signed by Venn as chairman of the Committee. It does not appear that the deputation was ever received by the Archbishop, though the letter and papers were sent to him. His communications seem to have been with Wilberforce only. The letter did not ask for patronage, nor even for permission to go forward. It only stated that the Committee "humbly trusted that his Grace would be pleased favourably to regard their attempt to extend the benefits of Christianity, an attempt peculiarly necessary at a period in which the most zealous and systematic efforts had been made to eradicate the Christian faith." It was dated July 1st, but not until the end of August did Wilberforce succeed in seeing the Archbishop, whom he reported as "appearing to be favourably disposed," but "cautious not to commit himself." But the other bishops had to be consulted, and in those days such a consultation was not easily managed; and not until nearly a year afterwards, on July 24th, 1800, was Wilberforce able to communicate the result to the Committee. He wrote:—

"I have had an interview with the Archbishop, who has spoken in very obliging terms, and expressed himself concerning your Society in as favourable a way as could be well expected. I will tell you more at large when we meet, what passed between us. Meanwhile, I will just state that his Grace regretted that he could not with propriety at once express his full concurrence and approbation of an endeavour in behalf of an object he had deeply at heart. He acquiesced in the hope I expressed, that the Society might go forward, being assured he would look on the proceedings with candour, and that it would give him pleasure to find them such as he could approve."

What Wilberforce did tell Venn further when they met seems only traceable in a speech and a letter of Pratt's some years later. The Archbishop and the Bishop of London, said Pratt, "encouraged us to proceed, and promised to regard our proceedings with kindness, and to afford us countenance and protection when our proceedings should have attained such maturity as to commend themselves to their approbation."

Committee meetings.

Meanwhile, during the waiting-time, the Committee had been meeting regularly, in Mr. Goode's study at St. Anne's Rectory on St. Andrew's Hill. Indeed that study remained their meeting-place for twelve years, a fact afterwards commemorated by a tablet on the chimney-piece, which may be seen there to this day.* But, pending the Archbishop's reply, the members had little business to transact. They corresponded with friends in the country; they formed the nucleus of a library; and in their private capacity they subscribed one hundred guineas for the London Missionary Society as a mark of sympathy when its missionary ship the *Duff* was captured by the French.

When at length the Archbishop's reply through Wilberforce was received, the Committee met to consider it. Some members thought the encouragement it gave too slight to proceed upon, but Venn and Scott took a more hopeful and courageous view, and ultimately the decisive resolution was adopted, "*That in consequence of the answer from the Metropolitan, the Committee do now proceed in their great design with all the activity possible.*" †

Three needs: (*a*) Men,

Three requisites for the Society's work had now to be sought for, viz., men, money, and openings for Missions. As regards men, sympathizing clergymen in all parts of England were written to, but not one gave much hope of likely candidates. Mr. Jones of Creaton knew of one young shopman, "a staunch episcopalian, somewhat contemptuous of Dissenters, and aiming at ordination," and doubted if he would do. Mr. Fawcett of Carlisle knew two "apparently suited," but "could it be right to break the hearts of their mothers?" Mr. Dikes of Hull knew no one. Mr. Powley of Dewsbury knew no one. Mr. Vaughan of Bristol knew no one. Dr. Hawker of Plymouth protested against

* A photograph of the room, showing the tablet, hangs in the C.M. House; and a reproduction of it will be found at page 80.

† There was also an answer from the S.P.C.K. The Minutes of that Society for November 4th, 1800, include the following entry:—"Read a letter from the Rev. Thos. Scott, Secretary to a 'Society for Missions to Africa and the East,' dated the 3rd inst., which had accompanied a present to the Board of fifty copies of an account of that Society, and in which he expressed a hope that their additional institution will be considered as a sincere though feeble coadjutor, in the great and arduous attempt of promoting Christianity through the nations of the Earth, and will accordingly be looked upon by this Society with a favourable eye. Agreed that the thanks of this Society be returned to that Society for this mark of their attention."

sending out laymen at all even if they could be found. Simeon had sounded the "serious men" at Cambridge, but was sorry to say that not one responded with "Here am I, send me," and added, "I see more and more *Who* it is that must thrust out labourers into His harvest."

(*b*) Money,

Money, naturally, was not much wanted until men had been found; but the first two donations were given at the very first meeting, £100 each from Mr. Ambrose Martin, the banker, and Mr. Wolff, the Danish Consul-General. The first published contribution list, which is for two years, comprises also donations of £50 from Wilberforce and three Thorntons, and various other donations and subscriptions, amounting to £912 altogether: against which the only expenditure was £95 for printing. Several of the country clergy wrote that the distress was so great, owing to the war and bad harvests, that no money could be spared from the relief of the starving. "High prices, taxes, and the condition of the poor," wrote Vaughan of Bristol, "bring extraordinary demands on every one."

(*c*) Fields of labour.

Meanwhile the third requisite for missionary work, openings, was engaging the careful attention of the Committee. West Africa, as already mentioned, was prominent in their thoughts; but other fields were considered, including Ceylon, China, Tartary, and Persia, and the great Arabic-speaking peoples of the East. Suggestions were also made by friends that the Society might undertake the enlightenment of the Greek Church, and that it might ransom Circassian slaves in the Russian territories near the Caspian Sea, with a view to teaching them Christianity; but the Committee did not take kindly to either of these proposals. Meanwhile, in the absence of missionaries, they fell back upon the printing-press as an agent of evangelization; and the earliest practical steps taken after the receipt of the Archbishop's communication were in that direction. Plans were formed for the preparation of a version of the New Testament in Persian; and of a grammar and vocabulary and simple tracts, in the Susoo language; and a grant was made to the Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, Mr. Carlyle, to assist him in producing the Scriptures in that language. An interesting memorandum by him on the subject is appended to the Society's first Annual Report. So also are copious extracts from a pamphlet on the possibility of producing the Scriptures in Chinese, which had been written by a dissenting minister named Moseley. This pamphlet called attention to a manuscript, containing portions of the New Testament in Chinese, which had lain unnoticed for sixty years in the British Museum. The prosecution of this work was soon afterwards handed over by the infant Society to the S.P.C.K.; the Committee "being confident that in consequence of the superior funds of that Society, and the rank, talents, and influence of many of its members," the scheme might by them "be more completely carried into execution." The S.P.C.K., however, soon afterwards

resigned the work into the hands of a still younger organization, which at this time was not yet founded, viz., the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Mistake of Date.

We now come to the Society's first Anniversary. This was two years after its foundation; for pending the Archbishop's reply, no public demonstration could be made. A curious consequence ensued. The first Anniversary being in 1801, and the second in 1802, and the tenth in 1810, and so on, a general impression came to prevail that the Society was one year old in 1801, two years old in 1802, ten years old in 1810, and so on, and therefore that the date of its foundation was 1800. This mistaken idea was actually perpetuated for many years in official documents; and the earliest reference to the true date that Mr. Hole has been able to find occurs in the appendix to Mr. Venn's funeral sermon on Josiah Pratt in 1844. Not till the period of the Jubilee did the title-page of the Annual Report give the fact correctly.

The early Anniversaries.

The early Anniversaries were different indeed in character from those of later years. The Sermon was the principal thing; the Meeting was quite secondary, so far as public interest was concerned. Almost from the first, it was *de rigueur* for men and women from the few Evangelical congregations in London to hear the Sermon, which was preached in the forenoon. The Meeting immediately followed it, and consisted of the members of Committee and a few other subscribing members; all the names being duly entered in the Society's minute-book. Men only attended, just as they only would attend a political or commercial meeting; and the presence of ladies was not expected.* In fact, the purpose of the Meeting was simply that the members might formally adopt the Report, pass the accounts, and elect the committee and officers for the ensuing year. Great speeches on these occasions were yet in the future. There being for the first twelve years no President, a Vice-President or member of Committee took the chair. At the first Anniversary, John Venn presided; after that, it was always a layman. There was no collection; nor was there after the Sermon on the first three occasions. At subsequent Sermons the contributions much exceeded the usual amount at the present day. This is easily accounted for. There were as yet no Local Associations, and therefore contributors naturally put into the church plates offerings which would now be paid to local treasurers. For the first dozen years (after collections began) the amount averaged nearly £300.

There is much that is deeply interesting about these early

* It was thought quite improper for ladies to attend public meetings. Some years later than this, a Bishop was publicly rebuked by a Baron of the Exchequer for bringing in his own wife upon his arm; and even so late as when Blomfield was Bishop of Chester, a few ladies who were admitted to an S.P.G. meeting in that diocese were carefully concealed behind the organ! See *Christian Observer*, January, 1861, p. 40.

Sermons. The venerable John Newton was invited to preach the first, in 1801 (two years after the Society's birth, as above explained). After some hesitation, owing to his doubts about the scheme for employing catechists, he consented; but ill-health prevented his fulfilling his promise, and, a few days before the time, the Committee had to request their Secretary, Thomas Scott, to preach. The day appointed was Whit Tuesday, May 26th, and the church St. Anne's, Blackfriars, Mr. Goode's. The weather was unfavourable, and only some four hundred persons assembled. That does not seem a failure, at eleven o'clock on a week-day, considering the obscurity of the infant Society; but Scott no doubt thought the congregations of St. John's, Bedford Row, and Bentinck Chapel, and the Lock Chapel, and Clapham Church, and the half-dozen others likely to sympathize, would have sent larger contingents; and Mrs. Scott wrote to her son at Hull, "We did expect a crowded church on this most important occasion; but alas! our hopes were damped." In subsequent years the "crowded church" became a fact; and from those days to the present, the C.M.S. Annual Sermon has never lost its attractiveness. To preach it was once called by the late Bishop Thorold "the blue riband of Evangelical Churchmanship"; * and certainly the list of the preachers is a list of the most eminent of Evangelical clergymen during the whole century.

Whit Tuesday, 1801.

The first five preachers.

The first five preachers were Scott, Simeon, Cecil, Biddulph of Bristol, and John Venn; and it is interesting to read and compare their sermons. Scott's, in the judgment of the present writer, is incomparably the best. It is long, comprehensive, and admirable every way. Simeon's is very short, less than one-third the length of Scott's, and much simpler, but full of fervour. Cecil's is incisive and epigrammatic, but scarcely bears out his reputation as "the one Evangelical genius." Biddulph's is plainer, but has impressive passages. John Venn's is more like the average sermon of the day than any of the others, the first half of it being of the moral essay type; but it is valuable nevertheless. There are features common to all. In not one of them is the Lord's Last Command prominent. The leading thought usually is the wickedness and misery of Heathendom; and the motive chiefly appealed to is that of pity. Scott's text is Eph. ii. 12, "Having no hope, and without God in the world." He reviews the cruelty and licentiousness of ancient Paganism, quoting Terence and other classical authors in illustration, and affirms that African and Asiatic Heathenism is no better. He refers, as do most of the early preachers, to the question of the future state of the Heathen who have not heard the Gospel—a subject that frequently came up at the Eclectic meetings. Generally speaking, the preachers do not dogmatize on the point; but they urge that as we certainly have no positive knowledge that the Heathen *are* saved, it is our

T. Scott's Sermon.

* And by Archbishop Magee, when Dean of Cork. See Chapter LIII.

plain duty to try to save them. Scott deals in a masterly way with the charge of "uncharitableness" urged against those who feared they might be lost.

"Our opinions," he says, "concerning the eternal condition of our fellow-men will not alter that condition, whether we groundlessly presume that they are safe, or needlessly tremble lest they should perish everlastingly." "Either they are perishing, or they are not: and it is very strange that *love* should in this instance lead men to that very conduct which, if adopted by a parent towards a child even supposed to be in danger, would be ascribed to brutal selfishness and want of natural affection!—and that *malevolence* should dictate those anxious fears and expensive self-denying exertions which, in any case affecting the health or temporal safety of others, would be looked upon as indubitable proofs of strong affection and tender solicitude!"

Continuing, he asks whether our Lord was lacking in "charity" when He wept over Jerusalem, and whether the opposite conduct would have been "benevolence"; and he observes that, after all, it is those Christians that are "uncharitable" who do the most, not only to spread the Gospel, but to relieve temporal distress. When Scott comes to the practical part of the sermon, he is certainly less "straight" (to use a modern phrase) than missionary advocates would be now. Considering that no one had yet offered to go as a missionary, nor that any likely person had been heard of, his caution in disclaiming any desire to excite "disproportionate and romantic zeal" seems rather needless. He does quote Christ's command, and says that "no doubt" it was still in force; but this point is timidly set forth. Instead of summoning Christians to evangelize the world, he only suggests that "something" should be attempted. And he is careful—rightly careful, and yet, at that time, perhaps unnecessarily careful—to assure his hearers that faithful pastors at home, "prudent and active men" who form and direct missionary plans, business men who contribute money, and those that use their influence and reputation to "patronize and protect their designs against the opposition of worldly men," "are all serving the common cause"; "nor would it be advisable to remove them from their several stations, even to employ them as missionaries." Still, he appeals earnestly for help in *some* form. "Let us," he urges, "not merely inquire what we are *bound* to do, but what we *can* do." Then he reviews the obstacles that will be encountered, and illustrates the power of the Spirit to do what man cannot do by referring to "the impediments to cultivation from snow and frost," which are "insuperable by all the power of man," but which are effectually removed "when the Almighty Ruler of the seasons sends the warm south wind, with the beams of the vernal sun." He then proceeds to argue that several societies are better than one, but that they should work in harmony; that those who object that home work is more urgent are *not* "the most zealous in bringing sinners to repentance and

PART II. 1786-1811. Chap. 7.

faith in their own neighbourhood"; and that zeal for the conversion of the Heathen will certainly kindle increased zeal for souls at home.

Simeon's.

Simeon's text was Phil. ii. 5-8, "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus," &c.; and his main point is seen in this question, "What would have been the state of the whole world, *if the same mind had been in Christ that is in us?*"

Cecil's.

Cecil took Isa. xl. 3, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord," and divided his sermon thus: the Moral state of the Heathen, the Means of their recovery, and the Motives to attempt it. It contains some very striking passages. For instance, referring to the need of care lest "specious but unsound characters" should go out into the Mission-field, he says that though "such carnal Gospellers" may take upon themselves, like some at Ephesus, to exorcise the evil spirits that possess the Heathen, the evil spirits will probably reply, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?"—and they will "return from their rash attempt 'naked and wounded.'" So again, "while the Sons of Earth, the slave-traders particularly, entail an odium upon the very name of Christianity," and "the Sons of Hell are endeavouring, and that with horrid strides of late [alluding obviously to the infidel measures of the French Revolution] to root out the very remembrance of it from the earth," "may we," he says, "as the Sons of God, 'in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation,' 'shine as lights in the world.'" Once more: If any ask, What have we to do with the religion of other nations? he replies,—

> "Suppose the Heathen millions to be sick, and this through a poison which was artfully introduced as a medicine, and which must destroy both them and their posterity; suppose also that any one had a specific, and the *only* specific, which could relieve them under the effects of that poison; I ask what notion the Objector would form of a person who should live and die with this specific in his cabinet, crying 'What have I to do with the remedies of other nations?' Would not he say, 'This Querist has either no *faith* in his remedy, or no *feeling* in his heart'?"

Biddulph's

Much in the same way did Biddulph, whose text was the "Golden Rule" in Matt. vii., apply that Rule. Imagining the case of the Susoos being Christians and ourselves Heathen, he thus speaks:

> "Bring the matter home, my Christian brother, personally to yourself. Fancy yourself to be a poor Heathen, wandering in your native woods, without any distinct knowledge of God, or any acquaintance at all with a crucified Saviour, yet conscious of guilt, harassed by fear, and destitute of all consolation under the certain prospect of death and a subsequent state of existence. Now what would you wish that the enlightened Susoos, enjoying your present advantages, should do to you? Let conscience determine the part which you would have them to act; and *this* is the rule of your own conduct, when you again contemplate yourselves as Christians."

J. Venn's

John Venn's text was 1 Cor. i. 21, "After that in the wisdom

of God," &c. He reviewed the vain attempts of ancient philosophers to reform mankind—making, in a striking note, an exception in favour of Socrates,—and then set forth the Gospel as the one remedy for human sin and woe.

Others.

The next four preachers were Edward Burn of Birmingham, Basil Woodd, T. Robinson of Leicester, and Legh Richmond. Robinson was a very eminent preacher, and his sermon in 1808, on Rom. x. 13-15, is one of the most powerful, and one of the most finished, in the entire series. Its utterances were solemnized by the death of Newton, and the paralytic stroke of Cecil, which had lately occurred. Claudius Buchanan was the preacher in 1810. He was followed by Melville Horne, Goode (the rector of the church), Dealtry (afterwards Archdeacon of Surrey), and Dean Ryder of Wells (afterwards Bishop of Lichfield). Some of these sermons will claim notice by-and-by. All were delivered in St. Anne's (or, more accurately, St. Andrew's, as before explained). St. Bride's was first used in 1817.

Scott the first Secretary.

Of these preachers, the two who were pre-eminently identified with the earliest struggles of the Society were Thomas Scott and John Venn. Venn's remarkable wisdom in laying down the Society's principles, drafting its rules, and guiding its first proceedings from the chair of the Committee, has already been noticed. Of scarcely less value was the indomitable energy of Scott. For three years and a half he plied the labouring oar as Secretary. Although active operations had scarcely begun when he retired, he was untiring in working out the preliminaries, and his courage and faith again and again carried the day when more timid counsels nearly prevailed. Scott's deeply interesting narrative of his own gradual enlightenment and conversion to God is entitled *The Force of Truth*. Truth indeed has force; and so has character; and the force of character in Scott was a distinct factor in the development of the newly-born Society. He was deficient in popular gifts; he was in some ways, like John Newton, a rough diamond; but, as W. Jowett says,* "being endued with a strong and capacious understanding, and possessing unwearied perseverance, he made himself a thoroughly learned man, especially in theology"; and as Dr. Overton says,† "he was a noble specimen of a Christian, and deserved a much wider recognition than he ever received in this world." He resigned his Secretaryship at the close of 1802, on his appointment to the vicarage of Aston Sandford, Bucks.

Pratt the second Secretary.

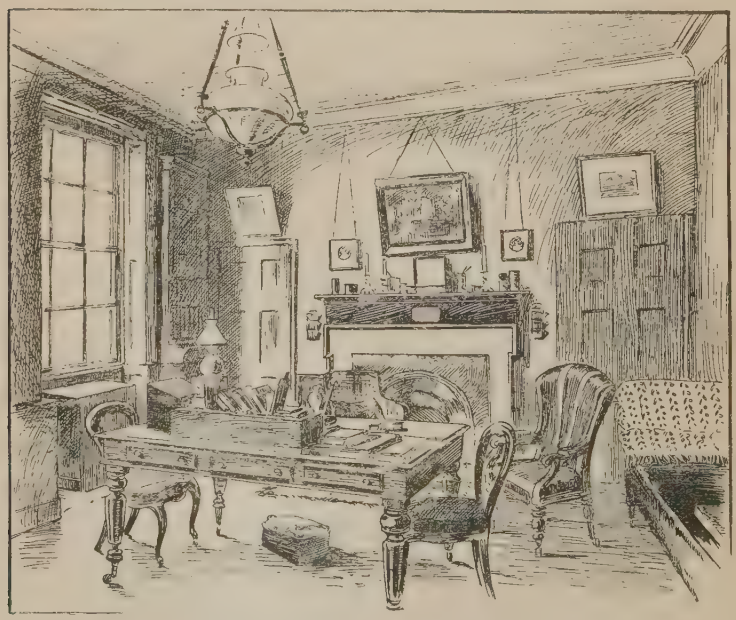
His successor was Josiah Pratt, who has been already introduced. Pratt was only thirty-four years of age when he was appointed Secretary, and he held office for more than twenty-one years. The growth of the Society's influence at home, and the extension of its work abroad, was mainly due, under God, to him. For the

* C.M.S. Jubilee Tract, *Founders and First Five Years.*

† *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, chap. ix.

first nine years of his Secretaryship, his salary was £60 a year; then £100 a year; and, from 1814, £300 a year. He had two Sunday lectureships and one on Wednesday evenings; but almost the whole of his week-day time, often up till late at night, was absorbed by the work of the Society; and his house, 22, Doughty Street, was for several years practically the Society's office.

There he studied the needs of the great dark world, the possibilities of its evangelization, the problems of so vast an enterprise; and there, as we shall see, he in after years compiled month by month the current history of all its branches. There he thought out, and prayed over, his plans for his own infant Society. There he interviewed likely, and (more often) unlikely, candidates for missionary service. There he wrote his long letters to Africa and India and New Zealand, in days when shorthand-writers and copying-presses were unknown, and when there were no mail-steamers to carry his correspondence or bring back the answers. There he bore the burden of what became a rapidly growing organization; and there, in simple faith, he daily and hourly cast his burden upon the Lord.



The Study in St. Anne's Rectory, in which the first Committee Meetings were held, showing the tablet on the chimney-piece (see page 73).

CHAPTER VIII.

The First Missionaries.

Henry Martyn's Offer—The Men from Berlin—Their Training—The First Valedictory Meetings—The First Voyages out—The First Englishmen accepted—Ordination difficulties.

"*Whom shall I send, and who will go for Us?*"—Isa. vi. 8.

"I SEE more and more," wrote Charles Simeon, when all inquiries after likely missionaries only resulted in disappointment, "*Who* it is that must thrust out labourers into His harvest." These words, already quoted in a previous chapter, indicate the gravest of the difficulties to be encountered by the new Society, and indicate also the true solution of those difficulties. It will be remembered that the original idea of the founders, in their despair either of finding ordained men willing to go abroad, or of inducing the bishops to ordain men for foreign work, was to send out lay "catechists." This plan fell through; and it pleased God to show *Who* could thrust out labourers by sending them as their first English candidate a Senior Wrangler and Fellow of his College, who could be ordained on his fellowship. This, it need hardly be said, was Henry Martyn.

From Whom come missionaries?

Henry Martyn.

Henry Martyn was Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman in 1801. It is interesting to notice that the Third and Fourth Wranglers that year were Robert and Charles Grant, sons of the Charles Grant whom we have already met as one of the originators of India Missions and as one of the founders of the Society. Robert, afterwards Governor of Bombay, is known to us by his hymns, "Saviour! when in dust to Thee" and "When gathering clouds around I view." Charles (afterwards Lord Glenelg) became Minister for India, in which capacity he sent the first Daniel Wilson as Bishop to Calcutta. Martyn was ordained, and became Simeon's curate, in 1803; but before that, in the autumn of the previous year, he was in communication with the new Society. The reading of David Brainerd's Life * had stirred his heart about the Heathen, and shown him also the blessedness of a life of self-sacrifice in the Lord's service; and the news that kept coming to Simeon of Carey's work in Bengal drew out his sympathies to India. Obstacles, however, arose to his going out under the

* See p. 27.

Society. Family losses and responsibilities made it impossible for him to take the bare allowance of a missionary; and besides this, it would have been difficult even for Mr. Grant to obtain leave for his sailing in an East India Company's ship with the direct object of preaching to the Heathen. But an appointment as a Company's chaplain was obtained for him; and the Society's Report in 1805 stated that the Committee had "cheerfully acquiesced, as the appointment was of considerable importance," and might "ultimately lead, under God, to considerable influence among the Heathen." He sailed for India in 1805, laboured untiringly for six years in such work as was possible, then journeyed to Persia in failing health, suffered there for a year the bitter enmity of the Mohammedan moulvies, and, on his way home thence, yielded up his heroic spirit to God at Tokat in Armenia, on October 16th, 1812, at the age of thirty-two. Though his name does not actually honour the C.M.S. roll of missionaries, it is a recollection to be cherished that he was really the Society's first English candidate; and though his career was brief, and he was never technically a missionary, yet his unreserved devotion to Christ's cause, and the influence of his name and character upon succeeding generations, entitle him to be for ever regarded as in reality one of the greatest of missionaries. "God measures life by love"; and by that measure Henry Martyn's life was a long one indeed.

Before, however, Martyn approached the Society, an unlooked-for opening had appeared for obtaining missionaries elsewhere. Through two foreign Protestant ministers residing in London, Mr. Latrobe, of the Moravian Church, who was acting as agent here of the Moravian Missions, and Dr. Steinkopf, of the Lutheran Savoy Chapel, the Committee heard of a Missionary Seminary lately established at Berlin. This new institution in Germany was really the outcome of the missionary awakening in England. A certain Baron von Schirnding saw in a Hamburg newspaper a notice of the formation of the London Missionary Society, and wrote to the Directors about it. Their reply he communicated to other godly men in Germany of the Pietist school, and ultimately, with a view to the promotion of a missionary spirit, and to the supply of men to any societies that might be formed, the Berlin Missionary Seminary was started, under the auspices, and partly at the expense, of the good Baron, and under the direction of a Lutheran pastor, the Rev. John Jænické. The frugality expected from the students may be gathered from the fact that they were to be allowed two rix-dollars (about 6*s.* 8*d.*) per week for their entire maintenance. From this institution the perplexed Committee of the new Church Society, in what seemed the hopeless backwardness of Englishmen, now hoped to obtain missionaries. The second Annual Report, presented in June, 1802, began with these words:—"It is with much regret that your Committee meet the Society without having it in their power to report that any missionaries are actually engaged in fulfilling the

Berlin Seminary.

pious designs of the Society. They had indulged the hope that, in consequence of their earnest applications to a very numerous body of clergymen in almost every part of the kingdom, several persons in whose piety, zeal, and prudence the Committee might confide would ere this have offered themselves to labour among the heathen. Their hope has however been disappointed." After lamenting "the evident want of that holy zeal which animated the apostles and primitive Christians," the Committee went on to announce that, "following the steps of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," they were now looking to the Continent for men, and expressed a hope that the new Berlin Seminary would presently supply them.

The first two missionaries.

Within a month of this Report being presented, two of the Berlin students, Melchior Renner, of the Duchy of Wurtemberg, and Peter Hartwig, a Prussian, had been accepted by correspondence; and in November of that same year, 1802, they arrived in England—at the very time when Henry Martyn was in communication with the Society. Germans and Englishmen did not study each others' language then as they do now; and when the two men appeared before the Committee in the library of St. Anne's Rectory there was no means of conversing with them. A few days after, however, the Committee received them again along with Dr. Steinkopf, who acted as interpreter; and having accepted them as "missionary catechists" for West Africa, sent them to lodge at Clapham, where they could learn a little English before going out. When they were ready to sail, Dr. Steinkopf offered to arrange for their receiving Lutheran orders; and the Committee, to avoid what they thought would be the ecclesiastical irregularity of this being done for a Church society within an English diocese, gave them leave to go back to Germany and be ordained there. They went accordingly, and came back Lutheran clergymen, and therefore on a par ecclesiastically with the German and Danish missionaries of the S.P.C.K. in South India. The Committee then accepted them as full "missionaries"; and the "catechist" difficulty was thus disposed of, as the friends who objected to laymen being sent out were quite willing to recognize Lutheran orders. A passage having been engaged for them—concerning which more presently,—and Hartwig having married Sarah Windsor, late governess in Mr. Venn's family, it now only remained to bid them God-speed.

First Valedictory Dismissal.

This first Valedictory Dismissal is deeply interesting to us who now, year by year, witness the wonderful scenes on similar occasions. It was what was called "an Open Committee," held at the New London Tavern in Cheapside. Subsequently, these Valedictory gatherings, when held in public halls, were called Special General Meetings of the Society; but in course of years they came to be regarded as technically meetings of the General Committee, and the proceedings were entered in a regular way in the Minute Books. The altered procedure in recent years will appear hereafter. At that first Dismissal, on January 31st, 1804,

there were present twenty clergymen and twenty-four laymen. Ladies were not yet invited to the Society's public meetings; the first occasion of their being present was at the fourth Valedictory Dismissal, in 1811. At the fifth Dismissal, in 1812, there was also a service at St. Lawrence Jewry, with a collection which amounted to £72. Reverting to this first one, the chair was taken by the Rev. Henry Foster, one of the most regular members of the Committee; the Instructions were read by Pratt; the two missionaries, unable to speak English with sufficient fluency, responded by presenting a written letter to the Committee; and that was all. The most interesting incident of the gathering, to us, was the presence of Henry Martyn, who was then still expecting to join the Society. In his journal we find the following entry:—

"At one o'clock we went to hear the charge delivered to the missionaries at the New London Tavern in Cheapside. There was nothing remarkable in it, but the conclusion was affecting. I shook hands with the two missionaries, and almost wished to go with them, but certainly to go to India."

Pratt's Instructions.

"Nothing remarkable": no, Henry Martyn could not foresee with what deep interest those first Instructions would be read ninety years after. But even when set side by side with the ablest of the long series of masterly state papers produced in later years by Henry Venn the Younger in the form of Instructions to departing missionaries, Josiah Pratt's "charge" will not suffer by the comparison. It does not convey injunctions regarding personal conduct; it does not give spiritual counsel. For these it refers the brethren to some more private Instructions separately given. But it ably reviews the position of affairs in West Africa at the time, and directs the missionaries as to the course they shall pursue in various contingencies. It expresses thankfulness that when the Society had "the means and the will" to send forth messengers of the Gospel, but was "destitute of proper instruments," these men, having no pecuniary means, had "depended on the providence of God to furnish them," and had in faith gone to the Berlin Seminary to be prepared for missionary service. It expresses the opinion that the best plan of operations for a Mission would be a "Settlement," "consisting of several Christians of both sexes living as a small Christian community, and exhibiting to the Natives the practical influence of Christianity in regulating the tempers and the life, and in thus increasing the domestic felicity"; but that until, if ever, it should be "in the power of the Society to accomplish this plan upon any considerable scale," which "must be left to the gracious Providence of God," the Committee would "imitate the example of our Lord, when He sent His disciples two and two to declare the glad tidings of His Kingdom." One passage, in which the missionaries are instructed how to deal with slave-traders, is especially worth quoting for its wisdom:—

"You will take all prudent occasions of weaning the Native chiefs

from this traffic, by depicting its criminality, the miseries which it occasions to Africa, and the obstacles which it opposes to a more profitable and generous intercourse with the European nations. But while you do this, you will cultivate kindness of spirit towards those persons who are connected with this trade. You will make all due allowances for their habits, their prejudices, and their views of interest. Let them never be met by you with reproaches and invectives, however debased you may find them in mind and manners. Let them never have to charge you with intriguing against them and thwarting their schemes; but let them feel that, though the silent influence of Christianity must, whenever truly felt, undermine the sources of their gain, yet in you, and in all under your influence, they meet with openness, simplicity, kindness, and brotherly love."

Second Valedictory Meeting.

At the second Valedictory Meeting, January 13th, 1806, which may conveniently be noticed at this point, there was given, in addition to the formal written Instructions read by the Secretary, a spiritual address by a clergyman; which custom has been adhered to ever since. On that occasion the speaker, with great appropriateness, was John Venn; and his address, printed with the Annual Report, is every way admirable, and might be delivered now, almost word for word, to any departing missionary band. He dwells on the example of John the Baptist, of our blessed Lord Himself, and of the Apostles; and then also on that of the modern missionaries whose names, even at so early a date, were known and honoured, Eliot, Brainerd, and Schwartz, and the Moravians in Greenland. One lesson drawn from the example of John the Baptist is worth noting. Venn observes that "an external appearance of sanctity" in him "seems to have had a wonderful effect in impressing the minds of the Jews"; and urges that "the same impression, *in some way*, *must* be made upon the people, that we are *above the world*. In vain," he adds, "will those who are eager about the accommodations and enjoyments of the world persuade mankind that they are truly in earnest in their religion." And take this striking description of a true missionary's character:—

J. Venn's charge.

"He is one who, like Enoch, walks with God, and derives from constant communion with Him a portion of the divine likeness. Dead to the usual pursuits of the world, his affections are fixed upon things above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. He is not influenced, therefore, by the love of fame and distinction, the desire of wealth, or the love of ease and self-indulgence. Deeply affected by the sinful and ruined state of mankind, especially of the Heathen, he devotes his life, with all its faculties, to promote their salvation. Undaunted by dangers, unmoved by sufferings and pain, he considers not his life dear, so that he may glorify God. With the world under his feet, with Heaven in his eye, with the Gospel in his hand, and Christ in his heart, he pleads as an ambassador for God, knowing nothing but Jesus Christ, enjoying nothing but the conversion of sinners, hoping for nothing but the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ, and glorying in nothing but in the cross of Christ Jesus, by which he is crucified to the world and the world to him. Daily studying the word of life, and transformed himself more and more into the image which it sets before him, he holds it forth to

others as a light to illuminate the darkness of the world around him, as an exhibition of the light and glory of a purer and higher world above."

A valedictory address by Thomas Scott, in 1811, is also singularly wise and comprehensive; but, like his first Annual Sermon, very long, occupying thirty-two octavo pages.

The first voyages.

But to appoint men to West Africa, and to send them there, were two very different things. The only conveyance that could be heard of was a slave-ship, regularly fitted up for the trade; but though there would be plenty of room in her *until* she arrived off the Coast, application for a passage was refused. Zachary Macaulay, who was now a member of the Committee, was "requested to seek for some other vessel"; and at length he "found" the *John*, belonging to a firm of woollen drapers, proceeding to Sierra Leone, and succeeded in engaging passages for the two missionaries at thirty guineas each. The *John* sailed, with other merchant-vessels bound elsewhere, under the protection of an armed convoy; and this first voyage of C.M.S. missionaries proved more prosperous than some later ones, as they reached Sierra Leone safely after fifty-seven days' sailing, only four times longer than the fortnight occupied by steamers to-day. But the voyage of the second party—three men, Nylander, Bütscher, and Prasse—illustrates vividly the delays and inconveniences, to say nothing of dangers, to which the travellers in those days were exposed. After five weeks of waiting at Liverpool, their ship sailed on February 12th, 1806, but was stranded on the Irish coast. After seven more weeks' delay in Ireland, they sailed again on April 22nd from Bristol; but the ship had to put into Falmouth to join others sailing under convoy. While the brethren were on shore, the captain suddenly weighed anchor without giving them notice, and resumed his voyage. They hastily engaged an open boat, hoping to catch up the vessel, which, before steam made ships independent of the wind, was generally possible; but the attempt failed, and after being long tossed about by a violent gale, and in imminent peril, they had the mortification of being obliged to return to Falmouth. Providentially the wind changed, and the whole fleet had to put back. Thus they were enabled to embark again, and after losing the convoy and narrowly escaping a French privateer, they reached Madeira on June 2nd. There the captain, who had been drinking, suddenly died, and the ship was detained more than three months until fresh orders could come from England. At last, on September 22nd they safely reached Sierra Leone, more than seven months after their first sailing.

The next party from Berlin came to England under difficulties of another kind, which are thus referred to in the Report:—"These brethren left Berlin on July 2nd, embracing the opportunity afforded between the time of signing the Armistice between the Russians and the French, and the conclusion of the Peace of

Tilsit. *By avoiding the great roads, and travelling on foot,* they arrived without interruption, through many difficulties, at Wernigerode. From Wernigerode they went to Altona; from that place to Tonningen, and thence they embarked for this country."

Expenses of early missionaries.

At this point it may be of interest to glance at the Society's published accounts, and see its expenditure upon these early missionaries. In the account for 1803-4, the following items occur :—

	£	s.	d.
By the Education of Four Students at the Seminary at Berlin, Six months	72	3	0
By Expences on Account of the Missionaries Renner and Hartwig, during their Stay in England, for Board, Lodging, Washing, Apparel, Education, and Incidents	224	5	11
By their Passage to and from Germany to obtain Ordination, and necessary Expences	39	12	7
By Conveyance of them and Mrs. Hartwig to Portsmouth with their Baggage, &c., and Expences during their Stay there, previous to their sailing . . .	21	13	0
By their Passage for Sierra Leone, thirty guineas each, with sundry Articles of Clothing suitable for that Climate, and other Necessaries	222	3	8

In the account for 1805-6, one of the items is as follows :—

Sundry small Articles of Apparel and incidental Expences, with Board, Washing, Lodging, &c., for the five Missionaries, Woman and Child, during their stay in England, with Charges for their Instruction in the English Language, Apothecary's Attendance, and Medicine for two of them in a dangerous illness, &c.	324	10	11

And in the account for 1806-7 are these items :—

For the Passage of Three Missionaries to Africa, with Apparel and other Necessaries	193	11	4
Expences of the said Missionaries in Ireland, in consequence of the Vessel being stranded off Wexford	73	14	0
Further Expences in Madeira, during a stay there of several Months, in consequence of the Death of their Captain	267	7	6

Anxieties in the Field.

Very early in the history of their enterprise, the Committee of the young Society had to learn by experience how the work of God may be marred by the infirmities of men. First they were perplexed by getting very little news of the missionaries. At one time eight months elapsed without any tidings from Sierra Leone at all. Then came criticism from onlookers, that the men were slow at the language, and not getting at the people. Then followed plain indications of friction among the brethren. At first the Committee had appointed Renner "Senior." Then they made all equal. Then they re-appointed Renner "Superior." These are troubles which some of the younger Societies in our

own day have had to go through, though the public hear nothing of it. The old Societies are not free from the difficulties; but they have learned by long experience the best ways of dealing with such matters. The early Committee were often perplexed, though never in despair; often cast down, though never "destroyed." Of the first five missionaries, already named, three proved excellent and faithful workers, accomplished what for West Africa may be called long service (Renner seventeen years, Nylander nineteen, Bütscher eleven), and died at their posts. One, Prasse, was also excellent, but died two years after landing. This is a satisfactory record, notwithstanding that the fifth, Hartwig, turned out badly, and caused grave mischief in Africa and untold sorrow to the Committee. He engaged in the slave-trade, and in many other ways proved himself quite unworthy of the name of missionary. His poor wife, Venn's former governess, had to leave him and come home. For several years Hartwig wandered about in Africa, and at length, "coming to himself" in the "far country" of sin, wrote home to Pratt in penitence and remorse. The Society declined to reinstate him as a missionary, but consented to engage him on trial as an interpreter and translator; and his brave wife went out again and rejoined him. He died, however, almost immediately, and Mrs. Hartwig a few months afterwards.

Hartwig's fall.

Pratt's letters to the brethren on these various difficulties are full of both wisdom and tenderness. God had indeed manifested His gracious favour to the Society in giving it such a Secretary. It is also worth noting how entirely open the Committee were regarding these trials. The fall, and the penitence, of Hartwig were fully recorded for all men to read; and so were the minor infirmities of others from time to time. But it must be remembered that the printed accounts rarely went into the hands of any one who would not regard such troubles with prayerful sympathy. To publish a man's unsatisfactory conduct in these days would be to ruin him for life.

At the very beginning of even the less serious of these painful experiences, the Committee made up their minds to send out no men who were not trained under their own eye; and in 1806 much time and thought were given to the subject of a Seminary in England. In consultation with Thomas Scott, who was now Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks, they ultimately arranged for their candidates to reside at Bledlow, a village five miles off, where Nathaniel Gilbert, formerly chaplain at Sierra Leone, was rector. They were to reside with William Dawes, a gentleman who had been twice governor of Sierra Leone, and who knew something of the Susoo language, as well as of Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic; and they were to go over to Scott once a week for further theological teaching. The third party of Germans, Barneth, Klein, Wenzel, and Wilhelm—the party already mentioned as having to journey from Berlin by byways

Plans for training in England.

and on foot,—were thus sent to Bledlow; also two English candidates, who, however, proved unsatisfactory, and only stayed a few weeks. Nor did the four Germans stay long, though this was not their own fault, but because Mr. Dawes moved from Bledlow. Then Scott, with his indomitable spirit, although much occupied with his biblical work, consented to take the candidates himself; and he continued this important service for some years, until in 1815 failing health compelled him, after most courageous struggles, to give up the work. Under him the men did well; they were true and humble Christians, won the hearts of the Buckinghamshire farmers and labourers, and responded readily to Scott's teaching. He shrank from no labour. Shortly after he took them, the Committee wrote and requested him to instruct the candidates in Susoo and Arabic, he being totally ignorant of both languages! It is amazing to find that he really set to work, though over sixty, to learn both. He and his pupils together, by means of those linguistic works upon which the infant Society had incurred its earliest expenditure, did manage to get a fair knowledge of Susoo; and though Arabic was far more difficult, his familiarity with Hebrew helped him, and within a few months he set about reading the Koran with the students.

T. Scott as trainer.

Not long after Scott began his work, the first two Englishmen sent out by the Society came on to the roll, but without going under his instruction. They were in fact not "missionaries" in the Society's sense of the word, but Christian artizans, engaged to go to New Zealand as pioneers of industry and civilization, though with the object, through these, of introducing the Gospel; and they were called in the Reports "lay settlers." These were William Hall, a joiner from Carlisle, and John King, a shoemaker from an Oxfordshire village. They proved the first agents in one of the Society's greatest and most fruitful enterprises, the initiation of which will have to be reviewed in an early chapter.

First English missionaries.

But in October, 1809, just two months after Hall and King sailed, the Committee accepted for training a married shoemaker named Thomas Norton, a man of real ability, who had already, like Carey, studied Greek in the intervals of his trade, and who ultimately received holy orders and was one of the first two English clergymen sent out by the Society. At first it was contemplated to send him to one of the Universities; but Scott urged that the university life of the period was not favourable to the cultivation of the missionary spirit or of missionary habits of life, and it was resolved to send him and his wife to Aston Sandford. They must come, wrote Scott, by the coach which ran three times a week from the Bull, Holborn. They should be met in the evening in a tilted cart, the best conveyance for those roads.

The next English candidate accepted was William Greenwood, a blanket manufacturer from Dewsbury, in 1811; and in the following year came Benjamin Bailey and Thomas Dawson, from

the same town. Nine other Germans were also received, one of whom was afterwards the famous South Indian missionary Rhenius. A little later, the Committee declined the offer of a Shropshire curate who required at least £700 a year in order to do missionary work effectively. Meanwhile Scott's bodily infirmities were increasing; and offers from the Rev. John Buckworth, of Dewsbury, and the Rev. T. Rogers, of Wakefield, in 1814, to train some of the candidates were accepted. The first candidate sent to the latter clergyman, an Essex farmer's son, bore a name that was to be highly honoured in after years—Henry Baker.

How obtain ordination?

And now the very difficulty presented itself that had led, at the beginning, to the adoption of the abortive catechist scheme before referred to. Norton and Greenwood were ready for ordination; but how were they to obtain it? The bishops had not yet smiled upon the new Society at all, and when two or three were cautiously approached through personal friends, they entirely declined to ordain men for work outside their own dioceses, or even for curacies within their dioceses if understood to be merely stepping-stones to foreign work. Those who were thus applied to were not the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, to whom in the present day we go; for Archbishop Moore, who had promised to "regard the Society's proceedings with candour," and Bishop Porteus, who had supported the Evangelicals in philanthropic movements, were dead, and Dr. Manners-Sutton and Dr. Randolph, who now filled the two posts respectively, were quite beyond the reach of the "serious clergy." Scott would have taken Norton for his own curacy, but Buckinghamshire was then in the diocese of Lincoln, and Bishop Tomline was at that very time fulminating against the Evangelicals (who were very mild Calvinists) in his Refutation of Calvinism. At last, a Cheshire clergyman who wanted a curate succeeded in obtaining ordination in Chester diocese for Greenwood, on Trinity Sunday, 1813; and the incumbent of St. Saviour's, York, persuaded the northern Archbishop (Harcourt) to ordain Norton for him at the following Christmas. Norton was rather closely examined on certain points of Calvinistic doctrine, because he had been trained by Scott; but he wrote, "Through mercy I was enabled to answer the Archbishop either in Scripture language or that of our Articles."

Thus, fourteen years after the foundation of the Society, two bishops were induced to perform acts that assisted its plans; though, be it observed, they did not perform these acts for the Society's interests, nor at its request, but only for work (albeit temporary) under the clergy in their own dioceses. The circumstance throws light on the patient faith of the Committee, in going on with an enterprise which by this time, as we shall see hereafter, was growing rapidly under their hands, but for which they could as yet perceive no certain way of obtaining fit instruments duly commissioned by their own Church. They could not

foresee that their missionary candidates would in after years form a distinct element in the London ordinations, and that again and again men trained by them, and without the advantage of University education, would take the first place in the strictest examination any Church of England diocese has, and read the Gospel accordingly in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Our debt to Germany.

The obstacles in the path of the Committee emphasize also the debt that English Church Missions owe to Lutheran Germany. As we have already seen, all the S.P.C.K. men in India were Lutherans. In the Church Missionary Society's first fifteen years, it sent out twenty-four missionaries. Of these, seventeen were Germans; and of the seven Englishmen, only three were ordained, viz., the two above-mentioned, and William Jowett, the first University graduate on the Society's roll, having been 12th Wrangler in 1810. Of him we shall have more to say in a future chapter. Meanwhile, we can understand the feelings of Melville Horne, one of the leading Evangelicals of that day, when in eloquent language, in a speech at Leicester, he compared England and Germany. On the one hand, England had stood alone "as the forlorn hope and supporting pillar of the laws, liberties, and religion of the vanquished Continent," when all Europe was under the iron heel of Buonaparte. On the other hand, Germany, amid all her sufferings from the horrors of war, was "advancing with the sacred standard of the cross of Christ and reviving the drooping zeal of the Church of England." But he was not happy in the prospect. "Highly," he said, "as I honour the pious Lutheran ministers, who are bold to suffer and die in our cause, I cannot brook the idea of their advancing alone into the field with the standard of our Church in their hands. Where are our own ministers? What happy peculiarity is there in the air of Germany? What food is it which nourishes these pious Lutherans? I cannot allow these good men to stand in our place. Let us assert our own dignity and that of the Church to which we belong!" In after years, some of the noblest of the Society's missionaries were Germans; but they were not Lutherans. They were for the most part trained at Islington, and received English orders from the Bishop of London. Though England cannot claim them, the English Church can. And now we have lived to see the day when in England itself the missionary vocation is at last widely recognized as worthy of the very best of our young men, and to send forth year by year increasing numbers of those who are manifestly the Lord's chosen vessels to bear His name before the Heathen.

CHAPTER IX.

Africa and India: Struggle and Victory.

Renewed Anti-Slave Trade Campaign—Wilberforce's Triumph—Sierra Leone—India in the Dark Period—Carey and Serampore—Claudius Buchanan—The Vellore Mutiny—Controversy at Home—The Charter Debates—Another Victory—India Open.

"*Let no man's heart fail because of him; thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine. . . . So David prevailed.*"—1 Sam. xvii. 32, 50.

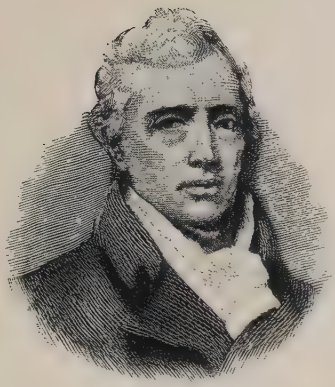
AVING started the new Society, let us now resume the story of the two great mission-fields that were "waiting," Africa and India. In our Fifth Chapter, we left the British Slave Trade still rampant in West Africa at the close of the eighteenth century, and the Dark Period of twenty years just beginning in India in 1793.

First Missions in Africa.

Meanwhile, missionary work had been commenced in South Africa. The Moravians were first, as they have been in other fields. George Schmidt went out as early as 1737, and laboured six years among the Hottentots; but it was not until the last decade of the century that the Dutch, who then reigned at the Cape, allowed others to go. The British, however, conquered the colony, and in 1798 the new London Missionary Society sent that remarkable Hollander, Dr. John Vanderkemp, to work among both Hottentots and Kaffirs. How the Gospel was sent to West Africa will appear in a future chapter. We now turn again to the battle of the Slave Trade.

Year after year, as we have seen, Wilberforce's efforts had been baffled; and when the eighteenth century closed, the question seemed no nearer solution. Yet, notwithstanding the opposition of the slave-traders, of the royal dukes, and of King George himself, conviction gradually forced itself upon the minds of most honest men. The Evangelical Churchmen, the Methodists, the regular Dissenters, and the Quakers, combined to use all their influence in getting petitions sent to Parliament; and some of the bishops did good service in the House of Lords. Political events, and the overwhelming anxieties about the War, prevented any definite steps being taken in the first three years of the new century; but in 1804 Wilberforce again advanced to the attack. The change in the minds of men was at once apparent. The bill passed all stages in the Commons by

Resumed attack on the Slave Trade.



CHARLES GRANT.

REV. HENRY MARTYN

REV. ABDUL MASIH.

REV. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN.

REV. DANIEL CORRIE.

Charles Grant, East India Director.
Henry Martyn, Senior Wrangler, East India Chaplain; First Englishman offering to C.M.S.
Abdul Masih, Henry Martyn's Convert from Islam; First Indian Clergyman.
Claudius Buchanan, East India Chaplain.
Daniel Corrie, East India Chaplain; First Bishop of Madras.

large majorities. But the House of Lords deferred it for a year; and in 1805, owing to the absence of many friends "through forgetfulness, or accident, or engagements preferred from lukewarmness," it was thrown out in the Commons. Wilberforce was deeply pained. "I could not sleep," he wrote; "the poor blacks rushed into my mind, and the guilt of our wicked land." Then came the death of Pitt, heart-broken at Napoleon's crushing victory at Austerlitz; and then the death of his old rival, but comrade-in-arms against the slave-trade, Fox. Wilberforce had now to contend, not only with the last desperate energies of "the trade," and the active hostility of the royal dukes, but with the lukewarmness of leading statesmen who professed to be allies. But he was the central figure of an increasing body of resolute men, bent not only upon the abolition of the slave-trade, but upon many other philanthropic objects. Mr. Colquhoun draws several pictures of Wilberforce's daily life, first in Palace Yard, and afterwards at Kensington. Here is a fragment describing the scene in Palace Yard, while Pitt was yet alive:—

Scene in Palace Yard.

"Its bell is always tinkling, and the knocker never still; up the crowded door-step and down again there flows a stream of men, which runs on without stopping from morning to night; and such queer visitors, black and white, rosy-faced Saxons, and woolly-haired Africans; bustling, warm men from the city, spruce peers and baronets from the West End, stout squires from Yorkshire, broad-cloth manufacturers from Bradford and Leeds, broad-brimmed quakers from London, York, and Norwich, yellow-faced nabobs who have been burnt under the tropics; and mixed with these, black-coated clergymen, and grave dignitaries, and smooth-shaven preachers of many sects. Here you meet that stout Scotchman, East India Director, Mr. Grant, whose sons are just beginning to be noticed, and that stern, silent man, with quick step and keen grey eyes, the father of a son more famous, Zachary Macaulay; and that grave, austere banker, whose word the City of London takes as a bond, who has a name and note in the House of Commons—Henry Thornton; and that long, shy, bashful clergyman, Mr. Gisborne, who comes up unwillingly from his Staffordshire woods; and that stout, portly dean, Mr. Milner, who walks and talks as if he had borrowed the voice of Dr. Johnson; and that gentle layman, Mr. Babington, from Leicestershire; and the acute and energetic William Smith, member for Norwich; and the courteous peer from the hills of Cumberland, Lord Muncaster. That quick step and keen legal eye belong to Mr. Stephen. Mixed with these, you have the bustling Secretary of the Treasury, and the eagle-eyed Scotchman with his broad accent, omnipotent to the north of the Tweed; and then (for the House is up) a notable pair, the tall figure of the Premier [Pitt], with the ruddy features, cheerful voice, and pleasant joke of Addington."

Not till the winter of 1806-7 did Wilberforce at last witness the triumph of his cause. Then, in division after division, he proved victorious; obstacle after obstacle was overcome; the Lords passed the bill; then it came to the Commons. On February 23rd the second reading was proposed. The opposition now made little show. Sir Samuel Romilly touched the House to its heart's core

Part II. 1786-1811. Chap. 9.

when he "entreated the young members of parliament to let that day's event be a lesson to them, how much the rewards of virtue exceeded those of ambition; and then contrasted the feelings of Napoleon Buonaparte in all his greatness with those of the honoured man who would that night lay his head upon his pillow and remember that the Slave Trade was no more"; and shouts of acclamation burst forth such as had rarely been heard in the House. The second reading was carried by 283 to 16; the bill went safely through committee, and back to the Lords for final acceptance; and on March 25th, 1807, it received the royal assent. "God will now bless the country," wrote the victorious champion: "the first authentic account of the defeat of the French has come to-day." It was true. From that time the tide in the great European struggle turned. In the very year which abolished the hateful traffic, began the series of events in Spain which culminated in the victories of Wellington and the fall of Napoleon. "Oh, what thanks," continues Wilberforce's journal, "do I owe the Giver of all good, for bringing me in His gracious providence to this great cause, which at length, after almost nineteen years' labour, is successful!"

British Slave Trade abolished.

In the same year, 1807, other events occurred of great importance to the Colony of Sierra Leone. First, the misfortunes of the Sierra Leone Company, which had often given great anxiety to Wilberforce and the Thorntons, led to a parliamentary inquiry, and this to the transfer of the settlement to the direct administration of the Crown, which was effected on January 1st, 1808. The directors of the Company, in a final report, justly pleaded that, notwithstanding the tremendous obstacles they had had to encounter, and the heavy financial losses incurred in the enterprise, much good work had been done. They had "established a colony which, by the blessing of Providence, might become an emporium of commerce, a school of industry, and a source of knowledge, civilization, and religious improvement, to the inhabitants of the African Continent"; and they declined to regard this as an unworthy return for the pecuniary sacrifices of the shareholders. Like another African Company long afterwards, they were "content to take out their dividends in philanthropy."

Transfer of Sierra Leone to the Crown.

Then secondly, Government arranged for the reception at Sierra Leone of slaves who might be rescued from slave-ships still plying in defiance of the law and captured by the British cruisers sent to enforce the law. The population thereupon began to increase rapidly, some two thousand "liberated Africans," as they were called, being added to it annually for several years. These having been kidnapped from all parts of West Africa, there were gathered at Sierra Leone representatives of more than a hundred tribes, almost all speaking different languages or dialects. Their moral condition was deplorable, and for some years the settlement presented sad scenes of barbarism, immorality, and superstition. But, thirdly, for the improvement and civilization of the people, a

New plans for freed slaves.

new Company was formed called the African Institution. The Duke of Gloucester, one of the royal princes, was president; and several bishops, statesmen, and philanthropists formed the governing body, including Wilberforce, Clarkson, Granville Sharp, four Thorntons, Zachary Macaulay, Charles Grant, James Stephen, and others whose names will become familiar in this History. Energetic steps were taken for the benefit of the Colony. Schools were opened; the growth of profitable products was encouraged; and the people were incited to engage in both agriculture and trade. But it must be acknowledged that the success of these measures was very partial; and it was not until the direct teaching of the Gospel was undertaken—from which the African Association was precluded by its constitution—that any real and marked improvement began to be seen in Sierra Leone.

Yet one thing still lacking.

How this teaching came to be given will appear hereafter. But we can now see how natural it was for a new missionary society founded by men of the "Clapham Sect" to bear the name of Africa upon the forefront of its title. In the Instructions delivered to the first two missionaries sent out, in 1804, the facts that had directed the minds of the Committee to West Africa are clearly stated:—

"The temporal misery of the whole Heathen World has been dreadfully aggravated by its intercourse with men who bear the name of Christians; but the Western coast of Africa between the Tropics, and more especially that part of it between the Line and the Tropic of Cancer, has not only, in common with other heathen countries, received from us our diseases and our vices, but it has ever been the chief theatre of the inhuman Slave Trade; and tens of thousands of its children have been annually torn from their dearest connexions to minister to the luxuries of men bearing the Christian name, and who had no more right to exercise this violence than the Africans had to depopulate our coasts with a similar view. The wickedness and wretchedness consequent upon this trade of blood have deeply and extensively infected these shores; and though Western Africa may justly charge her sufferings from this trade upon all Europe, directly or remotely, yet the British Nation is now, and has long been, most deeply criminal. We desire, therefore, while we pray and labour for the removal of this evil, to make Western Africa the best remuneration in our power for its manifold wrongs."

Nobly indeed was this noble purpose fulfilled. There are few episodes in all missionary history more moving than the story of the early efforts of the Church Missionary Society in West Africa. It is a story of faith tested and tested again and again, of patience having her perfect work, of disappointment and disaster, and of the mighty power of Divine grace in the hearts of the most degraded of mankind.

East India Company exclude missionaries.

Let us now turn to India. One result of Wilberforce's unsuccessful attempt to obtain a modification of the East India Company's charter in 1793 was that the Company stiffened its regulations touching the admission into its territories of persons—merchants

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or others—not sent by itself. "A man without a 'covenant' was a dangerous person; doubly dangerous the man without a 'covenant' and *with a Bible*." * Carey was the first to suffer. He embarked in a Company's ship, but it being discovered, just before she sailed, that he had no licence, he and his baggage were sent ashore again. Then he obtained a passage in a Danish ship; but on his arrival at Calcutta, having no licence from the Company to reside in Bengal, which at that time was necessary, Mr. Udny entered his name as an indigo-planter, stood surety for his good conduct in a large sum of money, and sent him to manage one of his own indigo factories a hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta. There, and in that capacity, lived for six years the one representative in India of the missionary zeal of Christian England; and in that obscure—one may say ignominious—way began English Missions in her great dependency.

In 1796 came another Baptist missionary, Mr. Fountain, who succeeded in entering the country in the character of a servant on Mr. Udny's estate; but his outspoken sympathy with French republican notions caused alarm, and brought upon him the censure of his Society. It was the avowal of similar views that prevented that noble Scotchman, Mr. Haldane, who had sold his large estate to go out and found a Mission in Bengal, from obtaining leave from the Company to go; and when, in 1799, four more Baptist missionaries arrived in an American ship, great alarm prevailed in Calcutta, more especially as a Calcutta paper, mistaking the word "Baptist," stated that four *Papists* had come, who were at once assumed to be French spies. In our Fourth Chapter we saw something of the reasons for the horror and detestation with which any democratic opinions were then regarded; and as Buonaparte was at that very time in Egypt, and was known to have designs on India, we are not surprised to find that the Governor-General was taking steps to expel "all Frenchmen and republicans." Thirteen years after, when Napoleon's Grand Army had been destroyed in Russia, the *Missionary Register* opened its number for April, 1813, with an article headed "India secured to Britain by Russian Victories"—which has in our day a curious sound.

Danish Settlement receives them.

The four missionaries were instantly ordered to leave the country; but they contrived to get up the Hooghly in a boat by night to Serampore, a small Danish settlement fifteen miles north of Calcutta. "It was a sort of Alsatian receptacle," says Sir John Kaye,† "for outcasts of all kinds. Fugitive debtors from Calcutta found there an asylum where English law could not reach them; and even that most perilous and pestilential of all suspected persons, the missionary of the Gospel, might lie there without molestation." For the Danish governor, on being challenged by the Calcutta authorities to give them up, refused to do so. The

* Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 223.

† *Ibid.*, p. 228.

result was that Carey left his indigo factory and came and joined them; and so, in January, 1800, began the great Serampore Mission, which was to be a power in India for many a long year.

A remarkable man must now be introduced, to whom, perhaps more than to any one else, the coming opening of India to the Gospel was due. Claudius Buchanan was a young Scotchman who had left his studies at Glasgow University to wander over Europe with his violin, but, finding himself destitute in England, had "come to himself in the far country," had been led to Christ by old John Newton, and sent to Cambridge at the expense of Henry Thornton. Subsequently Simeon obtained for him an East Indian chaplaincy, and he arrived in Calcutta in 1797. He quickly became a power in Bengal, and in 1800 was appointed to preach before the Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley, on a memorable occasion. Nelson had destroyed the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile, and their Syrian campaign had failed; and a Thanksgiving Day was proclaimed at Calcutta "for the ultimate and happy establishment of the tranquillity and security of the British possessions in India." Lord Wellesley was so stirred by Buchanan's sermon, that he ordered copies to be circulated all over India and sent home to the East India Directors; and almost immediately afterwards he put David Brown and Buchanan at the head of a great College he was founding for the education of young Englishmen in the Indian languages, and generally for the promotion of Western literature and science. As the only man in India competent to teach Bengali was Carey, Brown persuaded the Governor-General to appoint him, assuring him that he was "well affected to the Government." The large salaries attached to the offices held by these three good men were unreservedly devoted to preparing the way for further Missions by printing translations of the Scriptures.

Claudius Buchanan.

Buchanan spent some of his money in another way. He sent home no less than £1650 to the universities and public schools of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be offered in prizes for the best essays and poems, English, Latin, and Greek, on subjects that would set the competing students thinking of the spread of the Gospel in India. The subject of the Greek Ode, Γενέσθω φῶς, is worth noting in view of what will be related presently. The successful English poem was sent in by young Charles Grant, son of the great Anglo-Indian above-mentioned, and fourth Wrangler in Henry Martyn's year. Buchanan followed this up by giving Oxford and Cambridge £500 each for the best English prose work on certain missionary topics, one of them being the History of Missions in all ages. At Oxford, the prize was won by Hugh Pearson, afterwards Dean of Salisbury, and biographer of Schwartz, and of Buchanan himself. His Essay has been already referred to, and quoted from, in this History.* At Cambridge the

Buchanan prizes.

* See p. 8.

best Essay (though a technicality deprived it of the prize) was by John W. Cunningham, Fellow of St. John's, fifth Wrangler in 1802, and afterwards Vicar of Harrow. All these three successful competitors became active C.M.S. men.

Meanwhile Buchanan was vigorously using his own vigorous pen, sending home his works for publication in England. One of these, the *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India*, had great influence afterwards. Another, entitled *Christian Researches in the East*, describing a visit he paid to Travancore, in order to inquire into the condition of the ancient Syrian Church there, led, ten years later, to the establishment of the C.M.S. Travancore Mission.

Success of Carey's Mission.

All this time the Serampore Mission had been growing in strength and influence. Not only was its literary and translational work most extensive and valuable, but it was gaining converts. In six years ninety-six adults had been baptized, including six Brahmans and nine Mohammedans. Sir William Jones, the great Orientalist, had declared that no Brahman could be converted; and again and again, even to our own day, has it been asserted that no Moslem ever is converted. Sir William knew the power of caste, and the critics know the power of Islam. But he forgot, and they forget, the power of the Cross; and the Serampore converts were but the first of a long series of proud Brahmans and fanatical Moslems who have come to the feet of the Son of God. There were some, indeed, as there have been some in all ages from Ananias and Sapphira downwards, who proved unworthy members; but others became conspicuous examples of the transforming power of the Gospel. Encouraged by these successes, and by the high character and tolerant policy of Lord Wellesley, the Baptist missionaries began to distribute tracts, and even to preach and teach, in Calcutta, and in the surrounding rural districts; but these proceedings were quickly checked, and an unfortunate tract attacking the character of Mohammed led to greater vigilance on the part of the authorities. It was at this time, too, but after Lord Wellesley had left India, that the Government passed a special Act taking the Temple of Juggernaut, with all its horrors and immoralities, under State protection and patronage.

Vellore Mutiny.

Then, in 1806, occurred an event which threw back the progress of liberty for seven years. Some of the Sepoy troops at Vellore, near Madras, mutinied. A mighty panic was engendered; and it suited the purpose of the Anglo-Indians who were opposed to Missions to attribute the outbreak to alarm caused by the presence of missionaries.* From that time the Company and its officers became more and more hostile. Two Baptist missionaries who

More missionaries excluded.

arrived in 1807 were ordered off at once, and one of them proceeded to Burmah instead, and started a Mission there. In 1811,

* *Apropos* of this panic Sir John Kaye observes, "It is always religion that is to blame. If a man catches cold, he caught it at church; such accidents never happen at the theatre." *Christianity in India*, p. 252.

one of the Serampore men, Mr. Chamberlain, went up to Agra, but was instantly sent back under a guard of Heathen Sepoys; and on being invited again to the North-West to be tutor to an officer's children, he was a second time ordered back by Lord Hastings, then Governor-General, who said that "one might fire a pistol into a magazine and it might not explode, but no wise man would hazard the experiment." In 1812, three English and five American missionaries arrived at Calcutta. The latter were the very first sent forth by the newly-formed American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, a body similar in constitution to the London Missionary Society, but, like it, virtually the society of the Congregationalists. All the eight were peremptorily refused permission to land. Two of the Americans, one of them being the heroic Judson, became Baptists, and got leave to go to Burmah. After a series of difficulties enough to try the faith and patience of the boldest, but which cannot be detailed here, the other three, who had escaped in a coasting vessel to Bombay, were allowed to remain there; and they ultimately laid the foundation of the prosperous American Mission in that Presidency. Of the Englishmen one was deported, one escaped to Serampore, and one to a Dutch settlement; but this one was eventually expelled, and the Mission was ordered to pay £500 to cover the expense of sending him home. Even at Madras, the Government of which was usually more tolerant, and had just put up a monument to Schwartz at the Company's expense, a missionary of the London Missionary Society was expelled in the same year, 1812.

Controversy in England

The Vellore Mutiny caused greater alarm in England even than in India. A war of pamphlets ensued, opened by a member of the East India Company named Twining, who quoted from Buchanan's *Memoir* before mentioned, and moved the Court of Proprietors to expel all missionaries from India and stop all printing of the Scriptures in Indian languages; and this motion was only defeated by the strenuous efforts of Charles Grant, who was now an influential Director of the Company. A Bengal officer, Major Scott-Waring, published a *Vindication of the Hindoos from the Aspersions of the Rev. C. Buchanan.* Well might Wilberforce write of the Anglo-Indians who, "having lived among Pagans for many years," had now "come home with large fortunes, and manifested their heathenish principles by openly espousing the cause of the Vedas against the Scriptures and the Hindoo against the Christian faith." Among the replies was one by Lord Teignmouth himself. Sydney Smith published his famous and furious attack on Indian Missions in the *Edinburgh Review* (April, 1807), aiming his bitterest shafts at the "consecrated cobblers" who were engaged in such a work. Southey rejoined in the very first number of the *Quarterly Review* (April, 1808).

Buchanan's campaign.

Buchanan now came home, and threw himself into the conflict with characteristic impetuosity. But instead of flinging pamphlets at his opponents, he preached sermons to his friends. If only the

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Christian public could be stirred up to care for the evangelization of India, he cared little for what the critics might say. His great sermon at Bristol on February 26th, 1809, which (said a paper of the day) "kept the minds of a large auditory in a state of most lively sensation for an hour and twenty-five minutes," and which was published with the title "The Star in the East," may be truly said to have first awakened the interest in India which was presently to win so remarkable a victory in Parliament. He described the labours of both the little band of S.P.C.K. Lutheran missionaries in the South and the Baptist brethren in the North. He told the story of two converts from Mohammedanism, one of whom had died a martyr for Christ. He appealed powerfully for the people he loved so well, and closed with these striking words: *—

"The Star in the East."

> "While we are disputing here whether the faith of Christ can save the Heathen, the Gospel hath gone forth for the healing of the nations. A congregation of Hindus will assemble on the morning of the Sabbath, under the shade of a banyan-tree, not one of whom, perhaps, ever heard of Great Britain by name. There the Holy Bible is opened; the Word of Christ is preached with eloquence and zeal; the affections are excited; the voice of prayer and praise is lifted up; and He who hath promised His presence when two or three are gathered together in His name, is there in the midst of them to bless them, according to His word. These scenes I myself have witnessed; and it is in this sense in particular I can say, *We have seen His Star in the East.*"

Then, in 1810, he preached the C.M.S. Annual Sermon, on the words, "Ye are the light of the world." This text, and the "star in the east," are both of them interesting as embodying the same thought as the subject he had chosen five years before for the Greek Ode; and on the very words of that subject, "Let there be light," he preached in the University Church at Cambridge in this same year. Light for India's darkness was thus repeatedly his theme; and, in the C.M.S. Sermon, very impressively does he dwell on both the darkness and the light.

In these ways the public mind was becoming familiarized with the great questions about to be raised when the Company's Charter should have to be renewed in 1813. A year before that, Christian men began to form plans for influencing Parliament. Wilberforce, mindful of his defeat on the same question nineteen years before, would remember that it took exactly nineteen years to get the Slave Trade abolished, and would be encouraged by the victorious issue which God had graciously granted to his African campaign to hope for a similar interposition of the same Lord of Hosts in the Indian campaign he was about to undertake. "It is a shocking idea," he wrote to a friend, "that we should leave sixty millions of our fellow-subjects, nay of our tenants (for we collect about seventeen millions sterling from the rent of their lands), to remain in a state of barbarism and ignorance, the slaves of the most cruel and degrading superstition." To Hannah More he wrote,

Wilberforce to the front.

* *C.M.S. Report*, 1809, Appendix, p. 515.

"Now that the Slave Trade is abolished, this is by far the greatest of our national sins." In his diary we see him using dinner-parties and all sorts of other opportunities to influence leading men to help him—to use his own words—in "getting leave for Gospel light to pass into India." "This," he wrote, "is indeed a cause for which it is worth while being a public man."

The battle now began. Wilberforce marshalled his forces; Buchanan wielded his vigorous pen; Grant and Parry used every effort to influence their fellow-Directors; Pratt threw his energies into the work of rousing the country. On the other side pamphlet after pamphlet, article after article in newspaper and review, held up to the contempt of the world the miserable and hopeless attempts of "consecrated cobblers" to convert the mild Hindu, and at the same time, with glorious inconsistency, tried to frighten the English people into the belief that unless they put a stop to the said "consecrated cobblers" they would infallibly lose India.

Exertions of C.M.S.

The campaign was opened on April 24th, 1812, by an important Public Meeting on the India question, arranged by the Church Missionary Society, at which four hundred gentlemen assembled, including many M.P.'s and other influential persons. Wilberforce in his diary calls it "a grand assemblage," and adds, "I spoke with acceptance." A few days later he attended a meeting of the S.P.C.K. for the same object at the office of that Society, which also had been stirred up by Buchanan's works, and which was employing its more recognized influence in the same cause.*

Besides the pressure brought to bear on the Government in this way, and by personal influence, two measures of importance were taken, chiefly at the instance and at the cost of the Church Missionary Society. One was the rousing of the Christian public to send petitions to Parliament from all parts of the country. Pratt worked at this with untiring energy; and the number sent in (about 850) was the largest ever known up to that time upon any subject. The other was the commissioning Buchanan to take up his pen once more; and two powerful pamphlets were the result, one on the general subject of religion in India and the other on the importance of an "ecclesiastical establishment" there. These were printed at the Society's expense, sent to all M.P.'s, and circulated by thousands in the country. In the midst of the agitation arrived the news of Henry Martyn's death, at Tokat in Armenia, on his way home from India and Persia. Such an event, at such a moment, stirred the hearts of the workers in the cause, and spurred them on to more strenuous efforts for the opening of India to the Gospel.

"The harvest," writes Sir John Kaye, "now appeared ready for the sickle. The labours of those busy workmen, Grant, Teignmouth, Thornton, Wilberforce, Buchanan, and their com-

* In the recently-published History of the S.P.C.K. the entire credit is given to that Society, and the C.M.S. is not mentioned. But this is not "history."

panions, were at length about to be rewarded. They had toiled and striven manfully for years; they had encountered public opposition and private ridicule; they had been shouted at by the timid and sneered at by the profane; they had been described as dangerous intermeddlers, and as imbecile fanatics. They had contended only against the open official suppression of Christianity in India; they had asked only for toleration; they had demanded that, in the midst of opposing creeds, the faith of the Christian might be suffered to walk unveiled and unfettered. They had been seeking this liberty for many years; and now at last the day of emancipation was beginning to dawn upon them." *

Proceedings in the House of Commons began with the examination of witnesses in Committee of the whole House. Two former Governors-General were examined. Warren Hastings, now an old man, was very cautious, and would not commit himself to either approval or disapproval of missionaries, or of the proposal for a bishop; but, to be quite safe, he adopted the familiar excuse that the time was not opportune. Then came Lord Teignmouth. Let us hear Kaye's graphic account of his examination:†—

House of Commons examines Lord Teignmouth.

"The Committee seemed to know the kind of man they had to deal with, and assailed him at starting by putting an extreme case: 'Would it be consistent with the security of the British Empire in India that missionaries should preach publicly, with a view to the conversion of the Native Indians, that Mohammed is an impostor, or should speak in opprobrious terms of the Brahmins, or their religious rites?' To this, of course, Lord Teignmouth replied that there might be danger in such indiscretion; but that no one contemplated the conversion of the Natives of India by such means; and when, soon afterwards, the question was put, 'Is your Lordship aware that an opinion prevails in India that it is the intention of the British Government to take means to convert the Natives of the country to the Christian religion?' he answered, without a moment's hesitation, 'I never heard it or suspected it.' One would have thought that there was little need after this to put the case hypothetically; but the witness was presently asked whether, allowing such an opinion to exist among the Natives, the appearance of a Bishop on the stage would not increase the danger. 'I should think,' said Lord Teignmouth, 'it would be viewed with perfect indifference.' Determined to work the hypothesis a little more, the Committee asked him whether, '*were* the Hindus possessed with an idea that we had an intention of changing their religion and converting them into Christians, it would be attended with any bad consequences at all?' 'I will expatiate a little in my answer to that question,' said Lord Teignmouth; and he then delivered himself of the following explanation, the admirable good sense of which is not to be surpassed by anything to be found in the entire mass of evidence elicited, throughout the inquiry, upon all the points of the Company's charter:—

"'Both the Hindus and Mohammedans, subject to the British Government in India, have had the experience of some years, that, in all the public acts of that Government, every attention had been paid to their prejudices, civil and religious, and that the freest toleration is allowed

* *Christianity in India*, p. 257. † *Ibid.*, p. 264.

to them; that there are many regulations of Government which prove the disposition of Government to leave them perfectly free and unmolested in their religious ordinances; and that any attempt at an infringement upon their religion or superstitions would be punished by the Government of India. With that conviction, which arises from experience, I do not apprehend that they would be brought to believe that the Government ever meant to impose upon them the religion of this country.'

"But the Committee had not yet done with their hypothesis, and were determined not to let the witness, whatever might be his opinion of its absurdity, escape without giving a direct answer; so they assailed him again by asking, 'Should the state of things be altered, and we not observe the conduct we have hitherto observed, but introduce new modes and enact new laws, for the carrying into effect the conversion of the Natives to Christianity, would not that be attended with disagreeable consequences?' To this, of course, but one answer could be given; and Lord Teignmouth gave that answer, leaving the Committee to make what use of it they could. 'If a law were to be enacted,' he said, 'for converting the Natives of India to Christianity in such a manner as to have the appearance of a compulsory law upon their consciences, I have no hesitation in saying that, in that case, it would be attended with very great danger.' Who ever doubted it? Who ever contended for anything so preposterous—so insane?"

Charter debates.

The Charter Bill introduced by Lord Castlereagh in 1813 was debated in Committee of the House of Commons on a series of Resolutions, and Nos. 12 and 13 showed that the Government, after some hesitation and under considerable pressure, had recognized the strength of feeling in the country. They were, in fact, framed upon lines suggested by Wilberforce and the C.M.S. Committee:—

"XII. Resolved. That it is the opinion of this Committee [i.e. of the House of Commons] that it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance.

"XIII. Resolved. That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

"Provided always that the authority of the Local Governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion be inviolably maintained."

No. 12 passed easily; but No. 13 led to long and heated debates, certain Anglo-Indians and their sympathizers straining every nerve to defeat it. One member, Mr. Marsh, gave a glowing description of the Hindus and of Hinduism, dwelling on "the

benignant and softening influences of religion and morality" that prevailed in India, and expressing "horror at the idea of sending out Baptists and Anabaptists to civilize and convert such a people, at the hazard of disturbing or deforming institutions which appeared to have been the means ordained by Providence of making them virtuous and happy." Among the speakers on the Christian side were the two Charles Grants, father and son, standing shoulder to shoulder in the cause of the Master they loved. Wilberforce rose about midnight on June 22nd, and spoke for two hours. "Nobody," wrote a hostile critic, "seemed fatigued: all indeed were pleased, some with the ingenious artifices of his manner, but most with the glowing language of his heart. Much as I differed from him, it was impossible not to be delighted with his eloquence." Early next morning he wrote to Mrs. Wilberforce,—"Blessed be God, we carried our question about three this morning"; and a few days later, "I heard afterwards that many good men had been praying for us all night." The Bill quickly followed the Resolutions, and received the royal assent on July 21st.* In the autumn of that very year Napoleon was totally defeated by the allied armies at Leipsic, and Wellington drove Soult over the Pyrenees and finally delivered Spain from her invaders. The East India Act came into force in the following April; and in that very month Napoleon was banished to Elba, and peace proclaimed. "Them that honour Me I will honour."

Victory at last.

Thus what Professor Seeley calls the period when Anglo-Indian life was "*brahminized*"—when "the attempt was made to keep India as a kind of inviolate paradise, into which no European, and especially no missionary, should be suffered to penetrate—came to an end," and "England prepared to pour into India the civilization, the Christianity, and the science of the West." †

"And now," wrote Buchanan, "we are all likely to be disgraced. Parliament has opened the door, and who is there to go in? From the Church not one man!" It was too true. Southey, in his *Quarterly Review* article five years before, had taunted the Church, strong Churchman as he was, with the remark that "the first step towards winning the Natives to our religion was to show that we had one"; and this remark was just as applicable now. But the first two English clergymen for the work were at this very time serving curacies; and in 1815 they landed in India, the pioneers of a long succession of able and holy men. The first Bishop, too, was duly appointed in accordance with the new Act, as we shall see by-and-by. Wilberforce was not wrong when he wrote, after his great victory, "I am persuaded that we have laid the foundation-stone of the grandest edifice that ever was raised in Asia."

What is to follow?

* The Sections of the Bill embodying in an enlarged form the Resolutions given above are printed at length in the C.M.S. Report of 1814.

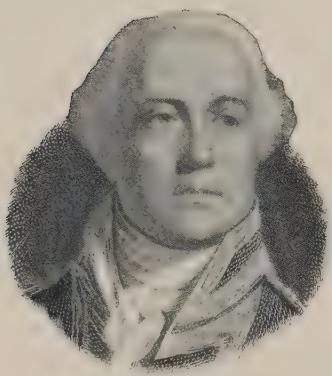
† *Expansion of England*, p. 310.

Part III.

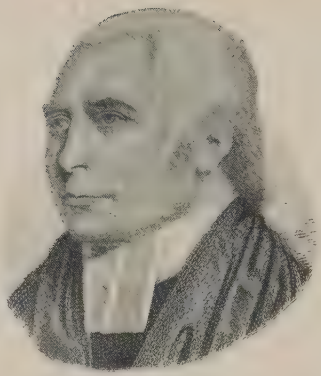
A PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT: 1812–1824.

NOTE ON PART III.

This Part is entitled "A Period of Development." The Society emerges from its feeble infancy and moves forward with the vigour of youth. Chap. X. describes a host of "forward steps" that marked the years 1812-18. Chap. XI. tells the story of the first Provincial Associations and Deputations. In Chap. XII. we turn aside to notice other Societies, both their work and progress and their relations with the C.M.S. In particular we see the very curious circumstances of the revival and expansion of the S.P.G. in 1818. The next five chapters take us into the Mission-field, and we read of the early trials and successes in West Africa (XIII.), the deaths of faithful labourers there (XIII., XIV.); the commencement of work in North and South India (XV.), and in New Zealand, Ceylon, &c. (XVI.); the Society's plans and efforts for the revival of the ancient Eastern Churches (XVII.), both in the Turkish Empire (as it was then) and in Travancore. Chap. XVIII., from the standpoint of 1824, the date of Pratt's retirement, surveys the position and prospects of the work at home and abroad, and shows how hard experience had moderated the sanguine expectations of the early leaders of Missions.



LORD GAMBIER.



REV. BASIL WOODD.

REV. JOSIAH PRATT.

REV. WILLIAM GOODE.

REV. T. T. BIDDULPH.

Admiral Lord Gambier, President of C.M.S., 1812-1833.
Basil Woodd, Minister of Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone; First "Deputation."
Josiah Pratt, Secretary of C.M.S., 1802-1824.
William Goode, Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars.
T. T. Biddulph, Incumbent of St. James's, Bristol.

CHAPTER X.

Forward Steps.

Signs and Causes of Coming Development—The President—New Rules—Salisbury Square—Annual Meetings and Sermons—Valedictory Meetings—Public Affairs: Fall of Napoleon: State of the Country—More Openings for Work—Translational Undertakings—Samuel Lee—Offers of Service—Special Funds—The "Missionary Register."

"*Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.*"—Exod. xiv. 15.

FROM time to time, in the history of the Church Missionary Society—as indeed of most other enterprises—there have been epochs marked by very distinct advance, followed perhaps by periods of slower and quieter progress. Such an epoch we find in the years 1812—1816. Before that time, the Society was but an infant. In 1812-13, it seemed to shoot up suddenly into vigorous growth. Not, indeed, in respect of what is after all the essential function of a missionary society. Only three men were sent out in 1812, all German mechanics; and only one in 1813, an English schoolmaster. Not till 1815 did the first three English clergymen, Greenwood, Norton, and Jowett, actually sail. Nevertheless, these years were years of very marked advance in the influence of the Society at home, and the interest of the Christian public in Missions generally.

The new epoch.

The infant Society had indeed been growing all along, and there had been signs of coming development. West Africa was no longer the only field of labour. Samuel Marsden had come home from Australia on leave, and had induced the Society to plan a settlement in New Zealand; and he had gone back to his post among the convicts, taking with him two mechanics to send to the Maori cannibals. A Corresponding Committee had been formed at Calcutta, and grants of money had been voted to it, for translational purposes and to employ native readers. Above all, Claudius Buchanan had come home from India, and had (as we have before seen) been employing his vigorous and resourceful mind in planning schemes for the evangelization of that great dependency.

Then came Melville Horne's sermon in 1811, which is indisputably the most eloquent and moving of all those preached in

M. Horne's sermon.

the earlier years. Taking as a text the inspiring utterance of St. Paul, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me," he denounced in burning words the backwardness of the Church, and appealed for a courageous resolve to do the Lord's will. "Away," he cried, "with the wretched cant of false humility, 'We can do nothing.'" His exhortation was especially to the clergy: why were they not pressing into the foreign field themselves? But in one notable passage he addressed wives and mothers, and this, as the first appeal of the kind put forth in a C.M.S. sermon, it will be interesting to quote here:—

Appeal to women.

"Christian Matrons! from whose endeared and endearing lips we first heard of the wondrous Babe of Bethlehem, and were taught to bend our knee to Jesus—ye who first taught these eagles how to soar, will ye now check their flight in the midst of heaven? 'I am weary,' said the ambitious Cornelia, 'of being called Scipio's Daughter. Do something, my sons, to style me the Mother of the Gracchi'! And what more laudable ambition can inspire you than a desire to be the Mothers of the Missionaries, Confessors, and Martyrs of Jesus? Generations unborn shall call you blessed. The Churches of Asia and Africa, when they make grateful mention of their founders, will say, 'Blessed be the wombs which bare them, and the breasts which they have sucked!' Ye Wives, also, learn to rejoice at the sound of the battle. Rouse the slumbering courage of your soldiers to the field, and think no place so safe, so honoured, as the Camp of Jesus. Tell the missionary story to your little ones, until their young hearts burn, and in the spirit of those innocents who shouted Hosanna to their lowly King, they cry, 'Shall not we also be the Missionaries of Jesus Christ?'"

But while the pleading of Marsden and Buchanan for the South Seas and India, and the eloquence of Melville Horne, gave a decided impetus to the Society, the two immediate causes of the great steps forward at the epoch we are now to review were the agitation for the opening of India to the Gospel and the journeys of some of the clerical leaders all over the country to start Branch Associations. The India movement began, as we have seen, with the holding of a public meeting attended by four hundred gentlemen, the largest the Society had yet held; and it at once showed the world that a powerful institution was springing up. The Deputation movement raised the Society's income in one year from £3000 to £13,000. This latter movement will be described in a separate chapter.

The year 1812 witnessed several forward steps in the home administration of the Society. Up to this time there had been no President. Now Admiral Lord Gambier was appointed. He was one of the most distinguished of naval officers at a period memorable for brilliant examples of naval skill. In 1807 he commanded the naval squadron to which the Danish fleet (then under Buonaparte's control) surrendered, and, in 1809, the Channel fleet which defeated and partially destroyed the French ships opposed to it; for the first of which services he received a peerage, and for the second the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. When Thomas

The first President,

Scott was at the Lock Chapel, the Admiral was one of his flock; and he was a Governor and hearty friend of the new Society from the very first. As the Society's work and responsibilities grew, it was necessarily brought much into contact with the Government, —indeed much more than it is now, when the liberty of individuals, or of companies or societies, to engage in enterprises of all sorts all over the world, is so much greater than it was then; and in the absence of recognition by the bishops, the Society had to look to laymen of position to represent it. At the Anniversary of 1812, therefore, not only was a President appointed in the person of Lord Gambier, but sixteen Vice-Presidents also, including four peers and eight members of parliament. Among these were Lord Teignmouth, formerly (as Sir John Shore) Governor-General of India, and now President of the Bible Society; Sir Thomas Baring, father of Bishop Baring, and of Lord Northbrook; Thomas Babington,* the intimate friend of Wilberforce, after whom Zachary Macaulay named the son who was by-and-by to become so famous; and Nicholas Vansittart, who became, only three weeks later, Chancellor of the Exchequer, succeeding Mr. Perceval, who was shot dead in the lobby of the House of Commons on May 9th. Perceval himself, who was Premier as well as Chancellor, and a man of high character and (in a sense uncommon in those days) irreproachable life, had himself shown courtesy and kindness to the Society more than once. So did Lord Liverpool, who succeeded him as Premier; and so did Earl Bathurst, who at the same time became Secretary for the Colonies. Vansittart, while Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards as Lord Bexley, spoke at the Annual Meetings. Without the favour of the Ministers, many of the Society's early enterprises would not have been possible. Missionaries frequently had passages granted them in Government ships; and those proceeding to Colonies, like Sierra Leone, or Ceylon, or New South Wales, had to take letters of commendation from the Colonial Office in London. Those for India had of course to get leave from the East India Company. A President, therefore, had important functions in those days; and Lord Gambier, who held the office twenty years, proved far more than a figure-head. He took an active part, not only in high official negotiations, but in the ordinary labours of the Committee. It is almost needless to add that in this respect he has been imitated by his two successors, the Earl of Chichester and Sir John Kennaway.

And Vice-Presidents.

The need for them.

In the same year, 1812, the Society's Laws were revised. The most important alteration was in the constitution of the Committee. Hitherto it had consisted of clergymen and laymen in equal numbers. Now the twenty-four elected members were all to be laymen; but all subscribing clergymen were to be members

Open constitution of the Society.

* Father of Canon John Babington, and uncle of C. C. Babington, Professor of Botany at Cambridge.

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likewise.* This was the constitution previously invented by Pratt for the Bible Society,† and it was now adopted for the Church Missionary Society. One cannot but admire the courage and faith of the Society in adopting such a constitution. The new law practically put it at the mercy of whatever party in the Church might choose to take advantage of the position to secure a majority. From that day to this there has been nothing whatever in the laws of the Society to prevent its principles and methods of action being entirely changed. Membership in the Church of England is the sole qualification for the governing body. It is needless to say that those Churchmen who are not in accord with the distinctive Evangelical principles, doctrinal and ecclesiastical, which have ever guided the Society, have always been a majority among the clergy. Why have they never exerted the power the laws give them, qualified themselves for the Committee by a half-guinea subscription, and come and out-voted the old members? John Henry Newman, who was at one time an active member of the Oxford Church Missionary Association, did think of planning such a *coup*.‡ We have no ground for blaming him: he was as much a member as any one else, and had a perfect right to get the views he honestly held adopted if he could. But a Society has traditions as well as laws; and although the Church Missionary Society's laws say nothing whatever about Evangelical doctrines or principles or methods, every one knows that these are in fact, and have been from the first, the life of the Society; and it is greatly to the credit of the clergy generally that they have always, with the honourable fairness of English gentlemen, recognized its traditions, and, while not always approving of its proceedings, have abstained from interfering with them. Still more conspicuously generous is the conduct of those bishops who, though not in accord with the Society's traditions, are willing to be identified with it by membership and by the acceptance of the office of Vice-President. But the day for episcopal recognition of this kind had not come at the time we are now reviewing. In 1815, however, Bishop Bathurst of Norwich and Bishop Ryder of Gloucester, the first on the Bench to do so, gave their names to the Society as Vice-Presidents.

The Committees.

To revert to the amended laws of 1812. Two Committees subordinate to the General Committee already existed, viz. (1) of Correspondence, to receive and train missionary candidates, and to administer the Society's foreign work,§ and (2) of Accounts,

* At the General Meeting in May, it was only provided that clerical members of the Society might *attend* the Committee, but as this proved a privilege which they did not appreciate, another General Meeting was held in December, and the law was altered to make them full voting members.

† See p. 152.

‡ So Henry Venn says. See Chapter XXXVI.

§ Three years later, the Committee of Correspondence was divided into four sections, viz., (1) Africa, (2) India and Ceylon, (3) New Zealand, (4)

the name of which sufficiently explains its functions. Two others were now added, viz., (3) of Patronage, to nominate Vice-Presidents and otherwise obtain the support of influential persons, and (4) of Funds, to circulate missionary information and devise measures for obtaining contributions. One more new law may be mentioned. The Committee were empowered to appoint persons who had "rendered essential service to the Society" to be Honorary Governors or Members for Life. Acting on this law, they soon opened the list of Hon. Life Governors by placing on it four names, viz., Thomas Scott, Claudius Buchanan, Basil Woodd, and the Rev. J. Jænické of the Berlin Seminary;* and two years later they added the names of Goode, Burn, Biddulph, and Daniel Wilson, of the home clergy; Samuel Marsden, the Australian chaplain; and Corrie, Thomason, and Thompson, Indian chaplains.†

Hon. Life Governors.

The year 1812 also saw a small foreshadowing of the future Church Missionary House. Up to this time the Committee meetings had been held, as before mentioned, in Mr. Goode's Rectory; and the "office" was in Pratt's house in Doughty Street. In January, 1812, a room for Committee meetings was hired at Mr. Seeley's bookselling shop at 169, Fleet Street;‡ but Pratt continued to do his own official work at home. In the following year it became necessary to provide a regular office, and No. 14, Salisbury Square was rented, the Committee meeting there for the first time on December 13th, 1813. Subsequently it became the residence of an Assistant Secretary, with quarters for missionary candidates; office, college, and Secretary's house being thus under one roof.§ The hours were nine to seven, for Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and clerks. In 1820, a house in Barnsbury Park was taken for the Assistant Secretary and students; and No. 14, Salisbury Square became an office only.

The first offices.

Mediterranean and Home. Thus the "Group" system of recent years was anticipated. So also was the modern "*précis*" system. The despatches were to be "abstracted and indexed" for the use of the Committee.

* John Venn was on his death-bed at the time, or doubtless his name would have been added. He died July 1st, 1813.

† This List has grown in subsequent years, until, in 1882, it was arranged to limit it to one hundred names; and now, year by year, much interest is taken in the selection of names to fill up vacancies. The authority to appoint Hon. Life *Members* was not made use of until 1888, when it was availed of to find a place for ladies.

‡ Messrs. Seeley afterwards moved to the other side of Fleet Street. No. 169 became the office of the *Record* newspaper, and for some years its upper floors were occupied by the Church of England Sunday School Institute.

§ Many readers will remember that by the side of the C.M. House as it was in 1883 there was a small, old-fashioned Scotch hotel. That hotel was No. 14, which had been occupied by the Society from 1813 to 1862. In 1862 it was given up for the large new House erected hard by. In 1883 it was purchased, pulled down, and a new wing to the existing House built on the site. The east end of the present large Committee-room, therefore, is the identical spot where the Committee met for the first time in 1813.

Edward Bickersteth.

That resident Assistant Secretary was Edward Bickersteth. He did not come into the Society's service until 1815, and we shall meet him in another chapter, before that time, at Norwich; but this seems a convenient place to introduce him, as his appointment was assuredly one of the steps forward which we are now tracing out. At this time he was a solicitor at Norwich, in partnership with his wife's brother, Mr. T. Bignold. He had been educated for his profession in London, and while there had taken some interest in Missions. He had heard Claudius Buchanan's Annual Sermon, and read Buchanan's writings, which had opened, he writes, "a new scene of the vast importance of studying in every way to promote the Gospel of Christ." "By the grace of God," he adds, "I will bend my soul more and more to this glorious end. I may do much more by self-denial. My Saviour died for me, and shall I not abstain from luxuries for His Gospel?" Thus began a career which afterwards gave the Church Missionary Society a Secretary, and in later years gave a bishop to Exeter in his son, a bishop to Japan in his grandson, and at least five missionaries to India and Africa in a daughter, a grand-daughter, and three grandsons.*

More sermons.

To resume. The Anniversaries were now becoming much more important and interesting. St. Anne's Church was crowded at the Sermons. Even in 1810, Buchanan estimated that two thousand persons were present. In 1812, the preacher was Mr. Goode, the Rector, himself; and in 1813, the Rev. W. Dealtry, Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, and also F.R.S. He was mathematical professor at the East India Company's College, and just then was at Clapham, serving the parish church for John Venn. Venn died in the same year, and Dealtry succeeded him as Rector.

In 1814, the first dignitary of the Church to preach for the Society occupied the pulpit. This was the Hon. and Rev. Henry Dudley Ryder, Dean of Wells, who in the following year became Bishop of Gloucester, the first decided Evangelical raised to the Episcopal Bench. Dean Ryder's sermon will come before us again presently. Then in 1815, the Rev. E. T. Vaughan of Leicester (father of Dean C. J. Vaughan) was the preacher. He was one of the ablest of the Evangelical clergy, and his work for the missionary cause at Leicester became a pattern to be pointed to for imitation; but he subsequently adopted strange views. In 1816, a second representative of India was selected, another of the godly chaplains whom Simeon had sent out, and whose names should be had in everlasting remembrance —Daniel Corrie. His text, Isa. xliv. 20, was suggested by his personal experiences of Indian religion—"He feedeth on ashes: a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?"

* Mrs. E. Durrant, Miss E. B. Durrant, Rev. H. B. Durrant, Dr. Albert R. Cook, Dr. J. H. Cook.

Very moving is his account of the misery and hopelessness of the Hindu. This, let it be remembered, was at a time when *suttee*, child-murder, and other crimes were rife, which have since been abolished by law.

Corrie's was the last Sermon preached at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. In 1817, Daniel Wilson began the long series of Sermons at St. Bride's, Fleet Street.* He was at that time Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, having succeeded Cecil in 1809. He was an active member of the Committee, both in its deliberations in London, and in preaching and speaking over the country; and he continued so after he became Vicar of Islington in 1824, and until his appointment to the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1832. His St. Bride's sermon, on the words, "Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields," is remarkable for its comprehensive survey of the world, and of the Missions actually carried on. Other preachers had enunciated principles: he sets forth facts. And the appeal to "the younger clergy" at the end is something quite new:— "Listen to the call! Think, and think again, on the question. Do not mistake cowardice and indolence for humility." To which succeeds a passage which could only with partial truth be spoken even now; and *then* it was an ideal representation of the fact indeed:—"Say not that your parents and friends discountenance your design. You mistake their meaning. They intend only to try your constancy. . . . All the Church accounts those families blessed who give a son to this cause." When this ideal representation is realized, the Evangelization of the World will not be very far off!

First Sermon at St. Bride's.

Appeal to younger clergy.

The Anniversary Meetings at this time changed their character; and the change marks another forward step. In 1813, for the first time, ladies attended; and instead of a formal gathering of a hundred gentlemen to do necessary business, six hundred members crowded the large room in the New London Tavern. For the first time, a President presided. For the first time, important speeches were made, by Wilberforce, Simeon, Dean Ryder, and others. But it was not an Anniversary Meeting that was to engage for the first time what was then the regular place for great London gatherings, Freemasons' Hall. It was a Valedictory Dismissal that took the Society to that historic building. This was on January 7th, 1814, and the occasion was a great event indeed. The first four missionaries for India were taken leave of, Rhenius, Schnarré, Greenwood, and Norton; and these last two were the first clergymen of the Church of England to go to Asia definitely as missionaries.† The other two, like the S.P.C.K. men, and like the C.M.S. men in Africa, were in Lutheran orders. Lord Gambier presided; Wilberforce and Henry Thornton spoke,

Annual meetings.

And Valedictory.

* St. Bride's has been used ever since, except in 1823, 1831, 1832, and 1833, in which years respectively four other City churches received the Society.

† With one exception not usually reckoned. See p. 53.

and also a young Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, who was to be a power in after years, John W. Cunningham of Harrow. Pratt delivered the Instructions, and a masterly address, written by Buchanan, was read for him (he being ill) by Dealtry. Some fifteen hundred people attended; and for the first time tickets of various colours were used, and members of the Committee acted as stewards. Greenwood and Norton did not sail for more than a year after; but Rhenius and Schnarré proceeded at once to Portsmouth to join an East Indiaman, a passage by which had been granted by the Company. Portsmouth friends had before been privileged to see the last of missionaries; and this time an enthusiastic lady there wrote to Pratt,—

"They brought the apostolic age forcibly before me, and I thought of Barnabas and Paul, and could not help saying to myself, Surely the barbarous people will call dear Mr. Rhenius 'Mercurius.' Dear Sir, what highly-privileged days are these!

All the promises do travail
With a glorious day of grace."

Crowds attending.

The Committee did not venture to engage Freemasons' Hall for the next Anniversary; but in 1815 they did so, and were rewarded by an attendance as crowded as at the Dismissal. Wilberforce in particular, wrote Pratt, "carried away with him, even more than usual, the hearts of his hearers by a full stream of Christian feeling and sublime piety"; and James Stephen, "in a style of grand and vehement eloquence, made an indelible impression." The numbers of friends desiring to attend the annual gatherings now increased year by year; and in 1817 tickets were issued to members only. As, however, nearly two thousand were at once applied for, some hundreds failed to get into the hall; and Pratt expresses, in some comments he wrote at the time, the wish that a building might be erected to hold 3000 people, and so constructed that all should hear with ease. Exeter Hall was then yet in the future. Not till 1831 was it ready for the Anniversaries. Another difficulty that was growing was the length of the Report to be read; and in 1819 it was arranged to read an Abstract only. But even the Abstract "*occupied nearly two hours*"; and *twelve speeches followed*. And it must be remembered that the Meeting at this time did not begin till noon, *the Sermon having been preached the same morning at* 10 *a.m.* The Monday Evening Service did not begin till 1821. It is true that there was no meeting on the Tuesday evening; yet still it must have been a fresh and living interest that brought crowds to gatherings of such length. There were no missionaries to tell thrilling stories of converts. There were almost no converts to tell about. No one asked, What are the results? They met to do the will and the work of the Lord they loved; and they rejoiced to do it.

The proceedings improved.

One other development in the Meetings of this period is worth noting. In the early years, all the Resolutions, except the one

which adopted the Report, were votes of thanks to all sorts of people, patrons and committee-men, treasurers and secretaries, preachers and speakers; and the natural result was that the speeches tended to flow into the channel of mutual admiration. The plan of carefully framing the Resolutions to refer to the events and circumstances of the year seems to have been invented by Vaughan of Leicester, and it was at once highly praised by Pratt, and recommended for general adoption. "The usual motions of thanks," he says, "might be consolidated, in order to give time for Resolutions declaratory of the mind of the Meeting on the real business of the Society." Some later remarks of his, suggested by the various May Anniversaries of 1817, are worth quoting, and worth digesting:—

"A very improved spirit has prevailed. There has been less mingling of human infirmity with the work of God—less of mutual praise—a more devout and heavenly spirit—more unfeigned affection toward other Christians in their exertions—and a more single eye to the glory of God. We urge it on all our Christian brethren to invoke the outpouring of a gracious influence on the minds of preachers, speakers, and hearers, that a pure fire may be kindled and cherished, which shall diffuse itself on all sides, and warm every heart; and we advise such a modification of the Resolutions as may rather lead the speakers and the audience into an intelligent view of the various objects and measures of the Societies, than to search out and listen to some ingenious form of paying compliments one to another."*

Other Valedictory Meetings were held from time to time; and one of them calls for special notice. On October 28th, 1817, no less than eight ordained Englishmen were taken leave of, with two Lutheran clergymen and six wives, sixteen in all, going to four different parts of the world, viz., Collier† and Decker to Africa, Connor to the Levant, Joseph Fenn, Henry Baker, and Bärenbruck, to India; Knight, Lambrick, Mayor, and Ward, to Ceylon. This was another great occasion. There was a service at St. Bride's, at which J. W. Cunningham preached, on the singularly suitable words, "Though I am sometime afraid, yet put I my trust in Thee" (P.B.V. of Ps. lvi. 3). Freemasons' Hall was crowded for the Meeting, over which Lord Gambier presided. Pratt read the Instructions—again admirable; and then four missionaries (Collier, Connor, Fenn, Lambrick), representing the four fields, replied in behalf of themselves and their brethren,—a plan rarely followed in after years, until, quite recently, the large numbers going out have necessitated its revival. The Address was given by Charles Simeon.‡ The collection was £111, and two £50 donations were sent in afterwards as thankofferings for such a sight. One clergyman wrote, alluding to the death of the Princess Charlotte, which had just plunged the whole country into grief,—"At this moment of national sorrow, and perhaps of

Sixteen labourers taken leave of.

* *Missionary Register*, 1817, p. 197.

† Mr. Collier went as chaplain to Sierra Leone. See p. 163.

‡ Printed, with the Instructions, in the Report of 1818.

national chastisement, may Institutions like these be our safeguard and defence!"

Events in Europe: Overthrow of Napoleon.

The great European events at this period could not fail to affect the feelings and utterances of the Society's advocates. Englishmen were called upon to show their gratitude to the God of battles and of nations by spreading His Gospel. Napoleon's Grand Army had perished on the frozen plains of Russia in 1812, and in the autumn of 1813, when the first C.M.S. deputations were travelling over England, the Allied forces on the Continent were pressing the great usurper back on to the French frontier, while Wellington was clearing Spain of the invaders and driving them back across the Pyrenees. "Surely," writes a Huddersfield clergyman in a paper circulated after Basil Woodd's visit, "the wonderful interposition of Divine Providence in behalf of our nation at this awful crisis will excite the members of the Established Church to exert themselves in promoting the increase of the Redeemer's Kingdom." A Liverpool clergyman writes, "What glorious intelligence! How thankful we should be to the Great Arbiter of nations for His 'mighty hand and stretched-out arm' in breaking the yoke of the oppressor! May it stimulate us to renewed efforts!" A hymn composed at the time, and sung at the first Bristol Anniversary in the following year, contains this verse:—

> Amidst our isle, exalted high,
> Do Thou our glory stand;
> And like a wall of guardian fire
> Surround Thy fav'rite land.

That the "isle exalted high" might prove worthy of being the Divine "favourite" was one aim of the missionary advocates. The Annual Report presented in May, 1814, just after the banishment of Napoleon to Elba, opens by calling attention to the "new and extraordinary circumstances" of the country:—

> "After two-and-twenty years of bitter animosity, or of treacherous peace more injurious than open war, the good providence of Him Who doeth after the counsel of His own will has brought within our reach that state of repose for which we often and earnestly prayed, but under mournful forebodings that it was removed to a distance incalculable. A generation has grown up under the din of arms. The youth and early manhood of our children have been familiarised with tales of infamy and of blood. The whole frame of human society in this more civilized part of the world has been disorganized. One of the most powerful and refined of nations was making rapid and systematic strides toward a state of barbarism. All the varied occupations which form the peculiar character of civilized life were likely soon to be absorbed in those of the cultivator and the soldier—of the man who should till the ground in order to feed another who might disturb and oppress the world. But the good providence of God has rescued Europe from this enormous evil, and, by means which so distinctly mark His irresistible hand, that even the thoughtless are compelled to exclaim, '*Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth!*'"

Dean Dudley Ryder, the preacher on that same day, must have

startled the congregation when he gave out his text, and no doubt stirred their deepest emotions too—"Thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me: Thou hast delivered me from the violent man ('man of violence,' *marg.*). Therefore will I give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, among the Heathen, and sing praises unto Thy name." "Behold," said the Dean, "our deliverance, even from the Man of Violence. Behold our Deliverer, even the Mighty Jehovah. And behold in the Society for which I plead the humble instrument of accomplishing our purpose of gratitude."

The "man of violence."

It is difficult for us to realize the intensity of hatred and indignation with which England regarded Buonaparte. Two facts incidentally but significantly recorded in the Society's publications at the time may illustrate what cause there was for it. (1) Before his invasion of Russia, he told the Russian Ambassador that he would destroy that empire. "Man proposes," was the reply, "but God disposes." "Tell your master," thundered Napoleon, "I am he that proposes, and I am he that disposes." (2) He did invade Russia; he returned, leaving the bulk of his vast army dead upon its frozen plains; and the official returns of the Russian authorities showed that they had had to *burn 213,516 French corpses and 95,816 dead horses.* It was to Englishmen horrified by such impiety and such shocking results of unbridled ambition, that the good Dean appealed in his memorable Sermon.

In the following year, 1815, when Napoleon, having escaped from Elba, again threatened Europe, the Committee opened their Report by adverting, with deep regret, to the disappointment of these anticipations. "The portentous gloom which seemed scattered by the Divine Hand is again gathering round. The threatening clouds are again darkening the heavens, and a dread night of horrors seems fast coming upon this fair portion of our world." Within seven weeks of these words being read, the "mighty Hand and outstretched Arm" once more intervened, and the crowning victory of Waterloo ushered in the thirty years' peace. The unhappy two years' war with the United States had already come to an end, and Vaughan of Leicester, in the Sermon of 1815, had exclaimed, "May Britain and America, now re-united, know no other rivalry than the rivalry of efforts to bless the world!"

Peace at last.

But the internal state of the country was by no means favourable to appeals for Christian enterprises. The increase of wealth during the war had, indeed, been enormous. England had for a time possessed the colonies of France, Spain, and Holland; "manufactures profited by the great discoveries of Watt and Arkwright; and the consumption of raw cotton in the mills of Lancashire rose from fifty to a hundred millions of pounds." At the same time, agriculture was in a state of "feverish and unhealthy prosperity," the price of wheat rising

State of the country.

to £5 per quarter. But the new wealth was not evenly distributed: both the introduction of machinery and the high prices of produce, while enriching the few, reduced multitudes to ruin; and the rapid increase of population increased the difficulty of the position, while the distress was enhanced by the pressure of the now enormous national debt, exceeding 800 millions sterling, and of the immense yearly expenditure,—the budget of 1815 being for ninety millions, a figure only again reached within quite recent years, when the population has doubled, and the wealth of the country increased almost beyond calculation. Pauperism was rife to an extent inconceivable in these days: for instance, at one time, every third person in Birmingham was a pauper; and the poor-rate rose fifty per cent. Riots broke out, which were only suppressed by military force; "and with the increase of poverty followed its inevitable result, the increase of crime."* It was in the midst of a social condition like this that the small fraction of the nation that could look beyond material interests and care for the Eternal Lord and His Kingdom was being summoned to a holy war in His name.

New hopes and plans.

Nevertheless, the proclamation of peace had filled all hearts with joy; and the Committee fully believed that a wide extension of the Society's operations would be the result. Dean Ryder expressed their feelings in the Sermon already referred to:—

> "All the signs and circumstances of the times concur with the stupendous event of our deliverance to press this great duty, the object of the Society, upon your minds. The weapons of our warfare seem to have been preparing by gradual and almost silent operation, till the moment is at last arrived, and the feeling and principle communicated, by which these weapons should be wielded for the conversion of the world, the fulfilment of the primary design of creation, the consummation of redeeming love."

And five years after this, in the Report of 1819, the Committee were still full of the same thoughts. "We are labouring," they said, "in a Pacified World! The sword is beaten into the ploughshare and the spear into the pruning-hook."

For some time, the eyes of the Committee had been directed to the East, where the Oriental Churches still kept the lamp of Christianity burning—albeit feebly and dimly—amid the darkness and tyranny of Islam; and now that the Mediterranean was no longer continually traversed by hostile fleets, the way was open for a Mission to the Levant. Of that enterprise a future chapter will tell. Here it need only be noticed that William Jowett, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and Twelfth Wrangler in 1812, sailed for Malta with a special commission from the Society about two months after the Battle of Waterloo. Russian Tartary, and Persia, were also pressed upon the attention of the Committee,

* Partly from Green's *Short History of the English People*, chap. x., sect. 4.

and Astrachan, on the Caspian, seriously considered as an inviting city for a central station; but the Edinburgh Society was already in occupation of it. Ceylon was much upon their mind, and an active correspondence had been going on with the excellent Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Johnston, who presently, on his return to England, became a Vice-President of the Society. The two English clergymen who, as before stated, were the first missionaries of the Society, and of the Church of England, to India, were originally designated to Ceylon. With the West Indies, also, the Committee were in correspondence,—Mr. W. Dawes, the former Governor of Sierra Leone, who had for a few months undertaken the training, at his house in Buckinghamshire, of the early German missionaries, being now resident at Antigua; and a call also came from Honduras, in Central America; while, all this time, Africa and India occupied the largest share of attention, and the openings in distant New Zealand gave promise of a rich harvest of souls.

Literary work,

Literary and translational work also occupied much time and thought at this period, and a prominent place in the Annual Reports. The Bible Society was for the most part engaged in printing and circulating the Scriptures in English and in the Continental languages; while a considerable part of the similar work, and still more, the preparation of tracts, &c., and the translation of the Prayer-book, in Asiatic and African tongues, was undertaken by the Church Missionary Society. There were in hand the Old and New Testaments in Syriac, portions of Scripture in Malay, and some of the Gospels in two West African languages, Susoo and Bullom; also parts of the Prayer-book in Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and Bullom; and various tracts, catechisms, &c., in some of these languages. Modern Greek, and Maltese, and even Italian publications were taken in hand, in connexion with the Society's plans for the Levant; and a newly-discovered MS. of the Scriptures in Ethiopic, the ecclesiastical language of the Abyssinian Church, was edited and printed. In particular, the Committee were very keen upon completing the important works in Hindustani and Persian left unfinished by Henry Martyn. They actually had a new fount of type made to reproduce the Persian character more exactly, paid for it out of C.M.S. funds, and placed it at the disposal of the Bible Society. Special mention is made of one work accomplished, not by the Society, but in Russia, viz., the printing of Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament, which had been received by the Persian Mohammedans with eagerness, and even by the Shah himself. Thus, said the seventeenth Report, "the dear Martyn, though dead, was still preaching the Gospel to that numerous people." He himself, indeed, was not forgotten in Persia. The testimony of English travellers is from time to time adduced in the Society's publications. One, Captain Gordon, is cited as saying, "You little think how generally the English Moollah, Martyn, is

Specially for Persia.

Part III. 1812–24. Chap. 10.

known throughout Persia, and with what affection his memory is cherished." *

Samuel Lee.

It was for work of this kind that the Society took up that remarkable young man, Samuel Lee. He was a carpenter's apprentice at Shrewsbury, who, while working at his trade, had acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani, before he was twenty-five years of age. He came under the notice of Buchanan, who introduced him to Pratt; and the Committee arranged for him to go to Cambridge at the Society's expense.† There he quickly made his mark as a scholar, and for some years he was employed by the C.M.S. Committee, and called "the Society's Orientalist." His name, and the works upon which he was engaged, frequently occur in the Reports of this period. He afterwards became Professor of Arabic and Canon of Bristol.

Help to Continental Christians.

Another task undertaken by the Society after the Peace was the rousing of the Protestant Churches of the Continent to take a share in missionary work. In the Report of 1816 the Committee say:—

"The return of Universal Peace opening the friendly intercourse which all true Christians in the world will ever desire to maintain, the Committee have availed themselves of the opportunity to diffuse information on the subject of Missions, and to offer to Foreign Protestants every practicable degree of co-operation. . . . They have opened an intercourse with a Missionary Institution established at Basle, and they will render every aid in their power to any other Societies which may rise among the Foreign Churches. The return of Peace has brought many Colonies again under the power of the Continental States; and your Committee trust that the Christians of those States will unite and exert themselves in diffusing, in and around these Colonies, the blessings of the Gospel. The Missions of the Danes in India have long languished for aid. The Kingdom of the Netherlands has an extensive field for exertion in the Eastern Archipelago; and the vast countries of Northern Asia are opening themselves before the other States of the Continent."

Among instances of practical help given in accordance with these designs, may be mentioned the temporary carrying on of the Danish Mission schools at Tranquebar in South India, and a grant of £100 to the new Basle Seminary, which had been founded by some Christians in that city as a thankoffering for its preservation from threatened disaster and ruin in the last year of the Great War.‡ It is also a striking and little-known fact that the

* *Missionary Register*, January, 1821, p. 36.

† It is a curious fact that one of the first uses to which the newly-hired house in Salisbury Square was put was to receive Lee's family while he was at Cambridge, "as the most economical means of providing for them."

‡ The contending armies were on opposite sides of the town. Bombs were thrown into it. Suddenly (said Mr. Blumhardt, the Director, at a C.M.S. meeting at Cambridge in 1822), "the Lord of the elements sent a very strong east wind, and the bombs were exhausted in the air before they could reach our homes."—*Missionary Register*, June, 1822.

Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America owes its origin to suggestions made by Pratt to some of the bishops of that Church, as will be seen hereafter.

In fact, in the Seventeenth Year, as Dr. Mears observes,* "the wide reach of the Society, nerved, as it were, by the strength and energy of youth, seemed suddenly to embrace the whole world. The Society saw before it the prospect, not only of bringing civilization to West Africa and New Zealand, of diffusing education throughout India and Ceylon, and of aiding evangelization in all these countries and in the Mohammedan world; not only of awakening missionary interest among Churchmen in America, and of reviving evangelistic zeal among the Protestants of Europe; but also of assisting in the recovery from their long sleep of the ancient Syrian and Greek Churches." Well might the Committee exclaim, "Who is sufficient for these things?" And well might they "affectionately urge the duty of intercession on all the members of the Society," informing them that they themselves were now meeting every Saturday evening to "invoke the blessing of God on all their plans and proceedings."

Enlarged plans.

And in the Report of 1818, they survey the position in striking language:—

"In the adoption of these Missions, the Committee were led by degrees, as the Providence of God opened opportunities before them. No Society could have at once planned such a series and system of Missions; and it is no small satisfaction to your Committee to review, in this respect, the steps of the Society, and to see how God has graciously led it forward, as by the hand, and fixed it in positions most favourably situated for influence on the Mohammedan and Heathen World.

"On the review of these Missions it will be seen that the Society has to deal with man in almost every stage of civilization; from the noble but uncultivated New Zealander, upward through the more civilized African, and the still more refined Hindoo, to the acute and half-enlightened Mohammedan, and the different gradations in which Christianity is enjoyed by the Abyssinian, the Syrian, and the Greek Churches.

"These varied shades of light and civilization require all the varied means and instruments which the Society is now calling into action; from the blacksmith, the rope-maker, the boat-builder, and the farmer, who meet the first necessities of the New Zealander, up through the schoolmaster who follows his fugitive children into the woods, and the reader who collects the more lettered Hindoos around him in the bazaar, to the catechist who instils principles into inquiring minds, and the missionary who preaches the glad tidings of salvation. All are needed; and all are occupying an important post in that great work, which it pleases God to assign to our various Institutions."

And these various projects were not fruitless. Dr. Mears

* Dr. Mears, who was for a time a C.M.S. missionary, was engaged to prepare a portion of this History; but ill-health put a stop to his work. The passage above is extracted from his MS.

PART III. 1812–24. Chap. 10.

thus happily summarizes the encouragements of the Society's seventeenth year, ending April, 1817 :—

"The seventeenth year saw in Africa the *first* grand result of direct *Evangelization* by its own European agents; in India and in New Zealand, its *first* successes from a combination of *Medical Work* with preaching; in the former country, the *first* employment for *Educational* purposes of native teachers trained by the Society; in the latter Islands, the *first* material result of *Technical Education;* in Europe, the *first* practical effects from the Society's endeavours to awaken missionary interest in the *Continental Protestant Churches;* in the Mediterranean, the *first* advantages accruing from the appointment of a *Literary Representative;* in America, the *first* fruits of the suggestion of co-operation made by the Committee to the Episcopal Church of the United States; while it witnessed, for the Syrian, the Hindu, the Malay, and the African, the *first* versions of the Holy Scriptures committed to them in modern times at the hands of the first *Missionary Translators* of the Society."

Candidates increasing.

Offers of service, too, were now becoming numerous; and the Committee were beginning to find the necessity of exercising that caution in receiving them which has often exposed the Society to the censures of unthinking people, but which has again and again been so abundantly justified. In 1816, the Committee in their Report said, "Not a few offers have been of such a nature, that they cannot but earnestly advise all who think of proposing themselves for this arduous work, well to count the cost, and to view impartially their own situation and character; and the Committee are the more urgent on this head, as their reasonable expectations and hopes have not been without disappointment, from caprice, self-will, or worldly-mindedness, after considerable expense had been incurred." And in the following year, in which no less than fifty offers had to be reported, they mentioned that "the general want of employment," owing to the distressing condition of the country, had compelled them to "scrutinize with peculiar care into the motives which led to these numerous offers." And it is evident that an experience familiar enough in later days led them to add these significant words :—

"It will be obvious to all considerate persons that the Secretaries and Committee of the Society have more ample means of appreciating the qualifications of candidates than can be enjoyed by others. The friends of any person who offers himself as a Candidate for this work naturally incline to think well of his spirit and qualifications: they feel a measure of personal or local interest in his success: nor have they had the opportunity of being convinced by experience that something more than genuine piety and a desire of engaging in this service is absolutely requisite to the character of a Missionary."

Cautions for candidates.

Only a few months later, Pratt wrote the following admirable remarks on missionary character. The extract is long, but no reader will wish it shortened :*—

"Not a few of the present race of Missionaries emulate the virtues of the best of their predecessors, and are the happiness and honour of the

* *Missionary Register*, January, 1817.

bodies to which they belong; and many more are devoting with all simplicity, the talents entrusted to them, to the honour of their Lord: but there are some of less weight of character.

"We do not speak of those shades and gradations of character which are inevitable in such a body of men; nor of that variety of talents which the Great Householder commits, for wise purposes, to His servants: but we speak of those imperfections which have, in different degrees, disappointed the reasonable expectations of the Societies by whom such persons have been prepared and sent forth, at a great charge on Public Charity.

"It may be beneficial to trace the operations of a mind of this description in offering itself to the Missionary Service. An honest zeal springs up in a man newly awakened to feel his own obligations to Redeeming Mercy, to communicate the knowledge of Salvation to others. Missionary Sermons, or Meetings, or Publications, awaken his attention to the awful state of the Heathen World—he offers himself to this service—he persuades himself that he is sincere; and he really is sincere:—prudent counsellors advise him to much prayer, self-examination, and a diligent study of the Missionary work and its difficulties, with his own fitness for the labour; and they give him faithful intimations of their own judgment respecting him—these may happen to be somewhat humbling, and he receives a little check in his view of himself; but he goes to his preparatory work under the strong bias of new-kindled zeal, with little real self-suspicion, and with little actual discernment of motives; and his conclusions are, of course, favourable to his wishes:—he perseveres, and prevails; and, at length, sets forth on his high errand, not to teach, alas! so much as to learn!—to learn that he has deceived himself and misled others; that he is not sufficiently dead to the world; that he is unreasonably careful about his conveniences and comforts; that he cannot deny his whole self; that he cannot, in lowliness of mind, esteem others better than himself; that he cannot keep his eye off his own things, to look with kind consideration and strict impartiality on the things of others; that he cannot lie at the feet of his Master, and at the feet of his Brethren for his Master's sake: he learns somewhat of these painful lessons before he reaches the Heathen shores; and when he enters on his work, still he has much to learn, before he can effectually teach:—he counted little, in theory and at home, of privations, and difficulties, and opposition, and enmity, and strange manners, and new modes of thinking, and prejudices, and dulness, and disappointments: he read of all these, and thought lightly of them; but he has now to learn that he is come to this arduous work inadequately prepared; that, as he knew but little of himself, so he knows but little of those among whom he is to live; that he wants that good sense, that intelligence, that self-command, that unwearied patience, that condescending kindness, and that knowledge of the heart, which are absolutely requisite to the full discharge of his high calling. And well will it be for him if he discern this; and if, feeling his own deficiencies, he go humbly to his Heavenly Father, and diligently learn, that he may be enabled well to occupy such talents as may have been entrusted to him in teaching others. The wisest and best of our Missionaries must learn in this way: but they know this; and their good sense, and their diligent study of their own hearts and of mankind, have prepared them to learn with rapidity, when on Heathen ground, the best methods of commending their message to the men among whom they are to live:—while others will give way to discontent, and peevishness, and selfishness; and will grow listless, and, ultimately, unless Divine mercy arrest their progress, utterly unprofitable in the great work which they have undertaken.

Painful lessons to be learned.

"We have no pleasure in drawing such a sketch of human infirmities; and rejoice to believe, that but a few, in any considerable degree, answer to this picture: but we sincerely hope that this statement of facts, which, in various measures, have too often occurred, may act as a caution to those who are purposing to offer themselves to this service.

Needed qualifications.

"We know the difficulties under which the different Societies labour, in their judgment of candidates. Where there are apparent integrity and piety and zeal, there is yet sometimes an absence of DECIDED MISSIONARY TALENT; and, where there is talent, and even sincerity, there is too often a want of the MISSIONARY SOUL: there is, not seldom, a moderate portion of various missionary virtues, which together form a character that you cannot disapprove, and are reluctant to reject; but there is an absence of those decided and positive MISSIONARY GIFTS and GRACES, which would lead you to send such an one forth with confidence and joy.

"We would not be supposed to undervalue men of a heavenly character, though not of a superior mind. No! such men, by their humility, their faith, their love, and their prayers—by their readiness of service, and unwearied kindness of spirit—are the stay and comfort of their Brethren: they conciliate and win the Native mind; and they call down the blessing of their Lord on the undertaking in which they are engaged.

"But, perhaps, Christians have failed here in the duty of Prayer. The devoted Missionary is the greatest character in the Church of Christ: all the mere dignities of outward station sink before the grandeur of his mind and purpose. But the greatest of all human Missionaries was specially prepared and trained for his arduous service; and the more we study the history of those men who have most fully imbibed his spirit and imitated his labours, the more clearly shall we discern the providential and gracious influence which guided them, from their earliest years. The true Missionary must be a man peculiarly called and prepared of Him, who divideth to every man severally as He will.

Let prayer be multiplied.

"Let us then, Christians, in all our prayers for the success of Missions, never fail to beseech the Lord of the Harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest—that He would graciously prepare, from their youthful years, by the leadings of His Providence and the influences of His Holy Spirit, able and devoted servants for the advancement of His Kingdom in the world.

"Oh, how does the heart cling to the name and deeds of such men of God! We need not point out these CHRISTIAN heroes. Every Society actively engaged in promoting the knowledge of Christ in the world is blessed with such men. May every returning year multiply their number manifold!"

One result of the increasing number of English candidates was that the Committee in 1817 resolved upon receiving no more from the Berlin Seminary. No doubt, however, there were other reasons for this step; for in the following year two Germans were received from the newly-opened Institution at Basle. These were J. A. Jetter and W. J. Deerr, both of whom proved valuable missionaries and fulfilled long periods of service.

Women not wanted.

It was in 1815 that the Society received its first offers of service from women. Three ladies at Clifton, Misses Hensman, Weales, and W. Wilton, offered to go anywhere in any capacity. Daniel Corrie, who was home from India at the time, expressed a strong opinion that they might be of great value for work among the Hindu women, for whom nothing had then been done; but the

Committee, after discussion at two meetings, resolved not to send unmarried women abroad, except sisters accompanying or joining their brothers. No other decision could be looked for at that period, and it is rather a token of the Committee's readiness for "new departures" that they did not say No at once without debate. Four years more passed before the first two "female missionaries" were sent out, "schoolmistresses" for Sierra Leone; but one of them went with her brother, W. A. B. Johnson. She afterwards married. The other, Mary Bouffler, died soon after landing.

How the money was raised to meet all the enlarged and expanding work foreshadowed in this chapter will appear in the next one. Here we need only note two special funds started at this time, which were "forward steps" indeed, but of the kind that have to be retraced.

Special Funds.

One of these Special Funds was to purchase and fit out a missionary ship. Both Marsden and Buchanan had urged such a plan on the Society; the former, however, only asking for a small vessel for local use in the South Seas, while Buchanan, with his usual large conceptions, aimed at a ship that would convey missionaries and stores to all parts of the world, facilitate visitation of the Missions, and secure speedier and more regular communication. Our ocean greyhounds, as the great mail-steamers have been so happily termed, were of course then in the future.* The scheme was at first warmly received, but never came to maturity. It was arranged to name the ship the *William Wilberforce;* but although a good deal of money was contributed, the fund did not prove large enough for the purpose, and was at length applied to cover the expenses of the *Active*, Marsden's brig in the South Seas. The other Special Fund was for the maintenance of African children. At first, gifts of £5 were invited, for the "redemption" of the children of slaves; but this "redemption" looked so much like purchase—which word was actually used now and then by inadvertence,—that strong anti-slavery friends protested, and the plan was abandoned, "to avoid," said the Committee, "the appearance of evil." In lieu of it, regular subscriptions of £5 a year were invited, towards the expense of feeding and clothing boys and girls rescued from slave-ships and handed over to the care of the Sierra Leone missionaries by the Government. A great many such contributions were given, including some by Quakers who could not support the Society in a general way. The suggestion was made at the same time that the children might be named after the donors, which much added to the interest of the plan. The first case of the kind was a gift from a Welsh friend named Llewellyn, who requested that four boys supported by his money should be called David, Morgan, Owen, and Evan Llewellyn; and four girls,

Redemption of slaves.

* It is a curious fact that even forty years later, when Pratt's Memoir was published in 1849, his biographer mentions, as a reason why the Society at that date needed no ships of its own, that letters had come from New Zealand in ninety days. They now come in thirty-five.

Anne, Martha, Lucy, and Sarah Llewellyn. Very soon almost all the familiar Evangelical names in England were reproduced in Africa; and we find Richard Cecil, Martyn Buchanan, John Newton, Gloucester Ryder, John Venn, Edward Bickersteth, Richard Gurney, Hannah More, Mary Clapham, and so forth. Thus began a system which was very attractive at first sight, and seemed reasonable at Sierra Leone, where children of various tribes, without parents and without names, were taken up—though even there it proved awkward in after years, when a grown-up "Edward Bickersteth" or "Hannah More" happened to turn out badly and was convicted of crime; but which, when subsequently adopted in India, produced very untoward effects, denationalizing the children and condemning them to be identified all through life as children of charity.

It only remains here to notice the fresh efforts made at this time to diffuse missionary information by means of periodicals. Up to 1812, the Society had nothing for its friends to read except the Annual Sermon and Report; the latter of course very meagre, but having the journals of the early West African missionaries appended. But in 1813, Josiah Pratt commenced the publication of a monthly paper called the *Missionary Register*, which he carried on for five-and-twenty years with quite extraordinary industry and vigour. It began with thirty-two small pages (fscap. 8vo), but very soon became thicker, and after three years was enlarged to demy 8vo. In type and paper it has to a modern eye a very old-fashioned and uninviting look; but its contents are most valuable, collected with what must have been astonishing patience, and arranged with great skill. From first to last, it was not confined to C.M.S. information, but definitely aimed at giving a systematic account of all Missions of all Societies. Taking up at random the eighth volume, for 1820, we find that it contains 540 pages, and that of these only 140 are devoted to the Church Missionary Society. For completeness there has never been anything at all like it. From 1813 to 1855 one could obtain from it almost all the materials for a general History of Missions. From the time it was given up until now there has been no such work, and the historian would be compelled to search all the Reports of the various organizations. In the first ten of these forty-three volumes, for example, one can read of the triumph of Christianity in Tahiti (so curiously like the modern story of Uganda), the destruction of idolatry in the Sandwich Islands, the commencement of the Madagascar Mission, the now forgotten but most interesting enterprise of the L.M.S. in Siberia, the Scottish Mission on the Caspian Sea, the earliest work of Robert Moffat and of that strange man Joseph Wolff, the beginnings of S.P.G. in India and South Africa,* the wonderful translational

The "Missionary Register."

Its completeness.

* It is interesting to find that the first Church work in South Africa was an S.P.G. school at Wynberg—a place near Cape Town which is now conspicuous for its missionary zeal in support of C.M.S.

work of the Serampore Baptists, the first inception of the Basle Missions, the formation of the great American Societies, and, in particular, the first efforts of the A.B.C.F.M. in Bombay and Turkey, the foundation of the Freed Slave Colony of Liberia, the patient labours of the Moravians in many lands, the Methodist work in the West Indies, the progress of Morrison's Chinese Bible, Judson's start in Burmah, and several Missions in such oft-forgotten fields as the Malay Archipelago and Central America. The work of the Bible Society and the Jews' Society on the Continent of Europe is described at length, with information from their branches in Germany, Russia, &c. The S.P.G. colonial operations in Canada are included; and so are the proceedings of home Societies like the S.P.C.K. and Religious Tract Society (on their home side), the Naval and Military Bible Society, the Prayer-book and Homily Society, and even the National, British, and Sunday-school Societies, together with, of course, philanthropic organizations like the African Institution and the Anti-Slavery Society.

Its contents.

A few further particulars of the early contents will be interesting. The funny little first volume, in its brown leather covering, opens with "An Appeal, particularly to Churchmen, on the Duty of Propagating the Gospel"; and the rest of the thirty-two pages of No. 1 are occupied with a brief account of the Church Missionary Society. Nos. 2 and 3 are entirely taken up with a contribution from Hugh Pearson (afterwards Dean of Salisbury) entitled "Historic View of the Progress of the Gospel since its first Promulgation"—a reproduction, in abbreviated form, of his Essay which gained the Buchanan Prize at Oxford.* No. 4 is devoted to India, the Charter Bill of 1813 being then before Parliament; and concludes with an obituary notice of Henry Martyn, whose death had just been announced. No. 5 contains a brief sketch of all the chief Missionary and Bible Societies in the world; a narrative of the shipwreck of an African missionary party; and notices of the May Meetings. Here it should be mentioned that the *Register*, like other periodicals at that time, was published at the end of the month it belonged to, so that the May number in each year gives the account of the May Anniversaries. The next few numbers give a serial sketch of the life of Schwartz, some of the speeches at the inauguration of the Bristol C.M.S. Association, and much information about other Societies. The systematic and complete review of the various Mission-fields and societies does not begin till the fourth year, when the magazine became an octavo one. This fourth volume opens with a list of all the (Protestant) missionaries in the world at that time (1816), two hundred and sixty in number; and the fifth volume opens with an alphabetical list of all mission stations, with a few notes to most of their names and the names of the missionaries working at them. Summaries of this kind,

* See p. 97.

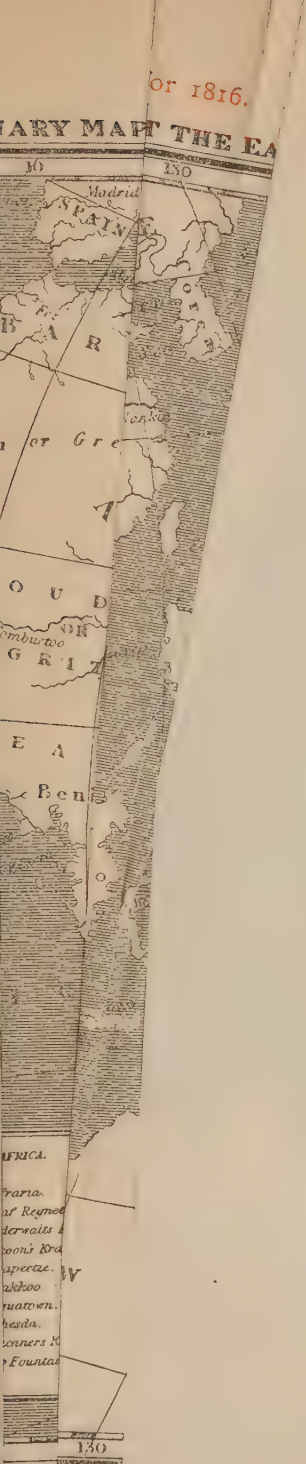
varying in form, are given in most of the January numbers. Biographical sketches of deceased missionaries and Native converts are numerous, and give the minutest details of the last days and hours of some of them. Descriptions of idolatry, and of heathen customs like *suttee*, &c., are inserted, often taken from the very first authorities of that day, such as Sir W. Jones and Dr. Ward. In the volume for 1820 we find printed, for the first time, the familiar prayer used to this day at C.M.S. General Meetings.

Its pictures.

Illustrations occur frequently, from 1816 onwards, very rough woodcuts which would not pass muster now, but which excited keen interest eighty years ago. Before, however, these begin, two illustrations are found, of another kind. One is a striking diagram or chronological chart showing the progress and relative position of Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Paganism, in the eighteen Christian centuries; and the other is a map of the world with all the Missions of all Societies marked.

This *Missionary Register* was unquestionably a great power in its early years. Though not an official publication of the Church Missionary Society, it was naturally identified very closely with it by Pratt being the editor; and the Society purchased some thousands of copies every month for free distribution among subscribers and collectors. It was ultimately superseded by the various periodicals started at different times by the Societies themselves in their individual interest; but the forty-three volumes will always remain a monument of sanctified industry and a storehouse of valuable information concerning the progress of the Kingdom of God.

The First Picture in a Missionary Magazine, the *Missionary Register* of April, 1816; representing a scene in West Africa.



Plans to raise funds.

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CHAPTER XI.

Rousing the Country: The First Associations and Deputations.

Growing Needs—Plans for Associations—The Start at Bristol—Basil Woodd's Yorkshire Journey—Features of the Campaign: Obstacles, Opposition within and without the Church, Successes, Spiritual Influence, Hymns—Norwich, Cambridge, Liverpool, Ireland—Grandfathers of the Present Generation.

"*The Spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon, and he blew a trumpet . . . And he sent messengers throughout all Manasseh . . .. and he sent messengers unto Asher, and unto Zebulun, and unto Naphtali.*"—Judges vi. 34, 35.

WE have now to look at one particular movement of the year 1813 which, as already indicated, was one of the principal "forward steps" of the period, and the cause of many others. This movement was the sending out of Deputations to preach and speak in behalf of the Society, and the establishment of Local Associations. Apparently it was the need of money that led to the initiation of the movement; but money was not the chief burden of the sermons and speeches.

In 1812, having thirteen men already in the field and ten under training,—with heavy responsibilities in Africa, and (as we shall see) New Zealand and India and Ceylon beginning to demand attention,—the Committee, conscious that an income of £2500 to £3000 a year would not meet the growing expenditure, were much occupied in devising plans for widening the area of interest in the country and thus increasing the Society's resources. Pratt at length matured a scheme, adapted from one already started by a younger but more flourishing institution, the Bible Society, for establishing Church Missionary Associations in town and country in aid of the Society; nay, as the original scheme phrased it, "throughout the Empire." The main idea was to obtain, not only collections in churches, which needed no regular local Associations to secure them, but more especially *penny-a-week subscriptions* from young and old, rich and poor; which were to be raised by each member undertaking to collect at least twelve such subscriptions, say 1*s*. a week or £2 12*s*. a year.

Plans to raise funds.

The first of these new Associations was formed within a few weeks, for London itself; but this soon became practically only a

committee of leaders of the various parochial and congregational associations which gradually came into existence, and which severally retained their independence. Of provincial Associations, Mr. Hole's researches show that the first, organized in February, 1813, was at Dewsbury, a town which had already given the Society two of its earliest English missionary candidates, Greenwood and Bailey. The Vicar, Mr. Buckworth, was one of the warmest friends of the missionary cause. Collections on Mr. Pratt's plan were begun about the same time at Carlisle, Reading, and four or five smaller places, without the formation of a regular Association. The honour of being the first parish of all to organize one has been claimed for Hatherleigh in Devonshire; but this was for the C.M.S. and the Jews' Society (then an undenominational body) jointly. In like manner, at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, an Association was formed to collect jointly for the C.M.S., the Bible Society, and the Prayer-book and Homily Society. Dewsbury in England and Glasbury in Wales certainly stand first with regularly-organized Associations for C.M.S. only.*

First Associations.

Bristol.

But Bristol had been planning operations on a large scale before, apparently, any of the others; and probably the only reason why its date is not actually the earliest is because so large a scheme as it was proposing needed time to mature. When it did start, on March 25th, it at once took the lead, and kept it for many years —if indeed it does not still keep it, seeing that the three or four Associations that now raise a larger sum cover a much larger area.

The chief founders and leaders of the Bristol Association are worth naming. They were the Rev. T. T. Biddulph, already mentioned as the preacher of the fourth Annual Sermon; the Rev. James Vaughan, father of a well-known clergyman of later years, James Vaughan of Brighton; the Rev. John Hensman, whose name, by-and-by, came to be given to children in a Tamil boarding-school, and eventually to be borne by a Native clergyman in Ceylon and a leading Native Christian layman at Madras; the Rev. Fountain Elwin, long a prominent Evangelical clergyman; and Mr. J. S. Harford, of Blaise Castle, an intimate friend of Wilberforce,† and uncle of Canon Harford-Battersby, the founder of the Keswick Convention. These men arranged for the inauguration of the Bristol C.M. Association by proceedings lasting over five days, comprising sermons in seven churches, with collections (which included £60 worth of ladies' jewellery), and a great public meeting in the Guildhall, at which eleven resolutions were moved and seconded by twenty-two speakers, besides whom

* In the Jubilee Statement of the Committee, in 1848, several places are mentioned as having had Associations at an earlier date, Olney in 1802, Aston Sandford in 1804, &c.; but these were not regular Associations, and this word never occurs in the Reports until 1813.

† Mr. Harford was quite a young man at this time. Fifty years after, he published a most interesting book, *Recollections of William Wilberforce* (London, 1864), which contains many striking anecdotes of the great philanthropist.

there were the Mayor in the chair, and Mr. Pratt, who had come from London on purpose. How long the meeting lasted we are not told; but in those days five and six hours were not thought too long on an important occasion. Some of the speeches are still extant,* and they are not short. Mr. Pratt's must have occupied an hour; and Mr. Harford's, which is described in a contemporary notice as "very elegant," and which is really eloquent and able, probably three-quarters of an hour. One passage is so striking that it must be quoted here. Mr. Harford is replying to the objection, "What right have we to disturb the ancient faiths of the East?" He says:—

Harford's speech.

"To this question I would simply reply, What right had St. Paul [whom he supposes to have brought the Gospel to Britain; but the argument would apply equally to any one else] to visit this country when the thick film of Pagan darkness involved the minds of its inhabitants? What right had he to brave the terrors of our stormy seas, and to encounter the still more savage manners of our ancestors? What right had he to oppose himself to their horrid customs, to throw down by his doctrine their altars stained with the blood of human sacrifices, and to regenerate the code of their morals disgraced by the permission of every crime which can brutalise and degrade human nature? What right had he to substitute for the furious imprecations of the Druids the still small voice of Him who was meek and lowly in heart? What right had he to exchange their horrid pictures of the invisible world for the glorious prospects of the heavenly Mount Zion, the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect? What right had he to plant by such a procedure the seminal principle of all our subsequent glory and prosperity as a nation, our boasted liberty, our admirable code of law, the whole inimitable frame and constitution of our government in Church and State?

"This quarrel with the memory of St. Paul I shall leave to the opponents of Missionary Institutions to settle; and when they have made up their minds as to the degree of infamy which is to cleave to him, for having been (in a remote sense at least) the first conveyancer to us of the best blessings which we now enjoy, I will then consign over the Missionaries of the present day to their severest reprehension!"

This speech is remarkable also for a glowing eulogy of Henry Martyn, the news of whose death had just been received. The addresses generally consist of arguments justifying the existence and objects of the Society. There are appeals neither for men nor for money. It was no doubt supposed that when the claims of the Heathen world came to be realized, both would be forthcoming. If this expectation was entertained, it was not fulfilled as regards men. No missionary on the Society's roll appears to have hailed from Bristol for many years afterwards.† But as regards money, this great meeting initiated the movement which quadrupled the Society's income within the year. Its immediate

* In vol. i. of the *Missionary Register*.

† But it is true that in some cases the particular town whence a man came is not named. And there may have been candidates who were not accepted.

result was the mapping out of the whole city for systematic weekly and monthly collections; and in its first year the Bristol Association raised £2300, a sum equal to the whole average annual receipts of the Society before that time.

First "deputations."

An important feature in these inaugural proceedings was the presence of Mr. Pratt. His visit to Bristol was the first instance of what is now known as a "deputation." But that word was not used then in this connexion. It often occurs in the early records, but it means a deputation to wait upon a bishop or a minister of state. In this year, 1813, began the practice of sending leading clergymen to different counties and towns to preach sermons and address meetings; but they were looked upon as a sort of variety of the "itinerants" of Wesley's day, and were a good deal suspected in consequence. The first demand for such a visitor came from Leeds; an eminent surgeon there, Mr. W. Hey, F.R.S., a friend of Wilberforce, suggesting that a tour might be made through the West Riding. Pratt applied to Basil Woodd, and Woodd's reply shows what such a proposal looked like at first sight: "I do not see the expediency of sending ministers from London to Yorkshire . . . it has an aspect of publicity which I do not like. I am willing to succour the cause in my own little sphere, but do not ask me to take long journeys." Nevertheless he gave way, yielding, it may be supposed, to Pratt's reasoning or importunity; and within three weeks, on July 21st, he was on his way to Yorkshire with his wife, taking the tour in lieu of a holiday, travelling in a postchaise, and undertaking, if required, to preach twice a day. "This is a glorious object," he wrote, "and it is an honour to collect if but one stone or brick for the spiritual temple. I trust I have your prayers in this very important and unexpected engagement, for this day three weeks I as much expected to be in the moon!"

B. Woodd's tour.

Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Pudsey, Tadcaster, Knaresborough, York, Scarborough, Bridlington, Malton, Pontefract, Barnsley, and many smaller places, were visited on this journey; and, on the return journey southwards, Kettering, Peterborough, and some Midland villages. The tour took two months and a half. The travelling, in pre-railway days, and hotel expenses, came to £150; but Mr. Woodd collected £1060. He preached fifty sermons, and started twenty-eight associations, involving, it may be presumed, a good many public meetings, besides private conferences, &c.; and he distributed over 7000 papers. In Bradford parish church he preached three times on Sunday, the collections amounting to £73; and he "could not resist" addressing the children also. "Who knows," he said, "but it may bring some child to the blessed Saviour?" Missionary Exhibitions were yet seventy years off; but, "I brought two Hindoo gods with me; one has a snout like an elephant. I find they entertain everybody, and plead the cause of Missions as well as if they were missionaries themselves." He returned full of joy and thank-

fulness. "Our excursion," he wrote, "has been attended with a succession of mercies, kindnesses, and endearing interviews, which I trust will prove a foretaste of our eternal meeting." . . . "I have experienced great encouragement for fresh exertion. May the Church Missionary Society flourish till the Son of Man cometh in His glory! Amen." His hosts appear to have been as pleased as he was. One clergyman wrote about "the truly great and good Rev. Basil Woodd, who, with his dear and interesting *meilleure moitié*, wherever they go kick the beam of hospitality by their own intrinsic excellence."

This memorable journey was quickly followed by others, undertaken by such men as Goode, Burn, Henry Budd, Legh Richmond, Melville Horne, Haldane Stewart, William Marsh, Daniel Wilson, and, a little later, R. W. Sibthorp and J. W. Cunningham. There was also an M.P., Mr. T. R. Kemp, who took a tour in the north, carrying the clerical deputation with him in his carriage.* Mr. Hole has traced out the tours from the middle of 1813 to the end of 1814 with infinite pains and accuracy, devoting to them nearly half of his large volume. The records are full of interest. They give significant glimpses of the Church life of the period; they narrate the small beginnings of associations which have done noble work in later years, and are doing it still; and they introduce us to the fathers and grandfathers of our own contemporaries in all parts of the country. In the present work we can but gather up some of the general features of these early deputation tours, with a few illustrative incidents.

Risks in travelling.

1. The inconveniences of travelling in those days, and the weary length of the journeys, must be borne in mind. In the first tour, already described, Basil Woodd wrote, "Our carriage has cracked two axle-boxes and two springs; roads very rough." After a Cornish trip he wrote, "Last Saturday at Plymouth was the first regular dinner I had for eight days." On one occasion Daniel Wilson travelled from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m. in a coach dragged by "four wretched horses," with seven other passengers inside and ten out, accomplishing forty miles in the time; after which he had twenty-six miles further to go in a postchaise, at the rate of five miles an hour, arriving at his destination at 10 p.m. "There was a suffocating dust the whole way." One journey cost the Society and the Church dear. Mr. Goode went to Ipswich on a frosty night; the floor of the coach was out of repair, and let in chilling draughts; and the illness that resulted ended a most valuable life.

2. Much more serious than these external discomforts were the opposition and objections met with. Here and there, letters in the local newspapers—anonymous, of course—reproduced the cavils of East India traders and the sarcasms of Sydney Smith;

* It was this Mr. Kemp on whose estate at Brighton Kemp Town was built.

and criticisms of this kind, of which we think lightly now, had a quite factitious importance then. Still greater was the difficulty caused by the lack of episcopal patronage. Eleven bishops were on the list of patrons of the Bible Society—and, it may be added here, six royal princes, the Dukes of York, Kent, Cambridge, Cumberland, Sussex, and Gloucester (Kent and Sussex spoke at the Anniversaries in these very years); but not one had given his name to the Church Missionary Society. Some of the bishops were even open opponents. "We have got a new bishop," writes one friend, "who is determinedly hostile to every society, and declares openly that he looks on them as dangerous to the State and the Establishment." Bishop Law, of Chester, whose diocese extended from Birmingham to Westmoreland, charged his clergy not to receive "those itinerant preachers who, neglecting their own parishes, went about through the country to draw all the money they could for the support of societies self-constituted, and unauthorized by either Church or State." Evening services, too, and week-day services, were sometimes objected to, not only by bishops, but by other respectable people who dreaded innovations. The Bishop of Exeter forbad evening services when Basil Woodd visited Devonshire; and even John Scott of Hull, son of Thomas Scott, and for many years afterwards one of the warmest of C.M.S. men, was afraid to hold a special service on a week-day. "It would be very distasteful to church folk," he said, "and give the whole affair an irregular and unchurchlike appearance." We are not surprised, after all this, to find many excellent clergymen holding aloof. One at Liverpool returned the papers sent to him, saying, "A society having for its object the increase of pure religion seems to me essentially defective if it has not the patronage and support of those to whom I owe deference as exercising the apostolic office and functions in our Church." To which Pratt replied, "Your principle would have stifled the Reformation in its birth. It implies that nothing can become a duty in the subordinate members of the Church in which their superiors do not countenance them. We have but one point to aim at in this respect—to *deserve* that countenance, and we have no doubt it will, in due time, be obtained." Objection was also frequently made that the new Society was interfering with the old ones—generally, of course, by those who did nothing for the old ones! The most conspicuous, and indeed amusing, instance occurred in 1817 at Bath, when an Archdeacon interrupted a meeting by a public protest, but this will be noticed in the next chapter. Pratt's ordinary reply to such objections will easily be divined. In a word it was this, that neither S.P.C.K. nor S.P.G. was sending any Church of England missionaries to either Africa or Asia. But he replied in another way in at least one case. A Norwich clergyman offered him his pulpit, provided the collection might go to the S.P.C.K. instead of the C.M.S. Pratt at once consented, saying, "We seek not

Opposition of bishops.

ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord. His Kingdom, His glory, His spirit, is what we seek to advance in all things."

Rivalry of L.M.S.

3. A good deal of difficulty was encountered from an opposite quarter. The London Missionary Society, quite naturally, as a non-denominational body, sought the support of Churchmen as well as of Nonconformists, and was at this time particularly vigorous in pushing its claims all over the country. It had no high ecclesiastical authorities to appease, and it had already aroused widespread enthusiasm among the Dissenters. Much more jealousy was aroused in this way than on account of S.P.G. or S.P.C.K., neither of which would have dreamed of employing "itinerant preachers" in those days. Again and again we find local friends who desired the new Church Society to be supported writing urgent letters to Pratt for deputations, "or the London Missionary Society would occupy the field first." Bristol itself was roused in the first instance by the L.M.S. obtaining sermons and collections in no less a church than St. Mary Redcliffe. On the other hand, the Dissenters in many places were very generous to the Church Society. Repeatedly, when Legh Richmond or Haldane Stewart or Daniel Wilson was to preach in the parish church, the Independent, Baptist, and Methodist ministers closed their chapels, and took their people to hear the visitor. At Stoke-upon-Trent, "the Methodists enlivened the service by their loud Amens." At Kettering, Andrew Fuller, the friend of Carey, and secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, held one of the plates at the doors.

Church character of C.M.S. emphasized.

4. One effect of these difficulties on both sides was that the advocates of the new Society took especial pains to insist on its Church basis and character. Thus, at the inaugural meeting at Bristol, the principal resolution approved the new Society because it was understood to be "decidedly attached to the doctrines and episcopal government of the United Church of England and Ireland"; and on the same occasion Mr. Biddulph, the Evangelical leader at Bristol, said, "It is in the character of Churchmen that we appear this day; happy in an opportunity of testifying our attachment to our Zion, and of proving that attachment by zeal for her honour"; and he goes on to quote from the Prayer-book, to show that "our past omissions are not chargeable on our Venerable Parent." This phrase, and "our Venerable Mother the Established Church," are not infrequent. A Suffolk gentleman, in giving in his adhesion to the Society, wrote, "Satisfied as I am of the superior excellence of our venerable Church Establishment, from its strict adherence to the great truths of the Gospel in its Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, I cannot but wish for the success of a plan to extend its influence"; and similar expressions abound in sermons, speeches, and letters. Especially do we find them in Irish utterances. "However great," says one, "the blessings of religion under any really Christian form, she appears with a peculiar grace when she is

made known through that pure and evangelical medium [the Church] which unites a dignity to command the respect of the most imperious." Again, an Irish judge rejoices to have "no doubt that the Heathen will flock in larger bodies into the Church of England than into any other religious community." John Cunningham of Harrow, for many years a leader among English Evangelicals, wrote a pamphlet in 1814 on Church of England Missions, in which he appeals to "those who believe in the superiority of our Church to every other religious society," who "discover in its formularies the exact impress, the sacred image, the embodied spirit of the Gospel," who "attribute the moral and intellectual advancement of the country in great measure to the character of the religion diffused by the Establishment," who believe that the "stream of pure and undefiled piety" having "suffered so little pollution in this country since the Apostolic ages" is due to "the mercy of God in confining it to this particular channel." And, again and again, Churchmen are called to greater activity in the cause in order that even recognized Churches, like the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Lutheran Church of Germany, may not outrun the Church of England in promoting it. "Shall the eldest daughter of the Reformation," exclaims one, "suffer her younger sisters to outstrip her in the cause of missionary benevolence? Shall not the Church of England, the Queen of Churches, awake from her lethargy, stand up in her comely proportions, clothe herself with the doctrines of her Articles as with the garments of salvation, and send forth her sons, breathing the spirit of her Liturgy, to carry the banners of the Cross to the ends of the earth?"

"The Establishment."

Much of this has a strangely unfamiliar sound in our ears. Especially, the constant reference to "the Establishment." Is this word, much as we still value the connexion of Church and State, ever used at a missionary meeting now? or even at a Church Defence meeting? This is not the place to discuss the causes of the change of feeling; but the fact is certainly significant. Still more curious is a sentence in a circular issued at Norwich by Edward Bickersteth, then a solicitor in that city:— "As this is peculiarly a Church Society, and *as the objects of the Society have received the sanction of Parliament*, it is hoped that all the friends of the Establishment will patronize and support it." It is true that the reference here is to the passing of the East India Company Charter Act, which was one "object" of the Society. Still, the sentence startles the modern reader.

Evangelicalism not emphasized.

5. While the advocates of the Society were thus emphasizing in every possible way its Church character, it does not seem to have occurred to them to emphasize its Evangelical distinctiveness. We search in vain in their utterances for the strong assertions of the truth of Evangelical doctrines and the rights of Evangelical men which form quite the staple of C.M.S. speeches in the middle of the century. At first sight one proposes to account for this by the

fact that the Tractarian movement had not then given an impetus to High Church teaching and methods. But the opposition to Evangelicalism was—as has been already shown in these pages—actually stronger and more bitter in those days than afterwards. Bishop Tomline of Lincoln was at least as vehement in his denunciations of what he was pleased to call Calvinism as "Henry of Exeter" in later days; and "Calvinism" really meant Evangelicalism, for the Wesleyans, who were strong anti-Calvinists, were equally condemned. The real fact is that the theological "colour" of an organization emanating from the "serious clergy" went without saying. It was its Church character that needed explanation and vindication.

Success of deputations.

6. But whatever might be the opposition to the Society, or to the missionary cause generally, the preaching deputations drew crowds to their services. At Norwich, people clung to the windows outside to catch a few words of Pratt's sermon; and Daniel Wilson wrote at the same time, "The whole city seemed to have come together. You might have walked on the people's heads. I stand amazed at what God hath wrought." At Sheffield Parish Church, the congregation assembled to hear Legh Richmond numbered 3500, and hundreds failed to get in; and at Bradford, when he preached three times on the Sunday, the congregations were estimated at 2000, 3000, and 4000 respectively. "I never saw anything like it," he wrote; "such a day, such a church, such a vicar, such life, such attention, such liberality." The vicar thus referred to was Mr. Crosse, whose bequest founded the Crosse Hebrew Scholarship at Cambridge. Curious incidents are recorded: for instance, at Welshpool, an officer at the theatre on Saturday night called out to the company that they must all come to church next day and hear the gentleman from England. Collections were often very large, and the poor gave freely.

Meetings a doubtful novelty.

7. It is evident that most of the work was done by sermons. The day of large public meetings was not yet. As we have seen, they came slowly, even in London. There is a curious incident mentioned in an article signed "H.," written forty years later, which appears in the *Christian Observer* of June, 1857. Mr. Richardson of York has been before mentioned as one of the first country members of the Society, and a hearty friend; but the meeting here mentioned could not have been before 1817, as Bickersteth was one of the deputation:—

> "It is now almost forgotten with what distrust even the best men viewed these Public Assemblies for religious purposes. We can remember near half a century since, the visit of a 'deputation' from one of these Institutions, to York, where Mr. Richardson—the fit Prebendary of such a Cathedral, lofty and majestic in his person and manner—then presided over the considerable body of earnestly religious men in that city. His consent was obtained, though with some difficulty, to the holding of such a meeting. And the writer of this paper remembers, when the present

Bishop of Calcutta, Mr. Bickersteth, and himself presented themselves to the Meeting, the solemn manner in which the then aged and venerable Minister rose from his chair, and, leaning on his gold-headed staff, announced to the assembly his doubts about such Meetings; but added, that, as certain well-known advocates of religious objects had presented themselves in the hope of being allowed to hold such an assembly, he had consented to it, and he now called on them to proceed, and if they had any new facts or arguments in store, to produce them; on which the trembling youths (comparatively) arose, and, as well as they were able, told their story, showed the destitute condition of nine-tenths of the human race, and pointed to the means by which it was hoped to meet their necessities, and pour the light of the Gospel into these dark regions. And after they had finished, what was their joy to hear Mr. Richardson close the Meeting by announcing that he was convinced, and that henceforth he should rejoice to welcome such deputations as the Society were pleased to send."

Zealous collectors.

8. In other ways, too, the old Scotch proverb, "Many a little makes a mickle," was illustrated. Penny Associations were being started in many places not visited by deputations; collectors, men and women, undertaking to collect a penny a week from at least twelve persons, i.e. a shilling a week, or £2 12*s.* a year. Mr. Hole has unearthed the case of a Warwickshire lady who hoped to find a subscriber or two at Coventry, "though religion was not much alive in that town." She left a paper with a townsman, asking him to give a penny a week. He read the paper, was stirred up by it, and started collecting himself among his "serious acquaintances," and in a short time he had formed what he called four "societies" of twelve persons each giving a penny a week, and three "societies" of twelve each giving a shilling a month. Several ladies in different towns obtained hundreds of small subscribers. And not ladies only. A Welsh clergyman, on receiving a paper from headquarters, mounted his horse, rode forty miles, applied to rich and poor, and came back with £23 1*s.* 6*d.* An Essex vicar's wife sent up collections from "the Tradesmen's Club at the *Sun* inn, 30*s.*," "the Tradesmen's Club at the *Swan*, 20*s.*," and "the Labourers' Club at the *Swan*, 20*s.*"

9. But the movement did not aim only at the collection of funds, nor were its results pecuniary only. The numerous original letters examined by Mr. Hole mention again and again the spirit of prayer awakened. "Prayer for the conversion of the Heathen was everywhere remembered among religious people, in individual devotions, in social meetings, in family worship, in secluded villages, in humble cottages, and among children." Even this was not the only spiritual result, scarcely perhaps the chief spiritual result, of the movement. Preachers like Basil Woodd and Legh Richmond and Daniel Wilson preached no mere charity sermons. In setting forth the darkness and the needs of the Heathen world, they also set forth the one remedy, the message of a full and finished salvation from the guilt and the power of sin by the atoning death of Christ and the regenerating and

Spiritual effects of the movement.

sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost; and in doing this, they were preaching the Gospel which is the power of God unto salvation to thousands who needed it for themselves, and to not a few who rarely if ever heard it. Mr. Kemp, M.P., whose volunteer tour with a clerical deputation has been mentioned above, wrote his impressions of the campaign, and said that not only would the Society itself benefit, but it would also "become the instrument of preaching the Gospel in many pulpits whence the joyful sound was not often heard." In this sense the utterances of the deputations were strongly and powerfully Evangelical; they were spiritually Evangelical, though not polemically Evangelical. Moreover, the Gospel they preached was a practical Gospel, because, instead of merely comforting "professors" (as pious people were called) with glowing accounts of their privileges and safety as the flock of Christ, they summoned the said "professors" to rise up and bestir themselves for the salvation of others. Their teaching, therefore, roused both the careless and unbelieving from the sleep of sin, and also the drowsy Christian from the sleep of self-satisfaction. In both respects, the journeys of the C.M.S. deputations proved a real blessing to the country and to the Church.

Use of hymns.

10. It is interesting to observe that the spiritual influence of the missionary services was distinctly fostered by the use of hymns, then—as before stated—a suspected novelty in the Church; so seriously suspected, indeed, that Charles Simeon, at this very time, advised a friend, whose bishop was angry with him for introducing them, to "put them aside" as "quite unnecessary." * "The hymns," wrote Basil Woodd from Yorkshire, "have greatly increased the missionary feeling." But he preferred metrical versions of the Psalms, and this is not surprising when one reads the doggerel of some of the hymns of the period. The reason, however, for his preference was more probably that Psalms were ecclesiastically less open to objection; and it is noticeable that the first "hymn-paper" issued by the Society itself at that very time contained four Psalms, viz. the 67th, "To bless Thy chosen race" (Tate and Brady); the 72nd, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun" (Watts); the 96th, "Sing to the Lord, ye distant lands" (from some local collections); and the 117th, "From all that dwell below the skies" (Watts). Yet there were a few good original hymns too, current at the time, such as "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness," "Arm of the Lord, awake, awake," and "All hail the power of Jesus' name." It is a significant thing that, although several of these Psalms and hymns were written early in the dull eighteenth century, they failed to come into general use until the present century. The missionary awakening caused a demand for such compositions, and long-neglected prayers and praises in verse were unearthed, gradually became familiar, and

* Moule's *Charles Simeon*, p. 182.

now are sung all over the world. Here a very curious fact may be mentioned. The early traditions of the Church Missionary Society as a carefully strict Church institution were perpetuated to our own day in the matter of hymns for its official Anniversary Sermon. The paper printed for the occasion was always headed "Psalms to be Sung," and the same three were sung year after year without change, viz., "With songs of grateful praise" (a version of Ps. xcvi.), sung to "Darwell's"; "Jesus shall reign," sung to "Truro"; and "From all that dwell," to the Old Hundredth: these last two being the very two that Basil Woodd asked for in lieu of "hymns." It will scarcely be believed that the first "hymns" at the famous St. Bride's Service were sung in 1882, on the occasion of Bishop Pakenham Walsh's sermon.

Our account of the rise of the Association and Deputation system must not close without a brief notice of three or four of the Associations. The great one at Bristol has been mentioned.

Norwich Association.

The next in importance was at Norwich, the formation of which was due to Edward Bickersteth, then a solicitor in that city.

If Bristol had the honour of leading the way in the new missionary movement, Norwich was distinguished for being the first to secure the patronage of a bishop. The then Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Bathurst, was a very liberal-minded man, and in his first episcopal charge went so far as to avow himself convinced that the "zeal and piety" of the Evangelicals, "*when under due regulation*, were productive of very great good."* He was already a friend of the Bible Society; and he at once acceded to Bickersteth's request that he would be Patron, not of the Church Missionary Society itself, but of the proposed Norwich Association. But very few of the leading clergy and people in Norfolk followed his example. "This city," wrote Bickersteth, "is in a very different state to Bristol. All are alive to worldly things, while religion meets with either opposition or a most cold and heartless reception." "Many seem to start with horror at the idea of Missions as including everything enthusiastical and fanatical." But he had already declared to his fellow-citizens that "an Association there *should* be, if he stood alone on the Castle Hill and proclaimed it"; and now he expresses his full belief that if they "continued praying and believing and working," it might be "respectable." And the "praying and believing and working" did bring down a blessing. Although "the rich and noble, the clergy in general, and the Dissenters and party men" all stood aloof, the success of the inaugural services and meetings (Sept., 1813) was astonishing. It was on this occasion that the crowds mentioned before thronged to hear Pratt and Daniel Wilson; and the week produced £900. A Ladies' Association was started, the first in England; and it is a striking parallel to this that the first of the modern Ladies' Unions was also started in Norfolk, in 1883. At

* Overton, *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 113.

the first Anniversary, in 1814, the Bishop actually presided at St. Andrew's Hall, and delivered the first episcopal speech ever given for the Church Missionary Society. It was short, but very much to the point. "Do some respectable men start at the very name of 'Missionary'? What does 'Apostle' mean?" "Are we to beware of enthusiasm? I, gentlemen, am no friend to a zeal that is without discretion. But those who affect to be so much alarmed about it may prevent the effects they apprehend by joining our ranks and moderating the zeal from which they fear such bad consequences." "But they tell us that there are already two venerable societies in the Established Church. Be it so—I wish there were two hundred!" And the good bishop concluded by encouraging the Society to persevere "till the glad tidings be preached in every corner of the world, 'as far as winds can waft and waters roll.'" Heber had not yet written "From Greenland's icy mountains": whence, then, came these last words?

First steps at Cambridge.

Among the earliest Associations one expects to find Cambridge, considering Simeon's intimate connexion with the first establishment of the Society, Martyn's career and death, and the interest excited by Buchanan's prize essays. And there were influential Evangelicals in the University besides Simeon, such as Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle and President of Queens', who had been a Senior Wrangler; William Farish, Tutor of Magdalen and Jacksonian Professor of Chemistry, also a Senior Wrangler, and immensely respected for his ability and goodness; James Scholefield, Fellow of Trinity, and afterwards Regius Professor of Greek; Joseph Jowett, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall and Regius Professor of Civil Law; his nephew, William Jowett, Fellow of St. John's, and afterwards a missionary; and William Dealtry, Fellow of Trinity, who succeeded John Venn at Clapham. Nevertheless, there must have been some peculiar difficulties; for no regular Association was formed until 1818, and even then Simeon, to use his own words, "trembled at the proposal, and recommended the most cautious proceedings." Meanwhile, as before stated, one of the earliest churches in England to have a collection for the Society was Trinity, Cambridge, as far back as 1804; and early in 1813 we find both town and gown being canvassed, the former by ladies and the latter by undergraduates. The well-known names of Charles Bridges and Francis Cunningham, both of Queens' College, occur among those of the undergraduates who were active; and among the junior contributors were Henry Venn the Second (afterwards C.M.S. Secretary), H. V. Elliott and E. B. Elliott, two brothers Carus-Wilson, John Babington, and others who in after years did good service in the cause of Christ. Through the efforts of F. Cunningham, Daniel Wilson was induced to visit Cambridge in the May term of 1814, and preach in Simeon's church. During the three weeks before he came, the zealous juniors set to work, and collected no less than £270 in the various colleges, one-half the contributors being of Queens' College, then

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the favourite resort of Evangelical students. Sixty years afterwards, Canon John Babington thus recorded his recollections of it:—

"A rare sermon it was; I was never more deeply interested in my life. The text was, 'He shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied.' The question was, What must that be which shall satisfy the yearnings of the blessed Redeemer's soul? I have seen a printed sermon of his upon that text, but the influence at the time of his fervour, and the depth that he seemed to open before us, was far beyond anything that the printed sermon can suggest."

When the regular Association was formed, at a public meeting in 1818, two Fellows became Secretaries, Mandell of Queens' and Scholefield of Trinity; and among the Vice-Presidents we find no less a person than Lord Palmerston, then one of the members for the University. But the connexion of Cambridge with the Church Missionary Society has in later years been of a very different character, as we shall see hereafter. The primary purpose of an Association—and a most useful purpose—is to raise funds. Cambridge has raised missionaries.*

Manchester.

The most unpromising of the large towns were Manchester and Liverpool. Manchester began with a Sunday-school Association in St. James's parish, and no more was done for two years. "We are opposed," wrote a friend there, "by all the weight of property and power, both ecclesiastical and secular. . . . The soil of Manchester is very unfavourable to the cultivation and growth of any religious institution whatsoever: even those already planted are in a weak and languishing state, choked with

Liverpool.

thorns, the cares, the riches, the pleasures of life." Liverpool seems to have been still worse. The only Evangelical clergyman there, Mr. Blacow, had a proprietary chapel, and no status among his brethren. "What with ultra-Calvinists on one side, Methodists on the other, and the whole posse of the clergy and their powerful lay patrons on a third, I am perpetually assailed." He adds that he fears that all he can raise will be £200 or £300 a year from his own congregation! How many Liverpool churches raise that sum now? Mr. Blacow thought that this would be a proof that "the bush was not burnt." He enlarges on "the zeal and energy of the Dissenters and the apathy of the Establishment." "The whole mass of the people is verging fast into dissent, and we shall soon have an episcopal Establishment with a dissenting population." But there was something much worse than Dissent. Liverpool had been deeply involved in the slave-trade; and Blacow observes that "an age must elapse before the garment spotted by the flesh—with the polluted stains of African gore which clings to so many leading men—is worn away." "While a shred of that remains," he adds, "whoever appears among us in the holy garb

* In an article on "The Early Days of the C.M.S. at Cambridge," in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1887, Mr. Hole gives full and interesting particulars; and these are supplemented in his book.

of the Redeemer's righteousness, will be treated as a mover of sedition, a man not fit to live upon the earth." Reading all this, one begins to appreciate the mighty work done for religion, and for the Church of England, in after years, by Hugh Stowell at Manchester and Hugh McNeile at Liverpool.

Ireland.

One of the most interesting of the home enterprises undertaken at that time was the establishment of the Hibernian Auxiliary. The same difficulties, from the opposition of the bishops on the one side and the rival claims of the London Missionary Society on the other, which we have noticed in England, were encountered also in Ireland; but at length Pratt, D. Wilson, and W. Jowett, went over, in June, 1814,—leaving London, it is worth noting, at 7 a.m. on Monday, and reaching Dublin early on Friday morning; and being received with the greatest kindness by many leading people, they successfully started the Auxiliary. It is curious to observe that one of their most enthusiastic friends was Mr. Thomas Parnell, great-uncle of the Irish political leader.

Our grandfathers.

Many names interesting in very different ways from this one occur in the records of the early Associations and Deputations. We find Reginald Heber (afterwards Bishop of Calcutta) seeking, but in vain, to influence the clergy of Shrewsbury in the Society's favour. We see E. T. Vaughan, father of Dean C. J. Vaughan, warmly welcoming Pratt to Leicester; Sir John Kennaway, grandfather of the present President, taking the lead in the Devon Association; Thomas Fowell Buxton, afterwards Baronet, and grandfather of the present Sir T. F. Buxton; Mr. Hardy, Recorder of Leeds, father of Gathorne Hardy, M.P., first Viscount Cranbrook; John Sargent, friend and biographer of Henry Martyn, and father-in-law of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce; Peter French of Reading, grandfather of Bishop French of Lahore; T. Carr, of Wellington, Somerset, afterwards Bishop of Bombay, in his old age a leading member of the C.M.S. Committee; C. J. Hoare (of the Fleet Street, not the Lombard Street, branch of the family), afterwards Archdeacon of Surrey and Vicar of Godstone; Philip Gell, the first collector of Sunday-school contributions for the Society, father of Bishop Gell of Madras; Isaac Spooner, of Elmdon, father-in-law of William Wilberforce, and grandfather of the wife of Archbishop Tait; Mr. John Higgins, father of C. L. Higgins, one of Dean Burgon's "Twelve Good Men," and President of the Bedfordshire C.M. Association; and John West, an Essex curate who was afterwards the first C.M.S. missionary in North-West America, and baptized the first Christian Indian boy (afterwards the first Red Indian clergyman) by the name of his old rector, Henry Budd. Many other not less interesting names have come before us in this chapter. Sometimes a pessimistic Evangelical speaker enlarges mournfully on the words, "Your fathers, where are they?" May we not well reply, "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth"?

CHAPTER XII.

C.M.S. and Other Societies.

The S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. at this Period—The Archdeacon of Bath's Attack on C.M.S.—Awakening in S.P.G.: the Royal Letter—Pratt's "Propaganda"—Heber proposes union of S.P.G. and C.M.S.—The Bible Society, Jews' Society, Prayer Book and Homily Society, Religious Tract Society, Nonconformist Missionary Societies—Foundation of the American Church Missions.

"*Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.*"—Phil. ii. 4.

THE references in C.M.S. publications in early days, and especially in the *Missionary Register*, to the labours and progress of other Societies, are so frequent and so full, that it seems desirable at this stage to give a short notice of these Societies, and of the relations of the Church Missionary Society to them; more especially as some of them owed much to the sympathy and energy of C.M.S. leaders. The spirit that actuated men like Josiah Pratt and his comrades is strikingly shown in his words, quoted in the preceding chapter, when a Norwich rector insisted on giving the collection after Pratt's sermon, not to the new Society, but to the S.P.C.K.: "We seek not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord. His kingdom, His glory, His spirit, is what we seek to advance in all things."

Relations to other Societies.

The reasons that compelled the founders of the Society to establish it at all, notwithstanding the previous existence of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. on one side and of the non-denominational London Missionary Society on the other, have already been stated.* When once their own organization was launched, however, while they frequently urged its difference in basis and in principle from the L.M.S. as a reason why Churchmen should join it, a careful search fails to find any instance of their urging any difference of basis and principle between it and the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. as a reason why any particular class of Churchmen should support it rather than them. They constantly pleaded that Church people generally should support it *as well as* the others; but on what ground? On the ground that the Heathen must be evangelized, and that the two old Societies were only doing it on a very small scale. In

* See Chapter VI., pp. 64, 65.

1817, the S.P.C.K. Lutheran missionaries in South India were reduced to two; and out of a free income of £24,000, it spent upon them and their mission about £1000, the Society's main work being that of publications and grants to schools at home. At the same period the S.P.G. had about forty clergymen and forty schoolmasters in the North American Colonies, and scarcely any others;* and of these, only three were in part labouring among the Indians. But its great and sudden expansion was now approaching, and was described year by year by Pratt in the *Register* with unfeigned joy and unreserved sympathy.

Cordial recognition of S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.

The spirit in which both these elder sisters were regarded might be illustrated by many expressions in the Reports, Sermons, and speeches of the time. For instance, in the Report of 1814, the Committee speak of "the invaluable labours of the two Societies," while they add that as Missions to the Heathen are only one of the objects aimed at in either case, an institution was still needed which should aim solely at that object. "Most gladly will the Committee witness such an augmentation of the funds of those two Societies as will enable them to enlarge their care of the Heathen. There is more than room for all exertions. This Society comes forward, not to censure the partial efforts of past times, but to aid and augment these efforts." And in the same year, Dean Ryder, in the Annual Sermon, says of the two elder institutions, "God be thanked for their past exertions! God be with them in the future! We would hail them as elder brethren, as forerunners, as examples. We are not contending in a race where 'all run, but one receiveth the prize.' There are many crowns, and only too few candidates."

In 1814, the S.P.C.K. published in one large volume an Abstract of its Reports and Correspondence on the Lutheran Missions in South India from 1709 to date. Pratt instantly hailed this work with satisfaction, and strongly recommended it in the *Register;* and, at the end of his review of it, added a noteworthy separate paragraph, in which he "respectfully submitted to the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel the expediency of imitating the example" of the sister Society. "The public," he urged, "have very little opportunity of becoming acquainted with its proceedings, the Annual Sermon and Report not being published for sale, but limited in their circulation to the members" (then about 300 in number); "nor," he adds, "is justice done to those patient and successful exertions by which it long reproached the supineness of others." Meanwhile he regularly published in the *Register* large extracts from the S.P.G. Report, although the work was almost wholly then among the settlers, and scarcely a reference to the Heathen is to be found. In 1817 is reprinted in

* To be strictly accurate, the Society paid £50 a year towards the stipend of a chaplain for the Africa Company on the Gold Coast, and £40 a year for three schoolmasters and one schoolmistress for the convicts in New South Wales and Norfolk Island.

its pages nearly the whole of the Annual Sermon preached at Bow Church by the Bishop of London (Dr. Howley), "not only," writes the editor (Pratt), "on account of its intrinsic excellence, but because we wish our readers to partake with us in the pleasure which we derive from witnessing the pledges thus given, in the highest quarters, of hearty co-operation in the diffusion of Christianity throughout the world. The anxiety which the higher Pastors of the Church are beginning to feel for the recovery and edification of her distant members awakens in our minds a lively hope that the course which has been at last entered on will be consistently pursued." The Annual Meeting is also noticed, as usual; though in those days there was little to notice, for it was held in the vestry immediately after the Sermon, merely to adopt the Report and pass a vote of thanks to the Bishop.

Avoiding S.P.G. fields.

Moreover, the Committee were careful not to intrude into what might be S.P.G. fields of labour. In 1819, Bishop Ryder of Gloucester brought before them the need for the Church of England undertaking missionary enterprise in South Africa, where at that time only the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyans, and the Moravians were engaged. The Committee, however, seem to have had some information that the S.P.G. was contemplating work there, and therefore directed inquiries to be made on this point in the first instance. On ascertaining that the S.P.G., having been applied to by the Governor of Cape Colony, was about to send "a clerical missionary to instruct the Natives," it was resolved to take no further steps.

S.P.C.K. moving.

In 1813, the S.P.C.K., stirred up evidently by the rapid progress and important position attained already by the Bible Society, began to organize district committees all over the country, which very quickly doubled and trebled its income.* One of the first of these was formed by Basil Woodd, immediately after that memorable tour in Yorkshire for C.M.S. which was described in the preceding chapter, in connexion with his own congregation at Bentinck Chapel; and it raised £122 for the S.P.C.K. the first year. The S.P.G. subsequently started similar District Committees; but this was preceded by a series of events which marked the emergence of the Society from its long torpor into the activity that has characterized its proceedings from that day to this. These events must be briefly noticed.

On November 30th, 1817, in which year St. Andrew's Day and Advent Sunday coincided, a Church Missionary Association was inaugurated at Bath by a sermon preached at the Octagon Chapel

* With a view to assisting this movement, Pratt inserted in the *Register* the "form of recommendation for membership," as follows:—"We the Underwritten do recommend A. B. to be a Subscribing Member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and do verily believe that he is well affected to His Majesty King George and his Government, and to the United Church of England and Ireland as by Law established; of a sober and religious life and conversation; and of an humble, peaceable, and charitable disposition."

(afterwards Dr. Magee's) by Bishop Ryder of Gloucester; and the next day the same Bishop presided over a meeting convened to form the Association. As soon as he had delivered his opening speech, and just as Mr. Pratt was about to make his statement on behalf of the Society, the Archdeacon of Bath, Mr. Thomas, rose unexpectedly and protested, in the name of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, against the invasion of the Diocese by an unauthorized society, which amounted, he said, to a factious interference with S.P.G.; and also against Bishop Ryder for intruding into a diocese not his own. In point of fact, Bishop Ryder was no intruder, for he was also Dean of Wells—a not uncommon case in those days,—and therefore had a status in the diocese. Moreover, the Bishop of Bath and Wells had been communicated with by him, had consented to his presiding, and had not commissioned the irate Archdeacon to make the protest. Also it turned out that the Archdeacon was not even a subscribing member of S.P.G., which Pratt was! But the incident, though a small thing in itself, led to great consequences. The Church Missionary Society profited by it, both in money sent in at once in token of confidence (£400, against the loss of four guinea subscriptions);* and from the war of pamphlets which ensued, which gave the Society a publicity it had not before attained to. The Archdeacon's attack appeared in the *Times*, and a "Defence" written by Daniel Wilson not only went rapidly through eighteen editions, but was printed in many newspapers. The S.P.G. profited still more. The Archdeacon's eulogy of its great work was so far beyond the truth at the time, that some of the bishops woke up and resolved to put more life into it, and make it worthy of such praise, and in particular, not to leave Church Missions in North India (the South being cared for by the S.P.C.K.) to the young C.M.S. The C.M.S. leaders made no secret of their thankful satisfaction at this move. Pratt thus announced it in the *Register* of April, 1818:—

The Archdeacon of Bath attacks C.M.S.

Striking results.

S.P.G. waking up.

"Our readers will rejoice to learn that the Society [S.P.G.] is enlarging its operations, and is about to avail itself of that influence which it may extensively exert over the members of the Established Church, to call their resources into action in support of Missions to India. Several Special Meetings have been summoned, within the last few weeks, to deliberate on these subjects, and were attended by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Norwich, Gloucester, Ely, Peterborough, Exeter, Oxford, and Llandaff. . . . We shall take an early opportunity of reporting the proceedings."

And the next Annual Report said, "Your Committee most heartily bid the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel God-speed, and entreat every member of this Society [C.M.S.] to aid that venerable body to the utmost by his contributions and by his prayers. They augur incalculable good from these exertions, not

* Just as in the case of Canon Isaac Taylor's attack in 1888, which brought C.M.S. gifts amounting in the aggregate to £4000.

only to the Heathen and Mohammedan subjects of the Empire, but to those who attempt to become blessings to them." At the same time, the Committee reminded their friends that even if the S.P.G. undertook the duty of evangelizing the whole of the Heathen within the Empire, there would still remain five or six hundred millions of souls outside the Empire, and therefore (at that time) outside its range,—a hint that C.M.S. had still a *raison d'être*. "Oh!" exclaims the Report, "it needs nothing but an understanding of the immensity of human wretchedness and perdition to extinguish all jealousy and rivalry among Christians—*that* rivalry alone excepted, which shall labour most assiduously to save souls from death and to hide the multitude of sins!"

Royal letter for S.P.G.

The new measures adopted by S.P.G. were two. First, a sum of £5000 was voted to the Bishop of Calcutta, who, though an old S.P.G. supporter, had now been in India nearly four years without receiving any help from the Society. Secondly, the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.) was applied to for a "King's Letter" to be sent to all parishes in England and Wales directing that a collection be made for the Society. Similar Letters had been granted to the Society six times in the preceding century, and the fact that one had not been applied for since 1779, almost forty years previously, was a sign of the inert condition from which the Society was now awaking. In announcing these decisions in the *Register*, Pratt said,—

"Let us thankfully acknowledge herein the good hand of Him Who governeth all things after the counsel of His own will. We trust that we shall have to record the collection of a munificent sum on this occasion, and that it will be our frequent duty to report the great increase and successful labours of Church Missionaries among the Heathen."

That this was not merely the utterance of official courtesy is shown by the following extract from a private letter written at the time by Pratt to Thomason at Calcutta:—

"Wonderful things have taken place. . . . The Archdeacon of Bath has unwittingly served that great cause which lies, we trust, nearest our hearts. He gave the Society for Propagating the Gospel credit for doing so much, that some of our rulers in the Church have felt it needful to do more than it had ever entered into their minds to contemplate. And now, by virtue of a King's Letter . . . *all* the clergy will be enjoined to plead its cause. . . . Had any one told me, when I and Mr. Bickersteth were travelling to Bath, to attend the famous meeting of December 1st, that in less than six months such a measure should be determined on by Authority, no sagacity of ours could have devised by what means such an event could be accomplished; but we would adore the wisdom and goodness of our God, and pray for the man who has been the undesigning instrument of so much good."

And to Corrie, also in India, he writes,—

"Is not this wonderful? Could you have conceived any means, when among us, by which the Clergy, willing and unwilling, should be constrained in all their pulpits to plead the cause of Missions?—and of

Missions in India? True, numbers will make this a reason for not aiding *us;* but they will be made to aid that cause which is dearer, we trust, to all our hearts than any consideration respecting ourselves."

Pratt's anonymous book to help S.P.G.

But Pratt was not content with words. He did a very notable thing. Hardly had the Royal Letter been issued, early in 1819, than a remarkable book appeared, by an anonymous writer, entitled "Propaganda: being an Abstract of the Designs and Proceedings of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; with Extracts from the Annual Sermons; by a Member of the Society"; the extracts being from the sermons of such men as Archbishop Secker, Bishops Beveridge, Burnet, Butler, Horsley, Lowth, Newton, Tomline, Warburton, &c. *That book was compiled by Josiah Pratt.* With infinite labour he had gone through the old S.P.G. Reports and extracted the best passages, feeling that if the clergy who received the Letter could only have such sermons and reports to guide them, their appeals to their congregations would be more intelligent and more effectual. With all possible speed he brought it out, and published it anonymously, conscious that if his name, or that of the Church Missionary Society, appeared, it would quite fail to do the work he hoped it would do. Its success was immediate and decided, and it had great influence in promoting the collection. The Preface to this book is worth quoting in full:—

"From the Year 1702, to the present Year, a Sermon has been annually preached before the Society, at the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow: which Sermon has, in every instance except that preached in 1703, been printed for the use of the members; and has been accompanied, with the exception of a few of the earlier years, with an Abstract of the Society's Proceedings.

"These Records of the Society having never been published for sale, but printed merely for the use of the Members, the Editor considered that he should render an acceptable service to his Brethren of the Clergy, by collecting from these Records, such statements and reasonings as might enable them to plead with effect the cause of the Society, in obedience to the Royal Mandate issued on the Tenth Day of February of the present Year.

"These official documents, together with an Account of the Society to the Year 1728, published by its Secretary, the Rev. David Humphreys, D.D., have supplied the materials for the following pages.

"The Clergy will see, from the various Extracts herein given, that the *East* was contemplated, many years since, by some of the Right-Reverend Members of the Society, as a most important object of its attention and care. Bishop Thurlow, in 1786, spoke strongly on this subject; and was followed by many others. In 1817, it was renewed, with fresh vigour and zeal, by Bishop Howley; and by Bishop Ryder, in the present year. The Editor ventures to predict, that the more closely the condition of that part of the Empire is examined, the more earnest will every faithful Member of the Church become, to aid the Propagation of the Gospel in those parts, by his contributions, his counsels, and his prayers. The sources of information on this subject are now easy of access, and are multiplying every day.

"*London, May* 1, 1819."

The progress of the movement is reported in the *Register* month by month. The S.P.G.'s own Circular is given in full; which, it must be observed in passing, contains no reference to any other Society, not even the S.P.C.K., and no allusion to any existing work in India. The Annual S.P.G. Sermon of that year also is printed in the *Register* almost in full, occupying sixteen columns of close type; in the December number is given the total of royal collections up to that time from the various dioceses, amounting to £42,222 15s. 6d.; and the following announcement is also made: "We rejoice to find that a beginning has been made in the establishment of Local Associations in support of the Society; as we may hope, by this means, to see the great body of the Established Church brought into a system of habitual contribution in support of Missions to the Heathen."

A little later, we find the following in the Annual Report:—

> [This Society] "is a kindred Society to those venerable institutions of the Church of England the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which have laboured in the glorious work of preaching Christ among the Heathen and in the British Colonies during more than half a century. It utterly disclaims all interference, all rivalry with them. It occupies no missionary station which they are able to occupy. It exercises toward them a temper respectful and conciliating. It regards them as elder sisters, and rejoices to behold them putting forth their strength, increasing the number of their friends, extending the limits of their Missions."*

Did S.P.G. reciprocate?

It may be asked whether there was any reciprocity of feeling on the part of the older Society towards the younger one. There does not seem to be any evidence of it; but it must be remembered that S.P.G. had then no organ of its own, and that its Annual Reports were the briefest business statements. At the same time, a very kindly feeling could hardly be expected. Only two bishops had as yet openly joined the Church Missionary Society: it was still widely regarded as an institution that had no right to exist; and it would scarcely be surprising if the kind and sympathetic utterances of its leaders were looked on as an attempt at patronizing and as savouring of impertinence. It is not agreeable to human nature to be patted on the back by those whom you are wont to despise. But if the younger Society did not get much direct expression of gratitude from its elder sister, the cause it was serving received a great impetus; and this not only in the way indicated in Pratt's letters, but in another way which Dr. Overton shrewdly points out. Missions to the Heathen bore, in the imagination of the majority of Churchmen, the taint of "Methodism." But the S.P.G. was above suspicion in this respect; "it was impossible for the keenest scent to detect in it any traces of that hated thing"; so when such a Society itself

* C.M.S. Report, 1823, p. 51.

engaged in efforts of the kind, "it stamped them, as it were, with the mark of respectability." *

Heber's plans to unite S.P.G. and C.M.S.

But the idea occurred to at least one great and admirable man that the two sisters might be united. This was Reginald Heber, of whom we shall see more in another chapter. He wrote to John Thornton, his intimate college friend, then Treasurer of the C.M.S., and to Bishop Ryder, on the subject. From the latter letter it appears that though sympathizing with both S.P.G. and C.M.S., he had definitely joined the latter and not the former. "Of the two Societies," he says, "I have been induced to join that which is peculiarly sanctioned by your Lordship's name, as apparently most active, and as employing with more wisdom than the elder corporation those powerful means of obtaining popular support which ignorance only can depreciate or condemn It is but justice to say that I have seen nothing which leads me to repent of this choice. But why, my Lord, should there be two societies for the same precise object?" He actually formulated a scheme of union, or rather, as must candidly be said, of absorption of C.M.S. into S.P.G. The S.P.G. was to admit all C.M.S. members to its membership, and enrol on its staff all C.M.S. missionaries; the C.M.S. Secretaries were to become Joint Secretaries of S.P.G.; and C.M.S. was to transfer to S.P.G. all its property and funds.† What the replies of Bishop Ryder and Mr. Thornton were is not recorded. In the meanwhile, the S.P.C.K., which was increasing its income and its home work by leaps and bounds, was not prospering in its South Indian Missions. One Lutheran minister was sent out in 1813—but soon died,—another in 1818, and two more in 1819; Pratt's *Register* reporting the valedictory charges on all three occasions. In the following decade, these Missions, which had greatly languished, came under the joint direction of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G.; and subsequently the S.P.G. took entire charge of them, since which under a succession of able men like Caldwell, they have been developed and extended in all directions.

S.P.C.K. controversies.

It must not be supposed, because the Church Missionary Society displayed so much brotherly feeling towards the older Societies, that the Evangelical leaders were backward in defending Evangelical truth when they thought it necessary. In 1816, for example, a great conflict arose in the S.P.C.K. over a tract by Dr. Mant on Baptismal Regeneration. Basil Woodd and Daniel Wilson, whose congregations were among the most liberal supporters that the S.P.C.K. had in London, contended that its extreme statements were inconsistent with the Society's regular line of moderate teaching on the subject; and although they

* *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, chap. viii.

† Dr. G. Smith, in his fascinating recent biography of Heber, prints this proposal with the evident sympathy becoming a Presbyterian. The Presbyterians all over the world have unreservedly worked their Missions, not by societies, but by "the Church in her corporate capacity."

were beaten at the crucial division, the Archbishop of Canterbury intervened, and, though approving the tract himself, obtained some modifications in its language.

The Bible Society.

Of all the Societies with which our own Society was brought more or less into contact at the period now under review, by far the most successful and prosperous was the British and Foreign Bible Society. It had been founded on March 7th, 1804, after some months of patient preparation. All denominations joined in it; Wilberforce, Grant, and others whose names are already familiar to us in this History, became its leading members; royal dukes patronized it; bishops who would do nothing for Evangelical movements within the Church gave it their names and influence; and its establishment was hailed with widespread enthusiasm. At Oxford, in 1813, it was joined by the Chancellor of the University, eight Heads of Houses, five Professors, and both Proctors, besides the Lord-Lieutenant and other chief men of the county and city; and at Cambridge the patronage was not less distinguished. Three Secretaries were originally appointed: one for the Nonconformists, Mr. Hughes, who was the real founder; one for the Foreign Protestants, Dr. Steinkopf; and one to represent the Church of England—for which post Josiah Pratt was chosen, but he only held office a few weeks, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Owen. Pratt was the inventor of the constitution of the committee. Its members were all to be laymen, of whom six were to be foreign Protestants, and the remainder (thirty) equally Churchmen and Dissenters; but all clergymen and ministers who became subscribing members were to have seats and votes,—"a provision," says the Bible Society's historian, Mr. Owen, "which, while it concealed their names, recognized their privileges and retained their co-operation." This proviso is interesting as having doubtless suggested, a few years later, the similar plan upon which the governing body of the Church Missionary Society has been formed for more than eighty years. But the two Societies have had a higher and a closer association than that involved in this external resemblance. They have worked together in unbroken fellowship in the one cause of giving the Word of God to the Heathen nations. While the C.M.S., and the other various missionary societies, have supplied the translators of the Scriptures, the Bible Society has done the essential work of printing and distributing the versions. The Bible is still, and no doubt ever will be, the object of attack and criticism on the part of men whose learning is not sanctified by the wisdom that cometh from above; but meanwhile, in its hundreds of foreign versions, it is proving its inspiration by enlightening the eyes and converting the souls of multitudes of the most ignorant and degraded of the human race.

Its constitution.

The proceedings of the Bible Society occupy considerable space in the *Register*. In its tenth year the Society's Income had reached £70,000, exclusive of sales of Bibles; and the Report

printed is an astonishing record of work all over the world. In 1817, so great was its progress in Europe that Pope Pius VII. issued a Bull against it; to which the Bishop of Cloyne, at the Anniversary that year, thus incisively referred:—

Pope's Bull against it.

"This respectable personage, his Holiness the Pope, says that many heresies will appear, but that the most baneful of heresies is the reading and dissemination of the Bible. So, then, to propagate that book in which Christianity is founded is to propagate heresy. The misfortune of this Bull is that it comes into the world a thousand years too late. It might have done some harm in the Ninth Century, but will have very little effect in the Nineteenth. . . . To quote St. Paul, 'I thank my God that, after the way they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers.'"

Its Anniversaries.

The Bible Society's anniversaries, indeed, were generally very brilliant affairs. In 1816, the speakers were Lord Teignmouth (President, in the chair), the Duke of Kent, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Bishops of Gloucester, Norwich, Salisbury, and Clogher, Charles Grant, M.P., and Lord Gambier. Speeches in its behalf at Liverpool, Margate, Dover, &c., by the Prime Minister himself, Lord Liverpool, are reported in the *Register*. Indeed this very brilliancy was a cause of complaint on the part of some. Bishop Randolph of London was "disgusted at the pomp and parade" of the Society, contrasting it with the "simplicity and modesty" of the S.P.C.K.* But of course much more serious grounds of opposition prevailed, and the Bible Society was again and again vehemently attacked by the ablest High Church controversialists of the day, such as Bishop Herbert Marsh, Archdeacon Daubeney, and Dr. C. Wordsworth, because it circulated the Bible without the Prayer-book, and encouraged the notion that men might draw their own religion from it without the guidance of the "authoritatively-commissioned priests" of the "one only apostolical Church established in this country."† It will at once be understood how the C.M.S. leaders were concerned in the defence of the Bible Society, as well as in alliance with it in the translation and distribution of the Scriptures.

London Jews' Society.

Another organization with which the Society's chief men were in close touch was the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. It was founded in 1808, on non-denominational lines like the London Missionary Society; and like the Bible Society, it had royal support, the Duke of Kent being Patron. In a few years, however, it ran hopelessly into debt, and then it appeared that subscriptions were refused on account of its unsectarian character. Ultimately the Dissenters, in a generous spirit, withdrew, and subsequently founded a separate society for themselves; and from that time the London Society prospered. Its debt, then £14,000, was paid off in the room at the next Anniversary. Its meetings, in fact, were for many years perhaps

* Overton, *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, chap. viii.
† Archdeacon Daubeney, quoted by Overton, *ut supra*.

the most popular of all; the meetings being always densely crowded, and the greatest interest being taken in the Hebrew school-children who sang on these occasions. Charles Simeon was specially devoted to the Jews' Society; and so was Legh Richmond, the author of *The Dairyman's Daughter* and other biographical sketches of Christians in humble life which had an enormous circulation, who was not only Rector of Turvey, but also Chaplain to the Duke of Kent. On one occasion, however, when he was to preach at a Sheffield church for the Church Missionary Society, he took as his text Rom. iii. 29, "Is He the God of the Jews only?" Another anecdote tells the other way. Simeon and Bickersteth were together on the platform at a Jews' meeting. The former, in his speech, said the Society was "the most blessed of all." The latter wrote to him on a slip of paper, "Six millions of Jews, and six hundred millions of Gentiles—which is the most important?" Simeon replied, "But if the conversion of the six is to be life from the dead to the six hundred—what then?" * The friendship of C.M.S. was manifested by the House in Salisbury Square being lent to the Jews' Society for its Committee meetings.

Prayer Book and Homily Society.

Yet another body closely connected with the Church Missionary Society was the Prayer Book and Homily Society, which was a kind of Evangelical S.P.C.K. so far as its particular function was concerned. Prayer-books were then often published without the Articles, and this Society was designed to secure that they appeared in all the copies it supplied. It proved a useful ally to the Missions in publishing translations of the Prayer-book in the various vernaculars. The S.P.C.K. at that time was not likely to print versions coming from the missionaries of an "unauthorized" body like the Church Missionary Society.

Religious Tract Society.

Then there was the Religious Tract Society, founded in the same year as C.M.S., 1799. Its first promoters were members of "the Three Denominations," Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists; but Churchmen quickly joined it, and Legh Richmond became one of the Secretaries, believing, to use his biographer's words, "that he might promote the interests of his own Church by preventing the circulation of tracts hostile to her opinions, as well as advance the common cause of true religion." The great work, at home and abroad, done by this Society is well known. One feature of its early years is worth noting. Its anniversaries, which the *Missionary Register* regularly reports, were held *at six o'clock in the morning* of the day on which the Bible Society also met, at the City of London Tavern. Breakfast was the first item in the programme, and the *Register* mentions that in 1823 no less than 1054 persons paid for their breakfast, and hundreds more were unable to get in.

Nonconformist Societies.

With the London and Baptist Societies, and with the Moravian

* Memoir of E. Bickersteth, vol. ii. p. 61.

and Wesleyan Missions—the last-named of which were at this time being more regularly organized, the C.M.S. leaders also maintained a "friendly intercourse," in accordance with the Society's 31st Law. They watched with sympathetic interest the London Society's work in South Africa and the South Seas, and its beginnings in China (Morrison's Chinese New Testament was published in 1814); the Methodist revivals among the West Indian Negro slaves; the extraordinary industry and success of the Baptists, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, in translating the Scriptures into various Indian and other Asiatic languages; and the heroic enterprises of the Moravians. Also the commencement of organized Missions by the Foreign Protestant Churches, and by the Christians of the United States—especially the strange experiences of the first American missionaries who attempted to land in India. All these were regularly reported in the *Register*. And in 1818 a plan was set on foot of the Secretaries of the different Societies meeting quarterly (afterwards monthly) for conference on topics of common interest. At first they were held in the C.M.S. House; afterwards in the different offices in turn.

One happy result of Pratt's energy in setting others to work must be specially mentioned. In 1816, he addressed letters in the name of the Committee to some of the bishops and other leading members of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, not asking for the aid of that Church for the Society, but offering the aid of the Society, if needed, to enable the American Church to give independent co-operation in the work of evangelizing the Heathen. Very cordial letters were received in reply, particularly from Bishop Griswold, of what was then called the "Eastern Diocese," and Bishop White of Pennsylvania. Bishop Griswold at first doubted whether the American Church was strong enough to engage in Foreign Missions, and suggested that a clergyman in his diocese who offered for missionary service should be adopted by the Church Missionary Society. But Pratt, in reply, urged the formation of an American Church Society, which should send him out itself, on the ground of the great reflex benefits that would accrue to the Church itself from engaging directly in missionary work; and the Committee offered a grant of £200 to help their American fellow-Churchmen to make a start. *The result was the establishment of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the American Church.* In 1821, its organization was completed, as a Society comprising and representing the whole Church; and the constitution is printed at length in the C.M.S. Report of 1822. The American Church owes a deep debt of gratitude to the S.P.G. for its labours among its people before the Declaration of Independence which established the Republic of the United States; but it owes the initiation of its great Missionary organization to the Church Missionary Society.

American D. and F. Society.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sierra Leone: The White Man's Grave and the Black Man's Life.

Early Efforts—The Susoo Mission—Edward Bickersteth's Visit—Work among the Liberated Slaves—W. A. B. Johnson and H. Düring—The Revival at Regent—The Fever and its Victims—West Africa not a Debtor but a Creditor.

"*So then death worketh in us, but life in you.*"—2 Cor. iv. 12.

Part III. 1812–24. Chap. 13.

IN our Fifth and Ninth Chapters we saw how it came to pass that the new Society found its sympathies drawn out in an especial degree for Africa, and fixed its eyes upon the West Coast. Not, in the first instance, upon Sierra Leone. The little mountainous peninsula was then only peopled by two or three thousand settlers, liberated Negroes from England and from the other side of the Atlantic; and for them and the Europeans in charge of them the Sierra Leone Company provided chaplains, Melville Horne and Nathaniel Gilbert (both of whom we have met before) being the first. The Society had larger ideas. Not for the few settlers, but for the great tribes and nations beyond, Susoos, Jalofs, Temnes, Mandingoes, Fulahs, were its earliest plans formed. Not a peninsula five-and-twenty miles in length, but a large section of the great dark continent, was the object of their prayers and efforts.

Previous work in W. Africa.

Some attempt had already been made by other societies to plant the Gospel in Africa. The solitary S.P.G. missionary at Cape Coast Castle in 1752, and his native successor, have been mentioned in our Third Chapter. The Moravians had sent men to the same Guinea Coast in 1768, but all had died. Among the Hottentots of South Africa the same devoted Church had been more successful; while the Wesleyans, and the London Missionary Society, had also begun good work among the southern tribes, the latter having on its staff that remarkable missionary Vanderkemp. To the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, the two small societies in Scotland, the Glasgow and the Edinburgh, had combined to send six men, to the Susoos; but three had died, one (Peter Greig) had been murdered by the Fulahs—the first missionary martyr in Africa,—and two had returned home; and no further effort was made to continue the Mission.

This last-named effort had directed the thoughts of the new English Society to the Susoo tribes, north of Sierra Leone; in addition to which, several Susoo boys had been brought to England by Zachary Macaulay, and were being educated at Clapham in a small school called the African Academy. The Committee engaged one of the returned Scotch missionaries, Mr. Brunton, to prepare vocabularies, tracts, &c., in the Susoo language; and, to establish a Mission among the Susoo people, the earliest German missionaries were appointed.

Susoo boys at Clapham.

We have seen that although it was easy to appoint men to West Africa, it was not so easy to get them there; and we have had some glimpses of the difficulties and trials of the early voyages. Still harder did it prove to get them from Sierra Leone, whither the successive vessels took them, to their allotted field of labour among the Susoos, about one hundred miles to the north, on the Rio Pongas. Physical difficulties, such as rarity of communication, were not the greatest. The whole coast was dangerous, owing to the virulent hostility of the slave-dealers. The Slave-trade, it must be remembered, was not abolished till 1807; the Act did not come into force in Africa till January 1st, 1808; and even then, the enforcing of it was not an easy task. Moreover, as has been related in a previous chapter, human infirmity was manifested by the missionaries themselves; dissension finding entrance among them, and one having to be dismissed for grave misconduct. Some little good work, however, was done in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, where many Susoos were to be found; and at length, in 1807, after more than three years' delay, Leopold Bütscher succeeded in reaching the Rio Pongas and arranging for a missionary settlement there. The others quickly followed; more men came out; and in the next four or five years three stations were occupied, Bashia and Canoffee on the Pongas, and Gambier (so named after the President of the Society, and not to be confounded with the River Gambia); in addition to which, Nylander began a Mission among the Bullom tribe, on the mainland opposite Sierra Leone.

Early difficulties.

Nevertheless, the Susoo Mission was a very humble enterprise, and far from satisfactory according to our modern standard. It was little more than two or three schools, in which German missionaries, while still trying to pick up Susoo, were teaching English—also a language they understood very imperfectly—to a few African boys who were clothed and fed at the expense of the Mission. Year by year the Committee had nothing else to tell in their Annual Reports; yet their faith, though often sorely tried, never failed. The journals of the missionaries were regularly published, and are even now interesting to read, for the graphic accounts they give of the degradation of the people. And the Committee felt assured that slow but sure work among the children would in due time bear fruit. "Let us fervently pray," says the Annual Report of 1810, "that these children may become

Susoo Mission.

faithful disciples of our Great Master; and that some of them may be raised up as instruments to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation throughout their native tribes. It is in this way that we may expect God will be pleased to work when His time is come for diffusing His Gospel widely through the nations, because it is in this way that He has usually effected His purposes hitherto."

But the Committee wanted more than this. The care of the children—many of them the offspring of the slave-dealers themselves—had given the missionaries an entrance to the people; and Pratt wrote again and again urging them to take advantage of it. Thus, in 1813 (combining two letters here):—

"The public are now beginning to take a warm interest in the Society's concerns. We have aroused their feelings and awakened their consciences. Many eyes are turned on our missionaries. . . . Schools are our foundation; but the foundation is laid in order to the rearing of the superstructure. . . . The time is come! The natives know you now to be honest men. Go as often, and as far into the Susoo country as you can. . . . Preach Christ to them! Let us have exact accounts of your Susoo preachings: name your subjects, the number of your hearers, the reception or rejection of the Word. Let it be known and felt all over the Susoo country that you have a message to deliver them from God. . . . Success belongs not to us, but attempts and exertions do."

The difficulties of obeying these counsels, however, were real ones. For one thing, the missionaries were suspected of being spies, and of informing the British ships of the secret smuggling of slaves that was still going on, and the slave-dealers became worse rather than better disposed towards the Mission; and twice they burned down the Mission houses. For another thing, the traffic burst into fresh life when the Peace ensued in 1814; the Treaty of Paris restoring to France its old possessions in West Africa, Goree and Senegal, and allowing her five years' grace before putting an end to her slave-traffic—which practically meant the resumption of it for that period. Wilberforce and his friends at once woke up in England. The Society held a public meeting on the subject, which was addressed by him and Henry Thornton and James Stephen; other meetings were held in London and the Provinces; hundreds of petitions were presented to Parliament, with 755,000 signatures; and addresses to the Crown were adopted by both Houses. In the meanwhile, however, mischief had been done. The French slave-traders had not lost a moment in resuming the traffic; and of course, England and France being now at peace, British ships had no power to interpose. The deliverance, strangely enough, came through Napoleon. When he left Elba and again threatened Europe, and "the threatening clouds again darkened the heavens" (to use the Committee's words quoted before), one of his first acts was to abolish the slave-trade entirely, hoping thereby to conciliate the Allied Powers; and when Waterloo once more restored the

Foreign slave-trade.

Bourbons to the throne of France, they could not for very shame refuse to confirm the one good act of the vanquished usurper. With great joy the Church Missionary Society saw all Europe united on the question –always excepting Spain and Portugal, which nations, unmindful of the heavy debt they owed to England for delivering them from the French conqueror, still persisted in sanctioning the hateful traffic.

Then again, the missionaries were pressed by secular concerns, involved in maintaining the children. To remedy this, when Bütscher returned to Africa after his short visit to England in 1812, German artizans were sent with him, with a view to their relieving the missionaries of these duties; but they did not prove very satisfactory. Sickness and death, too, frequently invaded the Mission party, and, worst of all, dissensions again arose among them. Meanwhile, the population of the Colony of Sierra Leone was rapidly growing. Thousands of slaves taken from the slave-ships were landed at Freetown by the British cruisers; the Government perceived that Christian care and instruction were more and more needed for them; and projects began to be formed for concentrating the Mission in Sierra Leone itself, and setting the missionaries to minister to the still miserable though rescued Negroes.

Need of Sierra Leone.

To arrange all this, to set things in order generally, and to acquaint the Committee fully with all the circumstances of the Mission, a man who could fully represent the Society was now wanted; and the eyes of the Committee fell on the Norwich solicitor, Edward Bickersteth. Pratt, indeed, had already sounded him with a view to his taking holy orders, moving to London, and becoming Assistant Secretary; and while he was still considering that call, this further and most important summons came. He hesitated no longer, but at once placed himself at the Society's disposal, although a heavy pecuniary sacrifice would be involved in giving up his profession. With a view to his visiting Africa with adequate influence and full power of sacred ministration, the Bishop of Norwich ordained him deacon at once (December 10th, 1815), and also gave him letters dimissory to the Bishop of Gloucester, that he might receive priest's orders a few days later. On January 24th he sailed for Sierra Leone.

Bickersteth to W. Africa.

The Instructions of the Committee given to Bickersteth are, like all Pratt's writings, full of wisdom and judgment. Two tasks were committed to him, (1) to examine into the actual state of the Mission, (2) to make or suggest plans for its more efficient working. The importance of the first part of his commission may be gathered from the fact—so unlike anything in our modern experience—that in twelve years, out of twenty-six men and women who had gone to Africa, only two had visited England since, and of these only one, Bütscher, had had information to give the Committee. They had therefore been dependent on correspondence and casual report. Bickersteth was accordingly

instructed to converse with every member of the Mission separately, and with all other persons, English or African, who could tell him anything at all. But to some he was to give exceptional confidence:—

> "If, under circumstances so likely to call for your Christian candour, you find any men whose devout intercourse with their Heavenly Master and His Holy Word have raised them, through the grace of the Divine Spirit, above the influence of the temptations around them, and have maintained the Life of God in a state of vigour in their own souls, you will take such men to your heart; you will be in an instant at home with them; you will place unlimited confidence in their assertions; you will feel that they are far more competent than others to give you a sound opinion on the objects of your inquiry; you will unfold to them at large the views and wishes of the Society; you will kneel down with them at the footstool of Him who waits to be gracious, and who delights in and will crown these believing and patient efforts of His servants."

His influence there.

Bickersteth's visit was greatly blessed of God. It corrected many evils; it initiated many new plans; it gave a fresh impetus to the whole work; it proved the real starting-point of the permanent Sierra Leone Mission. In personal matters, the best testimony is that borne by the senior missionary Renner, who had himself not been without fault. "Our respected visitor," he wrote, "was partial to none of us, but acted in a straight course, dealing out meat in due season; admonishing, reproving, or comforting, as every one's situation or circumstances might require." Sir Charles McCarthy, the Governor, reported to Earl Bathurst, the Secretary for the Colonies, very highly of Bickersteth's influence. On leaving, he addressed a pastoral letter to the brethren. In this admirable document he points out faithfully the evil of any one missionary acting independently of the rest, which had been a fruitful cause of disunion. He lays stress on our Lord's rule in Matt. xviii., "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone." He exhorts to "a tender consideration of one another's feelings, infirmities, situation, rights, and circumstances." He significantly warns them that "the missionary has not only to guard against the plague of his own heart, but lest he be hindered in his work, and led into error, *by the wife of his bosom.*" "The very affection," he adds, "which is due in so dear a connexion may mislead us."

Bickersteth had received authority to dismiss or suspend any agent if necessary; but he was not obliged to have recourse to so painful a step. The missionary band was not to be reduced in number in this way. It had, in God's mysterious providence, been terribly reduced by death. Out of the twenty-six men and women who had gone out before Bickersteth, sixteen, as before mentioned, had died, besides children. There were now six Lutheran clergymen in the Mission, Renner, Nylander, Bütscher, Wenzel, Wilhelm, and Klein; and one schoolmaster.

On missionary policy and methods, nothing can be more just and discriminating than both Bickersteth's injunctions to the brethren and his Report to the Committee. He had, on the whole, been pleased with the schools on the Pongas. At Bashia, on Easter Day (April 14th, 1816), he admitted six senior boys to the Lord's Supper, the first African communicants in the Mission. He realized the exceeding difficulty of work among the adults, most of whom were debased and demoralized by the slave-trade; yet he could not refrain from plainly saying that they had not had a fair chance of hearing the Gospel. The missionaries had undoubtedly been slack in this respect; they had lacked boldness, and love for dying souls; they pleaded ignorance of the Susoo language, but had not sought for interpreters. Bickersteth therefore obtained a Native who could interpret a little, and went himself to preach in the villages, in order to show the brethren how to do it and encourage them by his example; and in his pastoral letter he lays the greatest stress upon preaching the Gospel, in season and out of season, as the first duty of a missionary. "This is your first, your great work. Everything else must be subordinate to this. Go in the dry season regularly to the Susoo and Bullom towns. Take with you, if you find it expedient, some of the children. Sing a Susoo or Bullom hymn. Preach the Gospel, and pray with them; and God will bless you."

His example.

Bickersteth's hope that the Susoo Mission might be maintained and developed was not fulfilled. Not long after his return to England, the hostility of the chiefs compelled its abandonment. But the many prayers that had gone up for it were not left unanswered. Not a few of the boys and girls in the schools gave evidence of Divine grace in their hearts; and one of the six boys whom Bickersteth had admitted to the Lord's Supper was honoured in a remarkable way to be an encouragement to praying friends at home. His baptismal name was Simeon Wilhelm, and he was the son of a Susoo chief of some note. He begged Bickersteth to take him with him to England, in order, as he said, that he might learn more fully what would fit him to teach his countrymen; and Bickersteth, though with much hesitation, did so. The boy, then seventeen years old, lived at first at Pakefield Rectory with Francis Cunningham; but the east coast proving too cold for an African constitution, he was taken in at No. 14, Salisbury Square, by Bickersteth, who, it will be remembered, then lived there; and he attended an important school in Shoe Lane, where the then young National Society was developing its improved system of education. Simeon impressed every one by the thoroughness of his Christian character and the consistency of his life; but his health suddenly failed, even in an English summer, and he died in the Church Missionary House, the first garnered fruit visible to English eyes of the long-tried and much-prayed-for West Africa Mission. He was buried in St. Bride's Church, and Pratt preached a funeral sermon on the text, "Is not

A Negro boy dies in the C.M. House.

this a brand plucked out of the fire?" Bickersteth wrote a memoir of him, with every particular of his last days and hours, which occupies more than fifty columns of the *Missionary Register*, in three successive numbers, his portrait being given too.* Nothing of this kind is ever published at the present day. We do not keep diaries of the utterances of a sick-bed; but this old narrative cannot be read without emotion, and one realizes something of the thankfulness and joy with which friends all over the country read it then.

A very different career shows how God blessed the Susoo Mission in quite unlooked-for fashion. In 1812, Butscher had brought to England a boy who had been baptized by the name of Richard Wilkinson. This boy, on the eve of returning to Africa, after residing a few months with Thomas Scott, was affectionately addressed by the Committee and commended in prayer to God. He did not, however, turn out well, and Bickersteth found him a hindrance. The abandonment of the Mission led to his being lost sight of; and for more than forty years nothing more was done for the Rio Pongas. In 1854, a new Mission was started there by an Association in the West Indies; and when the first missionary, Mr. Leacock, arrived, he was welcomed by a native chief, who, to his astonishment, proceeded to repeat the *Te Deum*. This was Richard Wilkinson. For some years he had relapsed into heathenism, but in 1835, being ill, he turned again to the Lord, and from that time, for nearly twenty years, he prayed that a missionary might once more come and teach his people. He proved a steadfast friend to the new Mission, and died, grateful and happy, in 1861. The Rio Pongas Mission is still carried on by the Barbadoes Association, and is now affiliated to the S.P.G. "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days."

The Rio Pongas Mission.

But to resume. Though Bickersteth did not contemplate abandoning the Pongas, he came back to England full of the possibilities of Sierra Leone. The recaptured slaves, in thousands, from many tribes and nations, and of many languages, were being clothed and provided for by the Government. But Christian teaching and influence were sorely needed; and what an opening was thus presented for raising up, if the converting grace of the Holy Ghost were vouchsafed, Native Christians who should themselves in after years carry the Gospel to the interior, it might be to the very countries from which they had been stolen! This was the grand work to which the Church Missionary Society now girded itself.

Plans for Sierra Leone.

While Bickersteth was laying his plans for the due occupation of Sierra Leone before the Society, Sir Charles McCarthy, the Governor, was sending corresponding plans home to the Secretary for the Colonies. The Committee and Earl Bathurst accordingly

* July, August, and September, 1818.

arranged measures together. The peninsula was divided into parishes, and the Society undertook to provide ministers and schoolmasters, Government giving considerable pecuniary aid. A central boarding-school, called the Christian Institution, was established on Leicester Mountain, above Freetown, and here were received some two hundred boys and girls supported by the special School Fund referred to in a previous chapter. Government built a church at Freetown, and made provision for two chaplains. Further details it is needless to give more fully.

Parts of these plans were settled before Bickersteth went out; and the first four schoolmasters sailed a few weeks after him, arrived at Sierra Leone while he was there, and were located by him. Two of these, both Germans, Johnson and Düring, received Lutheran orders at the hands of three of their brethren, and afterwards became two of the very best missionaries who ever laboured in West Africa. At the same time, an excellent clergyman, Mr. Garnon, went out as Government chaplain; and soon afterwards the Society supplied a second chaplain in the person of one of its students, Mr. Collier. In the next five years, to 1822 inclusive, seventeen more men were sent out by the Society. Death continued to claim a sad tribute: the sowing was still in tears; but a joyful reaping, at last, was now at hand.

Johnson and During.

The most conspicuous instrument used by God to effect the change was William Augustine Bernard Johnson. He was a native of Hanover. When eight years old, he was reproved by his master, one Monday morning, for *only* remembering one text out of the Sunday morning sermon, which was, "Call upon Me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me." The rebuke he received for remembering nothing else so affected him that this text was deeply imprinted on his mind for the rest of his life; and very truly did it prove the key of his career. Coming to England after his marriage, he worked at a sugar-refiner's in Whitechapel; but business was slack, and wages low, and at length they were on the verge of starvation. Suddenly the text recurred to his mind, and he cried to God, not only for bread, but for the pardon of his sins. In a quite unexpected way, help came to them; but, what was still better, both husband and wife set themselves to serve the Lord with full purpose of heart from that day. In the following year, 1813, he chanced to be present at one of the Church Missionary Society's valedictory meetings; and his whole soul was fired with the thought of teaching the Heathen also to "call upon the Lord." Two years later, his fellow-countryman, Düring, who was already accepted by the Society, introduced him to Pratt; and in 1816, as already mentioned, they sailed together, with two others, and the wives of all four, for Africa.

Johnson at Regent.

Johnson was located by Bickersteth at Regent's Town (or as it was ultimately called, Regent), one of the settlements of liberated

slaves, where some fourteen hundred of them had been placed. The description of them will answer equally well for any of the other "parishes," as they were called, Gloucester, Kissey, Leopold, Wilberforce, Bathurst, Waterloo, Charlotte, &c. Twenty-two different tribes and nations were represented among them, and the only medium of mutual communication was a little broken English. Their condition was deplorable. The purity of the marriage state was unknown among them. They were crowded—one may say herded—in miserable huts. They were full of disease, and the latest arrivals were like skeletons. When clothing was given them, they sold it; and not till they saw a modestly dressed negro servant-girl in Johnson's house did they perceive the advantage of it. They shirked the labour of cultivating the ground, many of them preferring to live by thieving. "If ever I have seen wretchedness," wrote Johnson, on arriving at Regent, "it has been to-day. These poor depraved people are indeed the offscouring of Africa. But who knows whether the Lord will not make His converting power known among them? With Him nothing is impossible." So "in the day of trouble," once more, Johnson "called upon the Lord." And the promise was abundantly fulfilled. Deliverance from despair was granted at once; and if ever a missionary was permitted to prove that God had said to him in power, "Thou shalt glorify Me," it was William Johnson.

The Revival.

On July 14th, 1816, his second Sunday, Johnson persuaded a few of the people to come into his own hut early in the morning, and sang and prayed with them. The Spirit of God at once gave a blessing: their hearts were touched, and all day long successive little companies crowded into the hut. Next day he began school, with ninety boys and a few girls, and forty-three adults in the evening. In the following month, a stone church put up by Government was ready, and very quickly the degraded people, under the mighty Divine influence that was working in them, though they knew it not, were attending in crowds. He invited them to visit him privately. At first they only came for what they could get; but soon one and another and another appeared, deeply convicted of sin, and crying to God for mercy; and at earliest dawn, before the daily prayers in church at 6 a.m., Johnson could see men and women kneeling under the bushes in secret prayer. Saturday evening was again and again observed to be a time of special blessing; but Johnson did not then know that the Church Missionary Committee in London always met on that evening for prayer. In October, only three months after his arrival, twenty-one converts were baptized, carefully selected from among a crowd of applicants; and month by month other baptisms followed. Nothing in missionary history is more touching than some of the utterances recorded of the now tamed and humble people. "I cannot thank the Lord Jesus enough for this good book," said one, "for I have seen myself in it." "How is

it with your heart?" one was asked: "Massa," was the reply, "my heart no live here now; my heart live there," pointing upward. A mutual benefit society was formed: "Dat be very good ting, broders," said one; "suppose one be sick, all be sick; one be well, all be well." A missionary association was formed: seventeen of the converts spoke, and one hundred and seven put down their names as subscribers. Some of the speeches are reported in the *Register*. Here is a fragment of one:—

"Missionary come here, and preach to us, and we pay nothing. England make us free, and bring us to this country. My brothers, God has done great things for us. But I have denied Him like Peter. I am guilty before Him; but oh, may He have mercy upon me! I am not able to do anything. I pray God make us help God's word to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. I believe that word will come true. If any got a penny, let him give it, and pray God to bless our Society."

This led to a general Church Missionary Association being formed for the Colony in 1819; and the contributions in its first year amounted to £68 4*s*. 11*d*.

Let us take one day out of Johnson's diary, September 6th, 1817, fourteen months after his arrival:—

"The vestry, the gallery stairs, the tower, the windows, were all full. Some of the seats in the passages were over-weighted and broke down. When I entered the church and saw the multitudes, I could hardly refrain myself. After evening service, one of the boys wished to know if it were really true Jesus prayed for them. They had been in the field to pray, and did not know how. I spoke to them, and they went back with joy. It was a moonlight night, and the mountains re-echoed with the singing of hymns, the girls, in one part, praying and singing by turns. The boys had got upon a high rock with a light; one gave out a hymn, and when finished, another engaged in prayer. Many of the people, hearing, got up and joined them."

Revivals among emotional people like the Negroes are not uncommon in America. Methodist camp-meetings are regular agencies for producing them. But there the people are familiar from infancy with the outline of the way of salvation. Here we see absolutely ignorant and utterly degraded Heathen, with no religious ideas beyond the superstitions of "gree-grees" or fetishes, suddenly understanding what sin is, Who Christ is, how sin can be put away, how Christ can be trusted and served; and not merely understanding these truths and giving play to the emotions kindled by them, but exhibiting before the eyes of all around them transformed lives—honesty and purity and love in the place of pilfering and uncleanness and incessant quarrels. What could effect such a change? No missionary could do it; no army of missionaries; but the Holy Ghost alone. But the Holy Ghost works by means; and the means He used at Regent—as so often elsewhere—was a man wholly devoted to his work, really caring for the souls of his flock, setting forth in all their simplicity and fulness the great facts of sin and salvation, and trusting only to

Its practical effects.

the Spirit Himself to make the word effectual. And the result was seen in godly lives. Mr. Garnon, the chaplain, visited Regent, and wrote of the people, "We could scarcely have expected such evidences from those who have so long been far distant from God by wicked works and gross ignorance. Their general characteristic is *lowly obedience*. When Mr. Johnson has been out, they often labour more than common to do a good day's work." And a schoolmaster employed at Regent during a visit Johnson paid to England was astonished at their "integrity, industry, and docility."

Gospel first: then Civilization.

The Gospel was not brought to these people by Civilization; but the Gospel brought Civilization in its train. Here is the report of Regent two years after:—

"The Town itself is laid out with regularity; nineteen streets are formed, and are made plain and level, with good roads round the Town; a large stone Church rises in the midst of the habitations; a Government House, a Parsonage House, a Hospital, School Houses, Store Houses, a Bridge of several arches, some Native dwellings, and other buildings, all of stone, are either finished or on the point of being so. But the state of cultivation further manifests the industry of the people; all are farmers; gardens, fenced in, are attached to every dwelling; all the land in the immediate neighbourhood is under cultivation, and pieces of land even to the distance of three miles; there are many rice-fields; and, among other vegetables raised for food, are cassadas, plantains, coco, yams, coffee, and Indian corn; of fruits, they have bananas, oranges, limes, pineapples, ground-nuts, guavas, and papaws; of animals, there are horses, cows, bullocks, sheep, goats, pigs, ducks, and fowls; a daily market is held for the sale of articles; and on Saturdays this market is large and general. It has been already said that all are farmers; but many of them, beside the cultivation of the ground, have learned and exercise various trades: fifty of them are masons and bricklayers; forty, carpenters; thirty, sawyers; thirty, shingle-makers; twenty, tailors; four, blacksmiths; and two, butchers. In these various ways, upward of six hundred of the Negroes maintain themselves; and have been enabled, in this short space of time, by the fruits of their own productive industry, to relieve from all expense, on their personal account, that Government to which they pay the most grateful allegiance."

And an official Report on Roads and Public Buildings, issued in 1819, thus concluded its remarks on Regent:—

"Let it be considered that not more than three or four years have passed since the greater part of Mr. Johnson's population were taken out of the holds of slave-ships; and who can compare their present condition with that from which they were rescued, without seeing manifest cause to exclaim, 'The hand of Heaven is in this!' Who can contrast the simple and sincere Christian worship which precedes and follows their daily labours, with the grovelling and malignant superstitions of their original state, their gree-grees, their red-water, their witch-craft, and their devils' houses,—without feeling and acknowledging a miracle of good, which the immediate interposition of the Almighty could alone have wrought? And what greater blessing could man or nation desire or enjoy, than to have been made the instruments of conferring such sublime benefits on the most abject of the human race?

"If any other circumstance could be required to prove the immediate interposition of the Almighty, we have only to look at the plain men and simple means employed in bringing about the miraculous conversion that we have recorded. Does it not recall to mind the first diffusion of the Gospel by the Apostles themselves? These thoughts will occur to strangers, at remote distance, when they hear these things; and must they not occur much more forcibly to us who have these things constantly before our eyes?"

In 1819, Mrs. Johnson, who had been doing excellent work among the women and girls, was ordered home, sick, and her husband had to accompany her to England. On Easter Day, about ten days before they sailed, he baptized 253 adult converts, and administered the Holy Communion to 258. The parting with his people brought out all the love they had learned to feel for him. With many tears they crowded the shore to bid him farewell, saying, "Massa, suppose no water live here, we go with you all the way, till no feet more!" The time of his absence was a time of testing, of winnowing and sifting, for the Native Church; and one of the converts afterwards described it thus:—"Massa, before you go from this place you preach, and you say, 'Suppose somebody beat rice, when he done beat, he take the fan and fan it, and then all chaff fly away, and the rice get clean. So God do Him people: He fan the chaff away.' Now, Massa, we been in that fashion ever since you been gone to England. God fan us that time for true." Nevertheless, when Johnson returned to Africa in the following January, he found the people, as he said, "hungering after the word of God more than ever." His journals, and those of other missionaries in the Colony, fill many pages of the *Missionary Register*, and of Appendices to the Annual Reports; and the details of his daily ministrations among the people, the evidences of grace in their hearts and lives, and the illustrations also of the devil's power to cause inconsistency and backsliding in some, are most touching.

Johnson's converts.

But it was not at Regent only that the Spirit of God was working. Mr. Düring's labours at Gloucester met with blessing little less remarkable; and indeed almost all the parishes showed improvement which astonished those who visited them, and elicited warm testimonies from the Government officials and other independent witnesses. Thus Sir George Collier, the Commodore of the West African Squadron, wrote,—

Official testimonies.

"More improvement under all circumstances of climate and infancy of colony is scarcely to be supposed. I visited all the black towns and villages, attended the public schools and other establishments; and I have never witnessed in any population more contentment and happiness. . . . I have attended places of public worship in every quarter of the globe, and I do most conscientiously declare that never did I witness the services of religion more piously performed or more devoutly attended to than in Sierra Leone."

The Chief Justice of the Colony in 1822, the Hon E. Fitzgerald, testified that while, ten years before, with a population of 4000,

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there were forty cases in the calendar for trial, now, with the population increased to 6000, there were only six cases; and not one of these was from any village superintended by the missionaries. The Governor, too, Sir Charles McCarthy, a man who by his high character, wisdom, and untiring energy, conferred inestimable benefits on the Colony, attended the Committee while on a visit to England, and bore strong testimony to the reality of the missionary work.

The joy of the Committee, and of friends all over the country, was the kind of joy of which we commonly say that it knows no bounds; but this phrase would be incorrectly applied here. Their joy did know bounds. The journals were read with keenest interest and thankfulness; and when Johnson visited England, his simple and unaffected recital of God's work at Regent made a deep impression everywhere. Yet the Committee, and the leading friends, knew well that the great Enemy of souls would not let alone such a work as that. The expressions about it in the Reports are cautious and moderate; the missionaries are commended for so carefully testing the candidates for baptism—as indeed they did,—and enjoined to redouble their vigilance, if that were possible, and their watchfulness also as regards their own personal Christian life. Satan "desired to have" them as well as their converts; and the infirmity of human nature is illustrated by the withdrawal of four schoolmasters, and the dismissal of two, during that very time of blessing, 1818-22. Moreover, there were reminders year by year of the perils to life and health at Sierra Leone. The deaths up to 1815 inclusive have already been mentioned. In 1816, one of the new schoolmasters died a few weeks after landing. In 1817 was Bütscher's home-call, and that of another schoolmaster. In 1818, Wenzel died, and one of the wives; in 1819 two schoolmasters and another wife,—one of the former, J. B. Cates, a man of exceptional power and excellence, "our right hand," as Mr. Düring called him;* in 1820 one of the wives; in 1821, the senior of them all, and No. 1 of the entire C.M.S. roll, Melchior Renner, after seventeen years' unbroken service in Africa. Moreover, in 1818-19, both chaplains, Mr. Garnon and Mr. Collier, died, and Mrs. Collier.†

Caution of C.M.S. Committee.

Deaths at Sierra Leone.

Full accounts of the sickness and death of all these brethren and sisters were published in the *Register*, and called forth widespread sympathy and fervent prayer. It is hard to say which are the most moving, the trustful and sometimes joyful utterances of the dying soldiers of the Cross, or the courageous faith that

* Cates's mother went to one of the Annual Meetings at Freemasons' Hall. To prevent overcrowding, only subscribers were admitted. "Are you a subscriber?" "No," said the poor woman, and sadly turned away. Suddenly she reappeared: "Yes," she exclaimed; "I am a subscriber; I have given an only son."—*Life of Josiah Pratt*, p. 382.

† A special chapter follows this one, giving fuller personal details of some of these brethren and sisters.

breathes in the letters of the survivors. But even after all this, the worst was yet to come. In 1823, the yellow fever broke out, and wrought havoc in the Colony. Many officers and civilians fell a victim to it. The Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, a member of the Governor's Council, three doctors, two chaplains, and many others, all died within a few weeks. The Chief Justice was deeply mourned by the whole Colony, having been universally esteemed as the friend of every Christian and philanthropic work. Two thousand Negroes attended his funeral. Nyländer wrote that Sir C. McCarthy, the Governor, was absent on the Gold Coast, but was daily expected. "He will be astonished to see the Colony almost empty of Public Officers—no Lawyer—no Judge —no Secretary—only one Writer, and three Members of Council —no Chaplain—one Schoolmaster—only three Medical Men—and a few Missionaries!"

But the missionaries were not exempt. In 1823, seven new schoolmasters and five wives landed at Sierra Leone. Of these twelve persons, six died in that year, and four more within eighteen months.* Then came the home-call of William Johnson himself. He had left his wife in England; and in this year, being crippled by ophthalmia, he received leave to go home and see her, as she was not expected to live long. Three days after he sailed, the fatal fever, which no doubt was already on him, appeared; and after four more days, the evangelist of Regent yielded up his spirit to the Lord, and his body was committed to the deep, at the age of thirty-four, and after seven years of a missionary life to which there are few parallels in the whole history of the Church. Then Düring took the fever, and, while almost at the point of death, was put on board a ship, with his wife, to be taken if possible to England. The vessel sailed on August 31st, and was never again heard of. She was supposed to have foundered, with all on board, in a terrible gale in the English Channel in the first week of November. Thus perished also the evangelist of Gloucester Town, where a work of God had been manifested only second to that at Regent. The two Hanoverians who together had studied at the National Society's Central School, who together had sailed for Africa, who together had received the instructions of Edward Bickersteth on the spot, who together—or rather, simultaneously—had entered upon the arduous task of reclaiming the most degraded of mankind, who together had rejoiced over the abundant tokens of the Holy Spirit's converting and sanctifying work, now almost together entered into the presence of their Lord.†

Deaths of Johnson and Düring.

* See next chapter.

† The old *Memoir of W. A. B. Johnson* has been long out of print; but Dr. A. T. Pierson has lately given the gist of it in a very attractive form in his *Seven Years in Sierra Leone* (New York, 1897). Dr. Pierson thinks Johnson's narrative "the most remarkable story of seven years' missionary labour" he "ever read."

The Committee were for the moment crushed by all this overwhelming sorrow. They gazed in one another's faces across the table; they knelt together at the footstool of Divine Mercy; and the tradition is that one leading lay member, on the day that the news came of several deaths, rose and said in a tone of deep feeling and firm resolve, "We must *not* abandon West Africa." And when, at the following Anniversary, they had to present their Report, the language is singularly calm and courageous:—

Attitude of the Committee.

> "The Committee scarcely know whether to speak in the language of grief or of joy, of sorrow or of triumph—so mingled have been, of late, the Divine Dispensations. In no one year has the Society ever suffered a greater loss in its Friends and Labourers, while in no one year has there been a more evident blessing on their labours. The alleviations of its heavy trials have been remarkable. They have given occasion for a special manifestation of Divine Grace. Those who have died have died in the Lord, thanking God for calling them to His work, and glorifying His Holy Name in the midst of their sufferings. Their surviving relatives around them have expressed entire resignation to the Divine Will, in the very midst of their trials, and this just before they themselves were called to their everlasting reward. The survivors seem to have had their faith elevated above the trying circumstances in which they had been placed, and to have become more entirely united, and devoted to their work. The Society will see in this state of things a peculiar manifestation of the character of the work, whose labourers have often had to say, 'As dying, and behold we live—as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing.' Their Heavenly Master illustrates the power and the abundance of His own grace, in the very weakness of His servants; and He carries on His own work, while He removes to their eternal reward those instruments whom He has most highly honoured."

Several of the schoolmasters were Germans, not from Berlin as of old, but from the new Basle Seminary; and the news of their deaths made a deep impression upon the students. "Every one of our brethren," wrote Blumhardt, the Director, "is preparing himself to come forward and offer himself as a sacrifice to the Lord. Should many more such tidings of an immortal world arrive, we could not longer detain our dear brethren-soldiers from going to the spot where the Heroes of the Church have fallen."

Zeal of Basle men.

The tidings of Johnson's death at sea did not reach Sierra Leone till they had come to England by the ship he died in and been communicated by another ship to Africa; and appeals from the brethren to send him back quickly, and many letters from his converts to himself about the sickness and the sorrow oppressing the Colony, kept arriving at Salisbury Square long after he had been called away. But when at last Regent heard of it, a fresh and remarkable proof of the genuineness of religion in the people was afforded. The schoolmaster in charge, when reading out the news, begged them to be calm and quiet; and though the whole congregation were instantly in tears, none of the noisy outcries were heard which had been so natural to them in the past.

Regent hears of its pastor's death.

Presently they rose and sang a hymn which Johnson had taught them, and of which he was very fond :—

In every trouble sharp and strong,
My soul to Jesus flies ;
My anchor-hold is firm in Him,
When swelling billows rise.

His comforts bear my spirits up ;
I trust a faithful God ;
The sure foundation of my hope
Is in my Saviour's blood.

Loud Hallelujahs I will sing
To my Redeemer's Name ;
In joy and sorrow, life and death,
His love is still the same.

At the usual Prayer Meeting on the following Saturday evening, several of the converts spoke lovingly of their departed friend and pastor; and one of them said, "We thought too much of Mr. Johnson, though he was a good man. God will not suffer us to put confidence in any but the Lord Jesus Christ. My dear brethren, I think God took him away, because we looked more to Mr. Johnson than we did to Jesus."

More deaths.

In the next three years several more deaths occurred, among them that of Nyländer, the oldest missionary after Renner was taken away, being No. 3 on the Society's roll. He had laboured nineteen years in Africa without once coming to Europe. He was the founder of the Bullom Mission, and in his later years was looked up to as the veteran of the Colony. When he died in 1825, only one man was left who had gone out before 1820. This was Wilhelm, one of the fourth party (1811), and No. 10 on the roll. In 1826, out of a total of seventy-nine persons, missionaries, schoolmasters, and wives, who had gone out in the twenty-two years, only fourteen remained ; the large majority of the remainder being dead.

This chapter may appropriately be concluded by quoting from a striking letter addressed to the Committee in the midst of their trials by a friend of the Society whose name is not given :—

"We ought not to be discouraged by our losses in Africa ; since, even on the principle of justice, we should be very liberal to that country. For what has influenced the public mind so much as the interesting accounts communicated respecting that country ? I firmly believe that three-fourths of the zeal for Missions now evident among us was first excited by the state of Africa. Go and tell of rains, and fevers, of graves, of deaths, of missionaries dead, of missionaries dying, of missionaries fainting under the burden and heat of the day, tell of the good already done, and that others are panting to enter into this very field — these things will produce even more beneficial effects than they have ever yet produced : they will produce sufficient funds for the support, not only of the African Mission, but of the whole. Such a labourer as this is surely worthy of its hire : an advocate so touching, so eloquent,

so successful, should be well repaid. In fine, notwithstanding the Society's expenditure upon Africa, Africa is an advantage to the Society —a creditor, and not a debtor."

Africa the world's creditor.

Yes, and so Africa always has been. To India, to China, to all other Mission-fields, Africa is a Creditor, not a Debtor. The deep interest and living sympathy again and again aroused in behalf of Africa, by the enterprises of various Missions, whether on the Niger, or the Congo, or the Zambesi, whether on Lake Nyassa or the Victoria Nyanza, whether at Sierra Leone or Kuruman or Zanzibar or Mombasa, have again and again been manifested in personal consecration and in the dedication of substance to the Lord, by which every other part of the world has been the gainer.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Finished Course.

Miss Childe's Book—Some Martyrs for Christ in West Africa—Rev. W. Garnon—Cates—A Negro's Wail—Mr. and Mrs. Palmer—C. Knight and H. Brooks—Nyländer's Daughters Kissy Churchyard.

"*I am now ready to be offered. . . . I have finished my course.*"—2 Tim. iv. 6, 7.

HEN we read St. Paul's touching words, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand; I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith,"—and remember that they were written in his old age from the Mamertine Prison at Rome, we think naturally of his long career and his "labours more abundant," and our idea of a "finished course" is of a long life of usefulness at length laid down. But a "finished course" need not be a long one. Both the sons of Zebedee finished their course, although one was the first apostle to fall, and the other outlived all the rest. The Lord Himself, at the age of thirty-three, could say, "I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do: and now come I to Thee." Yes, "the work which *Thou* gavest me to do"; not necessarily the work which we in our shortsightedness may have purposed or aspired to do. "Immortal *till his work is done*"—so the Christian has been well described; yes, but the work appointed by the Divine Master may be a very small one, and when that work is finished, the "course" is finished too.

A finished course.

The words thus chosen for the title of this chapter are the title of a book written more than thirty years ago by the daughter of the venerated former Principal of the Church Missionary College, the Rev. C. F. Childe, but now out of print.* No more beautiful and touching book has ever been published. In simple language it sketches the careers of some of the earlier C.M.S. missionaries, most of them in Africa, whose "finished course" was a very brief one. The present chapter consists chiefly of a few gleanings from that volume, supplemented from the original records. The scope of our History does not permit of many biographical details

Miss Childe's book.

* *The Finished Course: Brief Notices of Departed Church Missionaries.* Seeley & Co., 1865.

of the missionaries being introduced; but we may at this point rightly turn aside for a moment from the general narrative, to behold the triumphs of Divine Grace in some of the brethren and sisters whose "course" was quickly "finished."

One of the most interesting of these faithful labourers was not a C.M.S. missionary at all, in the strict sense of the word. His name does not appear on the roll. But to all intents and purposes he was a C.M.S. missionary nevertheless. In the early days of Sierra Leone, the Committee now and again picked out their best men and gave them to the Government to send out as chaplains; and while the regular missionaries were either German Lutheran ministers or English schoolmasters and artizans, Englishmen qualified for ordination were allotted to the not less important—and more prominent and influential—office of chaplain. One of these was the Rev. William Garnon.

Garnon the chaplain.

William Garnon was an orphan brought up by an uncle, Captain James Garnon, who had seen much active service, and filled his nephew's mind with the glories of a soldier's life. William in due course obtained a commission in the 14th Foot, and served in Spain under Sir John Moore, and in the ill-fated Walcheren Expedition. The Walcheren fever shattered his health, and during the long period of delicacy that followed he came under the influence of a godly aunt at Brighton, and ultimately, through a faithful sermon he heard there, was converted to Christ. Being introduced to William Wilberforce, he was encouraged by that great man to study for the ministry; and after ordination and a short service in England as curate, he was appointed to the Chaplaincy at Sierra Leone. He sailed thither, accompanied by a young wife, in September, 1816, at the very time that Edward Bickersteth was returning to England.

The difference between a chaplain and a missionary in West Africa was little more than one of status and salary, Government connexion and pay being a good deal higher than that of a missionary society. The chaplains threw themselves heartily into missionary work, and the missionaries performed the chaplains' duties when death or absence left vacancies. Mr. Garnon proved a true missionary, travelling among the villages, encouraging the brethren, addressing their congregations, instructing their classes. It was the period of the revivals under Johnson and Düring, described in the preceding chapter; and Garnon's help and counsel were of the greatest value.

Sunday, July 19th, 1818, was a day of arduous service at Freetown, and Garnon was tired out. In the middle of the night he was called up by a messenger from one of the German missionaries, Mr. Wenzel, who was dying; and in a few minutes a second messenger followed, urging him to come quickly. His wife, dreading the exposure for him in his fatigued condition, begged him to wait till the morning; but his reply was, "If the doctor is sent for, he is not afraid to go instantly; neither must

I." He rode on horseback four miles through heavy rain; and two days after he was struck down by fever. At the same time, in the same house, the assistant-chaplain, Mr. Collier (who had been a C.M.S. student), and Mrs. Collier, were also lying ill; and Mrs. Garnon herself was daily expecting the advent of her first-born. On the 28th Mrs. Collier died; and the missionaries who came together for her funeral that evening, knelt round her coffin, and prayed the Lord, if it were His will, to raise up both the chaplains. Mrs. Garnon, who had been tenderly nursing her husband with the little strength she had, was now obliged to retire; but Johnson, Düring, and Cates, watched through the night. Rapidly, however, their beloved friend and counsellor sank, saying with almost his last breath the Apostolic Benediction *over himself*—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, *be with me*"; adding, a moment afterwards, "*Yes, they are with me.*" In the early morning of July 29th, just two days after his twenty-seventh birthday, William Garnon entered into rest; and thus on two successive evenings the bereaved band of missionaries assembled round an open grave. Next day, Garnon's little son was born. On the third day, the sick German, Wenzel, died, and was buried.

More deaths.

"And now, dear Sirs!" wrote Cates, reporting these deaths, "be not discouraged! Let more labourers put their lives in their hands, and come to help those that are left. Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God!" Then, when Cates himself died in the following year, and the other chaplain, Mr. Collier, and Mrs. Jesty (a most devoted woman, whose husband only survived her six months), Düring wrote:—

"When it pleases God to visit His people with afflictions, those who are His are best seen, and distinguished from those who bear His name but are none of His. While those whose only hope is in this life are terrified by seeing numbers of their fellow-mortals hurried into eternity, the true Christian is enabled to stand like a child by his Father's side, and see with serenity what *He* is doing. . . . I would humbly say to my superiors, Be not dismayed at the dark dispensations of our God! Fear not: for the Saviour shall yet see of the travail of His soul among the tribes of Africa. I am not cast down: I know that the Lord can work by a single individual as much as by a thousand; only I would crave your earnest prayers for us the survivors."

Another wrote,—"We are not discouraged, but encouraged; and if we are so who stand in jeopardy every hour, why should not you be? Send us another Cates—an Elisha instead of our Elijah!" And Nyländer, alluding to a report that had reached Sierra Leone that the Society was gravely thinking of abandoning the Mission, urges the blessing that God had already vouchsafed to the labours of those who had been taken away, and even to the silent influence of those who had been but a few weeks in the country, mentioning actual cases of conversion brought about by God using the words and lives of some with the briefest careers.

"Look *forward* for your reward!" he writes to the Committee; "though the bodies of our brethren are removed from among us, yet the seed which they sowed keeps growing." One simple letter in broken English must be quoted, written to Mr. Johnson while in England by one of his converts. It gives the most vivid picture of all:—

A Negro's wail.

> "That time Mr. Cates sick, and Mr. Morgan sick; and poor Mr. Cates die. Then Mr. Collier get sick, and Mr. Morgan get sick again; and one friend said, 'God soon leave this place'; and I said, 'I trust in the Lord Jesus: He knows His people, and He never left them, neither forsake them'—and then, next Sunday, Mr. Collier die—then Mr. Morgan sick—Mrs. Morgan sick—Mr. Bull sick. Oh! that time all Missionaries sick! We went to Freetown Monday, and bury Mr. Collier—we come home again, and keep service in Church. Oh, that time trouble too much in my heart. Nobody to teach me, and I was so sorry for my poor country-people. Mr. Cates die—Mr. Collier die—Mr. Morgan sick oh, what must I do for my countrymen! But I trust in the Lord Jesus: He know what to do; and I went to pray, and I say, 'O Lord, take not all the Teachers away from us!'"

The sad year 1823.

The year 1823 was another specially sad time, as mentioned before.* In January of that year a vessel from England arrived at Sierra Leone, bringing back Mr. and Mrs. Düring, and bringing also no less than thirteen new labourers, and a new colonial chaplain and his wife. The same ship, sailing again for England, took in it W. A. B. Johnson. Now observe what the hand of death did in that year. On April 20th one of the new men was taken; on April 25th a second; on May 3rd Johnson died at sea; on May 6th a colonial chaplain returning home also died at sea; on May 7th the new chaplain was called away; on June 6th his wife; on June 22nd the wife of the first man taken; on June 25th another wife; on June 28th another of the new band; on November 26th yet another. In that November, too, Mr. and Mrs. Düring were lost at sea. It was at the same time that the Colony was so bereft of its officials, as before recorded.† Let us now just glance at two members of this martyr-band—as they may well be called,—the new chaplain and his wife, the Rev. Henry and Mrs. Palmer.

Mr. and Mrs. Palmer.

Mr. Palmer, like Mr. Garnon, had been in the army. He had fought at Waterloo, and had served in many distant climes; and a man thus inured to hardship seemed to the C.M.S. Committee exactly fitted for the dangerous post of Sierra Leone, and was accordingly recommended by them to the Government. Moreover he was of a singularly bright and joyous spirit, that could be trusted not to give way to depression. His young wife was the daughter of a country clergyman, the Rev. John Noble, Vicar of Frisby, Leicestershire, and had been the sunshine of the village. It was not till Mr. Palmer was about to sail for Africa that she was married. In her twentieth year she was cheerfully laid on

* See p. 169.

† See p. 169.

the altar of sacrifice by her parents; and it is related that, just before starting for church for the wedding, she suddenly sat down at the piano and sang Kelly's hymn—not so familiar now as it once was—"We've no abiding city here"; which led their thoughts up from the dreaded African shore to the "city out of sight," the "city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God." But the beautiful prayer in the Marriage Service reminded them that it is those who "obey His will" that are "always in safety under His protection."

In the Memoir of Robert Noble, the great educational missionary in the Telugu country, it is recorded that, when he was a boy, his elder sister, who was going out to the Mission-field, passed through the town of Oakham, where he was at school, very early in the morning, called to bid him farewell, saw him in bed, and gave him a Bible as a parting gift, saying, "Robert, read your Bible." That sister was Anne Palmer.

On their arrival at Sierra Leone they were temporarily quartered with W. A. B. Johnson at Regent. When, three months later, he was about to start on that voyage which he did not live to complete, Mrs. Palmer had the privilege of being present at the memorable farewell communion service, and wrote home with overflowing joy of the four hundred and twenty Negro Christians among whom she had knelt at the Lord's Table. On May 3rd Mr. Palmer's predecessor in the chaplaincy, the Rev. S. Flood, sailed for England—which he, too, never reached. The next day, Sunday, Mr. Palmer preached at Freetown on the opening words of the Lord's high-priestly prayer, "Father, the hour is come." In the middle of the sermon he felt the fever seize upon him; and on reaching home he said with deep emotion that if he never had another opportunity of declaring the Gospel, he believed he had faithfully declared it that day; and then with solemn emphasis he repeated his text, "Father, the hour is come!" Within three days he was gone. The veteran Nyländer wrote, "Had he fallen at Waterloo when he fought there, would not his death have been counted honourable? Is not his death here in the Lord's battle more honourable?" The young widow wrote, "He who cannot err, whose love to His people can never fail, has seen fit to take my beloved husband to Himself. Can I reply against God? I cannot; I will not. *The hour was come,* and His name was glorified."

She, too, now took the deadly disease. From her sick-bed she wrote to a schoolmaster's wife in Sierra Leone, "May you and your husband hold each other *as loans*, together with every other precious gift which our God may bestow upon you." Three weeks after her own husband's death, the babe was born whom her fellow-missionaries had looked for to cheer her in her sorrow; but it was born only to die; and six days after, "the hour" came for the young mother too. On June 6th she fell asleep.

The missionary who reported these losses was a young school-

PART III. 1812–24. Chap. 14.

master conspicuous for piety and devotion, one of the party who had only come out in the previous January, Philip Vaughan. It was his wife to whom Mrs. Palmer wrote the message above-quoted. That wife was the next to be struck down. The narrative of her last days is one of the most touching of the many touching narratives of that fatal year. Her sick-chamber was indeed the house of God and the gate of heaven. Her utterances of faith and hope are most beautiful. Not for a moment did she repine. "I have never repented," she said, "one single step I took towards coming here. I sought my God's direction, and I firmly believe I had it, both by the teaching of His Spirit and the leadings of His Providence." To her, too, a child was born, but born only to die; and, shortly after, she "finished her course," literally "with joy." Out of six labourers in Freetown alone, three months before, only Vaughan himself now remained; and he, too, joined them in the presence of the Lord in the following November. The widow of another of the martyr-band came and took charge of the girls' school; but she also was taken within a few months. There was no C.M.S. missionary in Freetown left to smooth her dying pillow; the veteran Nyländer was lying dangerously ill at the neighbouring village of Kissey; and a young Wesleyan missionary, Mr. Harte, was alone privileged to receive her parting messages. He too died soon after; and Nyländer himself in the following year.

Mr. and Mrs. Vaughan.

But before Nyländer's death, two other valuable men had arrived, and had died. The Committee, deeply feeling the importance of sending good men to the two stations which had been so greatly blessed under Johnson and Düring, Regent and Gloucester, appointed to the Sierra Leone Mission, for the first time, two of their English candidates who had been ordained, Charles Knight and Henry Brooks. Knight was a brother of one of the four men who had formed the first band of missionaries to Ceylon.* Brooks, like Henry Williams of New Zealand, had been a lieutenant in the Navy. The words of Edward Bickersteth's charge to them at the Valedictory Meeting, show incidentally which of the brethren who had died in Africa were held in special estimation for their faithfulness and zeal. "You are about," said Bickersteth, "to tread in the steps of Garnon, and Johnson, and Düring, and Vaughan"; though he added, "and many others of the excellent of the earth, who are gone from the scene of your future labours to their heavenly rest. Follow them as they followed Christ."

Knight and Brooks.

They sailed on November 3rd, 1824, but contrary winds drove their vessel into Cowes, and there they were detained just two months. Brooks, recalling his naval experiences, wrote, "How different are my circumstances, views, hopes, from what they were when I was last in this port! Then, we were waiting for a

* See p. 216.

fair wind in order to carry out the declaration of *War* against the Americans. Now, we are waiting for a favourable gale to enable us to go and preach the Gospel of *Peace* to the Africans. Then, I was in fear and apprehension. Now, I am tranquil, blow high or blow low, because I am assured that my God watcheth over me." At length they got away, and reached Sierra Leone on February 3rd.

Knight took charge of Gloucester, and Brooks of Regent. Both stations had greatly suffered during the year and a half that had elapsed since their bereavement. The Negro Christians, easily led this way or that way, had sadly backslidden. But within a few weeks, the two new pastors had the joy of seeing most of them come back; and all looked bright and hopeful. But very quickly was their course finished. On the sixth Sunday of his ministry, Knight was struck by the fever, and had to commit the services to the schoolmaster, though by a great effort he succeeded in administering the Communion. That the Lord was calling him away he did not doubt for a moment; but he faced death without a shadow of fear. He did, however, think of the effect of it in England. "It will be such a discouragement to the Society," he said; "and it will prevent others coming out." Brooks hastened over from Regent, in time to bid his comrade farewell, and, on the evening of his death, their seventh Sunday in Africa, to commit his body to the grave. Then he went back to his own post, and on the thirteenth Sunday, a sunstroke laid him low. On the Monday, however, he got up—to bury another fellow-labourer, his schoolmaster's wife. On the Tuesday he was again struck down, never spoke again, and fell asleep early on the Wednesday morning, May 4th. A young Negro lad in the Christian Institution wrote home to the Society, "Dear Sir, do send us more missionaries like Mr. Brooks, men who count all things but loss for Jesus Christ's sake."

It was within the following three weeks that the veteran Nyländer was taken, after nineteen years' unbroken service. Of him we will not now speak; but let us briefly notice the two young daughters he left behind.

Nyländer's daughters,

In Edward Bickersteth's journal of his visit to Africa in 1816, occurs the following entry, under date May 5th:—

> "I preached from Matt. xxviii. 19, 'Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' after which I had the pleasure of baptizing Mr. Nyländer's two children, Catherine * and Anne Elizabeth. The negro school-children seemed much interested, and I was glad of the opportunity of talking to them about the ordinance."

This was on the Bullom Shore, opposite Sierra Leone, where Nyländer was then stationed; and it was the first baptism in that country, in which now for many years the Sierra Leone Church

* *Sic* in journal; but afterwards she appears as Hannah.

has maintained its own Mission, and admitted hundreds of members into the visible Body of Christ.

The two little girls, entirely orphaned by their father's death at the ages of thirteen and eleven, were sent to England for education; and after six years at the famous Clergy Daughters' School near Kirkby Lonsdale, they were engaged by the Society to be teachers in the land of their birth. When the Committee took leave of them, in 1831, Bickersteth affectionately addressed the young sisters whom he had baptized fifteen years before, and whose names stand Nos. 10 and 11 on the C.M.S. roll of women missionaries. Young as they were, they proved excellent school mistresses; and a few years later, both were married: Anne Elizabeth to the Rev. J. F. Schön, the eminent linguistic student and missionary, and her sister Hannah to the Rev. Edward Jones, the coloured clergyman of the American Church who was so long Principal of Fourah Bay College.

But they also soon finished their course. Each died in turn at the age of twenty-five. Each left a little daughter. Hannah's child soon followed her to the better land. Anne Elizabeth's child still, by God's mercy, survives, and is honoured by missionaries and travellers innumerable who have enjoyed the simple hospitality of her mission bungalow, as Mrs. Higgens of Colombo.

And granddaughter.

When James Frederick Schön was mourning the loss of his beloved young wife Anne Elizabeth, one of the African Christians said to him, "Massa, the time when trouble catch *me*, me go to *you:* you speak to us of Jesus and the Resurrection, and that make our hearts glad. Massa, can this now no comfort *you?* Your wife no lost, your child no lost. They that believe in Jesus never die."

Kissey Churchyard.

Kissey Churchyard, in which lie the mortal remains of many of these brethren and sisters, is a familiar name to older members of the Church Missionary Society. Often were the tombstones in it referred to at missionary meetings in former years. And no wonder; for touching indeed are these memorials of the dead—or rather, of those "not dead but gone before." Many of them belong to a later period than this chapter has to do with; yet let them be just noticed here. Side by side lie those heroes and heroines of the cross. "*There,*" says the book that has inspired this chapter, "lies the veteran missionary, worn out by years of toil; and *there,* the young brother, struck down in the prime of his youth, and the height of his usefulness. *There* sleeps the young wife, who rejoiced that she was counted worthy to die for the name of the Lord; and *there* the little children, early blighted by that deadly climate,—like the babes of Bethlehem, 'unconscious martyrs in the cause of their Redeemer.'" What the touching Service for the "Churching of Women" calls "the great pain and peril of child-birth" is conspicuously illustrated by the inscriptions on the graves at Kissey. Here lies Augusta

Kissling (*née* Tanner), the young wife of the excellent Basle missionary to the Gold Coast who, after five years there, joined the C.M.S., married, and went to Sierra Leone, and who in after years rendered valuable service in New Zealand. Many hopes clustered round Augusta Tanner. Her Lord had given her natural talents, which a good education had developed. When she was fifteen, God brought her to Himself. At the age of nineteen He called her to West Africa. For more than a year she enjoyed good health, and began zealously to work among the women and girls. Then her babe was born, and died; and, an hour after, the mother yielded up her beautiful spirit to the Lord. Near her grave is that of Mrs. Graf and her infant. She landed with her husband one December; on March 14th she was laid to rest in Kissey Churchyard. Hard by, again, is the grave of Mrs. Schlenker and her infant. She lived in Sierra Leone just six months. And the graves of two wives of David Schmid, both Germans; the first of whom landed in January and died in July, and the second landed in January and died in March.

But Kissey Churchyard is not the only spot thus sacred. The cemetery of Freetown contains many like early graves; and not a few are found in other outlying villages. It was not, however, in all cases the wife that was taken so soon. One grave at Kissey, for instance, bears this inscription, "Our dear and blessed Conrad's resting-place." "Conrad" was another Basle man ordained in England, the Rev. John Conrad Clemens. To his wife, also, a little babe was given, and immediately taken away again; but she recovered, nursed her dying husband, and then nobly laboured on in Africa, as a widow, for nineteen years. Sabina Peter von Ella, of Strasburg, deserves, as Mrs. Clemens, an honoured place among the heroines of Sierra Leone.

Some have reproached the Missionary Societies for sending out young women to die, and have suggested that their children "have no right to exist." Let such critics read Dr. Cust's address on Missionary Heroes in Africa, in which he speaks so sympathetically of "many a gentle woman's grave, for women have never been found wanting to share the honour and the danger of the Cross," and uses these noble words:—"Some are selected to live and work; to others is conceded the peculiar grace to die nobly, and set a glorious example. Deaths are required as well as Lives to complete the picture of the New Life. Some may follow the steps of our Lord in a life of beneficence and mercy; to others is granted the sweeter lot of filling up that which is behind of His sufferings. And in the last struggle, how by grace they have been sustained, doing nothing common or mean in the last memorable scene of their earthly passion but sealing their faith by their manner of meeting death."

Dr. Cust on the deaths of women in the Mission-field.

CHAPTER XV.

India: The Opened Door; the Entering In.

C.M.S. Work begun before the Opening—The Calcutta Corresponding Committee—Corrie and Abdul Masih—The First Missionaries—The Bishopric of Calcutta—Bishop Middleton—Bishop's College—Bishop Heber—Burdwan and its Schools—Miss Cooke's Girls' School—Benares, Agra, Meerut—The Sepoy Convert—Madras and Tinnevelly—Hough and Rhenius.

"*Open ye the gates, that the righteous . . . which keepeth the truth may enter in.*"—Isa. xxvi. 2.

Part III. 1812–24. Chap. 15.

OW, through the Divine blessing upon the strenuous exertions of Buchanan and Wilberforce and Pratt and their allies, the door of India was opened for the Gospel, we have already seen in our Ninth Chapter. We must now see how the Christians of England availed themselves of the great opportunity.

Work in India before the door opened.

But the Church Missionary Society had begun work in India before that year 1813. A Corresponding Committee, comprising three of the famous "five chaplains," David Brown, Buchanan, and Henry Martyn, and also George Udny, had been formed at Calcutta in 1807, and money had been granted to them, first for translations of the Scriptures, and then for the employment of Native Christians as "readers." The Society's vote of money for readers was noticed in the House of Commons by a hostile member, but Grant succeeded in quieting him.

Corrie and Abdul Masih.

Subsequently, Martyn and Buchanan having left India, and David Brown dying in 1812, the other two of the "five chaplains," Daniel Corrie and Thomas Thomason, were the leading spirits; and it was under Corrie's auspices that the first and most celebrated of these readers was set to work. This was Abdul Masih, originally Sheikh Salih, a zealous Delhi Mohammedan, and a man of some rank, having been master of the jewels at the Court of Oudh. He had been led to seek Christ through hearing Henry Martyn explaining the Ten Commandments to a crowd of natives at Cawnpore. He engaged himself as a copyist under Sabat, Martyn's assistant in translating the New Testament into Hindustani, and as he copied the translated chapters, the entrance of God's Word gave light; and the result was that he asked for

baptism. After Martyn left India, on Whit Sunday, 1811, he was baptized by David Brown in the Old Church, Calcutta, by the name of Abdul Masih (Servant of Christ). Corrie, on being appointed chaplain at Agra, took him there with him, engaging him as a reader in the name of the Church Missionary Society. He was thus the first C.M.S. agent in India; and it is a coincidence worth noting that Corrie's diary of the boat journey with him up the Ganges was one of the communications read at the first Committee meeting held in the new office in Salisbury Square, on December 13th, 1813. A rich blessing was vouchsafed to the Indian evangelist's work, and during Corrie's sixteen months at Agra over fifty adults, Hindus and Mohammedans, were baptized. So commenced the career of the man who was afterwards ordained by Bishop Heber. Let it never be forgotten that the first Native clergyman of the Church of England in India was a convert from Mohammedanism. Thomason had a portrait of him painted, and sent it home to Simeon in 1814. Simeon sent it to the Church Missionary House, and there it hangs to this day. A letter of Abdul Masih's to the Committee, a translation of which is printed in the Report of 1818, is singularly touching. "O friends of my soul," he says, "I who am the least of the servants of the Church of Hindoostan, give praise to the Lord Jesus, the Messiah, having found favour of you all." He gives an account of his work, and particularly of two ex-Moslems who had apostatized, expressing gladness that the "wolves in sheep's clothing" had thrown off their disguise. He sends "salaams" from forty-two men and women and their children; and concludes,—"May this Letter of Abdul Masih, written January 1, 1816, from his residence Akbarabad [i.e. Agra, the city of Akbar], arrive in London at the Church Missionary House, in the presence of the Reverend Josiah Pratt!"

Abdul's journals.

Abdul Masih's journals came home regularly, and proved quite the *pièce de résistance*, sometimes for months together, in the new *Missionary Register*; and they excited the deepest interest among the Society's friends throughout the country. It is interesting to notice that he was, in a humble sense, the first C.M.S. medical missionary. It was reported that in two months he had treated one hundred cases, had spent a large part of his stipend in the purchase of medicines, and was known far and wide as the Christian *hakim*. His journals greatly encouraged the Committee. As yet there was no fruit to speak of in West Africa, whither all the missionaries (save the two "lay settlers" for New Zealand) had hitherto been sent; and here, before a single man had been sent to India, and at the very time that Wilberforce was fighting in Parliament for liberty to send them, the Lord was already gathering out His elect, using two instruments which have everywhere and at all times, down to the present day in Uganda, been more blessed than any other, the Native Evangelist and the Written Word. The Committee saw in it a confirmation of "that first principle of all missionary exertions, *an entire confidence in*

God, in the prudent use of all opportunities as they may present themselves." *

But before the news began to arrive that so cheered the Committee—indeed within a month of that first journal of Corrie's being read,—the great Valedictory Dismissal had been held, noticed in a previous chapter,† to take leave of the first four missionaries for India, Rhenius, Schnarre, Greenwood, and Norton.

Buchanan exhorts the first men for India.

Buchanan's written address on the occasion is a masterpiece of wise counsel, dictated by his own experience in India, and based upon our Lord's charge to the Twelve in St. Matthew.‡ It is notable for its plain statement that a missionary's life in India is not (ordinarily) one of peril or privation, and for the warning that one of the chief temptations would be to indolence and ease in the enjoyment of "new modes of comfort"; notable also for its earnest exhortation not to send home coloured and (unintentionally) misleading reports. Let one short passage be quoted :—

"Beware, especially, of giving too favourable an account of your ability to preach in the native languages, and of the effects of your preaching on the hearers. For instance, after you have made some progress in a particular language, and have committed to memory a few theological phrases, you will, perhaps, try to converse with the Natives on religious subjects. But, in your account of such a conversation in this stage of your study, do not call it *preaching Christ to the people*. For it may be that the people scarcely understood a single doctrine of your address, and that, when they asked you a question, you could not understand or answer them. *To preach Christ* implies the preaching of Him fully, and to the understanding of the people; and that people are placed under a heavy responsibility who reject the message. In your written accounts, therefore, be just to yourselves, be just to the people, and be just to Christ's doctrine."

Among other striking features of the address are his illustrations of the use to be made of the descriptions of idolatry in Isaiah and other prophets, in lieu of mere abuse of the idols, and his reference to the unique Chaldaic verse embedded in the Hebrew of Jeremiah's prophecy, chap. x. 11, "Thus shall ye say unto them, *The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens.*" "Just as if," says Buchanan, "while you are receiving instructions in your own tongue, one sentence should be given you in the Tamul or Cinghalese language which you should deliver to the Hindoos." § This great charge—which a friend in India (not named) urged the Committee to adopt as a standing charge for all Indian missionaries—was Buchanan's last work. He died February 9th, 1815; and Pratt wrote, in well-chosen words, "In his character were united remarkable simplicity, great com-

* Report, 1815, p. 567.

† See p. 113.

‡ It is printed in the Appendix to the Report of 1814.

§ He names Tamil and Singhalese because two of the men were going to Madras, and two to Ceylon—though the two latter did actually go to India.

prehension and grasp of mind, with the warmth and glow of genius; and these qualities were all sanctified by Divine grace, and directed to the promotion of Christ's Kingdom among men, with a boldness and fortitude, under difficult circumstances, the success of which will endear his memory to generations yet unborn."

The East India Company, loyally accepting the decision of Parliament, gave Rhenius and Schnarre, before the Act actually came into force, passages to India and licenses to reside there, the Society guaranteeing their character and good behaviour. (At a subsequent period the Committee had to promise to recall any missionary with whom the Government might be dissatisfied; and to require each man to give a bond for £450, to secure his return if summoned.) At Madras they were received by another of the godly chaplains to whom India owes so much, Marmaduke Thompson, who was just then forming there a Corresponding Committee for South India. The venerable Dr. John, who had for many years been at the head of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, being just dead, and the S.P.C.K. having no one to send in his place, the two C.M.S. men were directed by the Corresponding Committee to go and take charge for a time; and although soon afterwards they were recalled to Madras for work in the city, other C.M.S. missionaries were sent to Tranquebar, and this arrangement continued for some years. In passing it may be noticed that the first Native teacher engaged under these two owed his conversion to his recovery from sickness through the use of medicines dispensed by them—another foreshadowing of the Medical Missions of the future. Norton and Greenwood, and a new Lutheran clergyman of great ability and learning, Christopher Gottbold Schröter, followed in 1815; Benjamin Bailey and Thomas Dawson in 1816; and the brothers Schmid, Bärenbruck (the last of the Berlin men), Adlington, Henry Baker, and Joseph Fenn, in 1817.

More men,

This was not a very eager response by Christian England to the new openings which God's Providence had given to its zeal and energy. Nor had other Societies a worthier reinforcement. The S.P.C.K. sent one Lutheran out in 1813, and no more till 1818. The London Missionary Society began to extend in the South, followed a year or two later by the Wesleyans; and the Baptists advanced from Serampore into the North-West; but the progress, even in staff and machinery, was very slow. There was also the little beginning of the American Congregationalists at Bombay, already referred to. That was all.

But very few.

In the meanwhile, the Home Government had fulfilled one purpose of the Act of 1813, by appointing a Bishop of Calcutta. Their choice fell upon Dr. T. F. Middleton, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Vicar of St. Pancras, and author of a valuable treatise, not on the Greek Article pure and simple, after the fashion of the dry-as-dust divines known as the "Greek-play bishops," but on

The first Bishop of Calcutta.

the *Doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament*, which really was designed to refute Socinian interpretations of certain important passages of Scripture bearing on the Deity of the Son and the Holy Ghost. Middleton was a strong High Churchman, and, as Dr. Overton puts it, "figuratively speaking he hailed from Clapton, not from Clapham." * It is worth noting, however, as indicating the views concerning Continental Protestantism then prevailing among good men of his type, that in delivering an admirable charge to Mr. Jacobi, the Lutheran missionary sent to India in 1813 by the S.P.C.K., he said, "We regard you as invested with the functions of an apostle"; while Jacobi in his reply, which is printed, without correction or comment, in the volume of Bishop Middleton's Sermons and Charges, observed that he was "very happy to understand that the Church of England considers the Lutheran Church as a faithful sister."

The opinion is a common one that the Evangelicals would necessarily be disappointed at the choice of Middleton for a bishopric the establishment of which was so largely due to their energy; but no evidence of this is produced, and it would seem more probable that, accustomed as they were to work as a despised minority, and strangers as they were to ecclesiastical honours, the appointment would appear to them quite natural, and would be taken as a matter of course. Pratt, at all events, knew that an able and vigorous man was being sent, as he resided in St. Pancras, and had supported Middleton in large schemes of Church extension which some of the parishioners had bitterly opposed.† The greater part of Middleton's charge to Jacobi is printed in the *Missionary Register* of January, 1814; and the very next number opens with this announcement:—

Bishop for India.

> Archdeacon Middleton, whose Address to Mr. Jacobi we noticed in our last Number, has been appointed the new Bishop for India—the most important charge with which any English Clergyman ever left his native shores!

Care not to offend India.

So India got its first Bishop; but for fear of offending the Natives—very few indeed of whom can have known or cared anything about it—he was consecrated privately in Lambeth Palace Chapel (May 8th, 1814), and the Dean of Winchester's sermon on the occasion was not allowed to be printed. The *Missionary Register*, however, printed the Bishop of Chester's valedictory address at the S.P.C.K. House, and Middleton's reply. How Bishop Law viewed the matter may be judged from these words: "The establishment of Episcopacy will most effectually check

* See p. 39.

† Mr. Hole suggests that the great Parliamentary grant of one million sterling for building churches in 1818 was indirectly a result of Middleton's work at St. Pancras.

every erroneous doctrine, stop the wild progress of enthusiasm, and spread the knowledge of uncorrupted Christianity."

In due course Bishop Middleton landed in India. Sir John Kaye quaintly says: *—

But India cared not.

"There was no commotion, no excitement. Offended Hinduism did not rise up in arms, nor indignant Mohammedanism raise a war cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other at the dinner-table if they had seen the Bishop; but the heart of Hinduism beat calmly, as was its wont. The Bishop preached in the Christian temple on the Christian's *bara din;* and that night the Europeans in Calcutta slept soundly in their beds. There was not a massacre; there was not a rebellion. The merchant took his place at the desk; the public servant entered his office; and the native underlings salaamed meekly and reverentially as ever. Everything went on as usual, in spite of the Bishop, and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas Day. It really seemed probable, after all, that British dominion in the East would survive the blow."

It was the same when he took his journeys. Brahman priests whose lands did not yield them enough revenue welcomed the Lord Padre Sahib, thinking that he would look on them as brothers and squeeze grants for them out of the Government purse; others asked him for a little money towards the repair of their temples; and the Bishop, instead of finding them either terror-stricken at his approach on the one hand, or ready to be converted on the other, found that a few rupees judiciously distributed were his best passport.

Bishop Middleton and C.M.S.

Middleton became a good and hard-working bishop in some ways, though his life was much embittered by disputes with the Government about his jurisdiction over the military chaplains, by frequent struggles on points of etiquette and precedence, and by the pretensions of the principal Presbyterian chaplain, Dr. Bryce, a combative man, to be quite as good as any bishop. But the Church Missionary Society had to suffer great disappointment on account of two of his decisions. He declined either to license the missionaries or to ordain Natives. He has often been blamed for these refusals; but both were due to an honest belief that his commission from the State gave him no authority to do either. The result, however, was (1) that Abdul Masih, for whose ordination the Society had fondly hoped, had to wait until Middleton had been succeeded by Heber; and (2) that the missionaries, not being licensed, were precluded from ministering even occasionally to English congregations. This question perplexed and troubled the Bishop not a little. He was not happy about the presence in his diocese of clergymen without his license. "I must either license them," he said, "or silence them." He conscientiously declined to do the first, and he found himself unable to do the second.

Nevertheless, the Committee determined that nothing on their part should prevent such co-operation with the Bishop as they were permitted to render. When he formed his great plan for

* *Christianity in India*, p. 290.

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C.M.S. grant of £5000.

the establishment of Bishop's College, proposing to apply to it that grant of £5000 which first extended the operations of the S.P.G. to India,* and when the S.P.C.K. thereupon voted a like sum, the Committee resolved not to be behind the older Societies, and proceeded to vote £5000 too out of the Society's General Fund—one-sixth of its Income for the year—for the same purpose; and Pratt wrote in the *Register*, "We heartily rejoice in the co-operation of these three Societies in this great object, and trust that this co-operation will tend to cherish a kind and friendly spirit among their Members, both in their proceedings at home and in their exertions among the Heathen."† The following Minute was passed at the Committee meeting of July 12th, 1819:—

"Resolved—That this Society cannot behold without a high degree of gratitude the general interest at this time manifesting itself, through every part of the Kingdom, in favour of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and contemplates with peculiar pleasure the zeal and readiness with which it has adopted the important Plan suggested by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta for establishing a Mission College near Calcutta, and the promptitude with which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has agreed to support the said Plan; and that this Society, desirous of co-operating in the same great and common Cause, do now make a like Grant of £5000 for the same purpose; and that its Corresponding Committee at Calcutta be empowered to express to his Lordship its respectful acknowledgments of the enlarged views which he has so eminently displayed in his plans for promoting the Conversion of the Native Population of India; and to request that he will be pleased to accept the sum hereby voted, to be paid by the Society's Corresponding Committee, in such manner and at such times as his Lordship may wish."

Not content with this conspicuous token of their eager desire to support the Bishop, the Committee in the following year voted £1000 towards the maintenance of the College, and repeated the vote in the two succeeding years; but Middleton had just scruples about drawing this money, as the College statutes provided that students would be at the disposal of S.P.G. The grants were, however, duly paid; but the Committee had some little difficulty in justifying them to some of their supporters, and in 1826 they issued an elaborate memorandum on the subject. Eventually better arrangements were made for receiving C.M.S. students; but little use was ever made of this privilege.

Bishop's College.

In due course a fine building was erected on the bank of the Hooghly, three or four miles below Calcutta; and the Bishop threw his whole heart into the development of the scheme. A Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, Dr. Mill, went out as Principal, and high hopes were entertained of the usefulness of the new University of the East, as Middleton loved to call it. But for reasons which have never been clearly understood, or at all events never

* See p. 148.

† The Bible Society, subsequently, also voted £5000, of course specifically for Bible translations.

clearly explained, the College did not prove a success. For one thing, it was certainly premature. It was for the high classical and theological education of the Native Christians; but there were not then, nor were there for long years after, a sufficient number of suitable converts belonging to the Church of England. Ultimately, after a struggle lasting half a century, the buildings were sold to Government. The institution, on a more modest scale, is now carried on in the heart of the city by the Oxford Mission.

As time went on, Bishop Middleton learned to value the missionaries, and began to desire a closer connexion with them. But in the midst of hopeful negotiations with the Society, which gave Pratt great satisfaction, the Bishop died, on July 11th, 1822, after a few days' illness, brought on, no doubt, by the fatigue involved in his immense journeys. The Diocese of Calcutta comprised all India, and Ceylon, *and Australia!*—but no Indian bishop ever attempted to reach that *ultima Thule* of his jurisdiction. Even within India proper, the travelling, in pre-railway days, was wearying and wearing in the extreme; and Middleton's three successors all fell victims to its exhaustion. Indeed the Diocese of Calcutta enjoys the unique honour of having had seven bishops in succession, not one of whom came home to die. The eighth was spared to retire after twenty years' work; but all his predecessors fell at their post. There is no other foreign diocese in the world with a similar record.

Death of Middleton.

Middleton's immediate successor was Reginald Heber, Rector of Hodnet, Shropshire, a brilliant scholar and Quarterly Reviewer, a true poet, a devoted parish clergyman; a fascinating personality altogether, loved and admired by all who knew him.* "No man," wrote young Lord Ashley (afterwards the great Earl of Shaftesbury) in 1826, "ever equalled Bishop Heber. His talents were of the most exquisite character. If he were not a Socrates, able to knock down by force of reasoning the most stubborn opposers, he was like Orpheus, who led even stones and trees by the enchantment of his music." † His appointment was hailed with joy by the Evangelicals. Not that he was one of their own body. Indeed he has been sometimes claimed as a High Churchman. He was really in the best sense a moderate man, and singularly free from party prejudice of any kind. In a letter to a young clergyman advising him to "avoid singularities," he specifies "the High Churchman who snuffles in a pompous tone through his nose, and the Evangelical minister who preaches extempore." He wrote occasionally for the *Christian Observer*, but he objected to prayer-meetings. Perceiving the great influence of hymns among the Dissenters, he compiled a hymn-book for Church use, appropriate to the Church seasons; but as neither the Archbishop of Canterbury nor the Bishop of London would authorize its use, he

Reginald Heber.

His hymns.

* See Dr. G. Smith's delightful biography (Murray, 1895).

† *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 102.

refrained from publishing it.* His own hymns, especially "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty" and "The Son of God goes forth to war," have of themselves immortalized his name; and still more, the greatest of missionary hymns, "From Greenland's icy mountains."† But Heber besides being an exemplary parish clergyman, was a thorough believer in Missions. He was a warm supporter, not only of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., but also of the C.M.S. and the Bible Society.‡ For the Bible Society, indeed, his first missionary sermon was preached at Shrewsbury in 1813. A sermon for the C.M.S., at Whittington in 1820, on the words, "Thy Kingdom come," is a singularly earnest and impressive appeal. "When you are about to lie down this night," he said to the congregation, "and begin, in the words which the Lord has taught you, to commend your bodies and souls to His protection, will you not blush, will you not tremble to think, while you say to God, 'Thy Kingdom come!' that you have this day refused your contributions towards the extension of that Kingdom? I know you will not refuse them!"

Heber and C.M.S.

Heber was consecrated on June 1st, 1823; and on the 9th he attended a meeting of the C.M.S. Committee, and assured them that he "entirely approved the principles on which the Society's Missions in the East were conducted, and was going out with the most cordial disposition to render them every assistance in his power." His policy was quite different from Middleton's. He avoided friction with the civil authorities; he made friends with the Baptist and Congregationalist missionaries; he put the evangelization of the Heathen in the forefront of the Church's duty in India. He took a different view of his powers and responsibilities from that taken by his predecessor, and on arriving in India, he

* Some of these particulars are from Overton's *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*.

† On Whit Sunday, 1819, Dr. Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph and Vicar of Wrexham, preached a sermon in Wrexham Church in aid of the S.P.G. That day was also fixed upon for the commencement of the Sunday Evening Lectures intended to be established in that church—an important event in the parish at a time when Evening Services were still few and far between. Reginald Heber, then Rector of Hodnet, the Dean's son-in-law, undertook to deliver the first lecture. In the course of the Saturday previous, the Dean and his son-in-law being together at the Vicarage, the former requested Heber to write "something for them to sing in the morning," and he retired for that purpose from the table, where the Dean and a few friends were sitting, to a distant part of the room. In a short time the Dean inquired, "What have you written?" Heber, having then composed the three first verses, read them over. "There, there, that will do very well," said the Dean. "No, no, the sense is not complete," replied Heber. Accordingly he added the fourth verse, and the Dean being inexorable to his repeated request of "Let me add another, oh, let me add another," thus completed the hymn, which has since become so celebrated. It was sung the next morning in Wrexham Church, for the first time. A facsimile of Heber's original MS. appeared in the *C.M. Gleaner* of April, 1882.

‡ Heber's project of uniting the C.M.S. with the S.P.G. has been already mentioned, p. 151.

at once arranged to give episcopal licenses to the missionaries.* He also expressed his readiness to receive Natives of India as candidates for ordination—a short Act of Parliament being passed on purpose to confirm his authority to do so; and, as before intimated, he admitted Abdul Masih—who had already received Lutheran orders upon Middleton's refusal to ordain him—to the ministry of the Church of England, by conferring Anglican orders upon him on November 30th, 1825.† He further greatly pleased the Evangelical leaders by appointing Daniel Corrie Archdeacon of Calcutta. Corrie indeed had been a *persona grata* with Bishop Middleton, who had spoken of him in the warmest terms.

Survey of the Missions.

Let us now take a brief survey of the Society's Missions in India as they had been developed during Middleton's Episcopate, and as they appeared when Heber landed at Calcutta.

In the ten years, 1814 to 1823, the Society had sent to India twenty-six men: fourteen to the North, eleven to the South, and one to Bombay. Thirteen were English clergymen, and eleven were Germans in Lutheran orders; the remaining two were a schoolmaster and a printer. There was also an able and devoted Eurasian, William Bowley, who had received Lutheran orders in India. Three had died, and one had returned invalided. Eleven stations had been occupied by European missionaries, and at several other places there were native catechists and schools supported by the Society, but supervised by Company's chaplains.

The Corresponding Committees.

The work was entirely administered by the Corresponding Committees at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; the Society voting them large grants of money year by year, and leaving to them its distribution, and (in most cases) the location of missionaries—even the transfer of a man from Madras to Calcutta, or *vice versâ*. No other system was possible at a time when a letter took five months to go or come,—for instance, the death of Bishop Middleton, on July 11th, was not known in England till December. And the Corresponding Committees consisted of Company's chaplains and officials who were devoted to the Society's spiritual principles and fitted by long experience in India to devise and carry out

* Dr. Overton (*English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 276) says that Heber "very properly insisted that the missionaries sent out by the C.M.S. should be as much under his jurisdiction as those sent out by other Church Societies, and he succeeded in carrying his point, though the rule was not formally recognized by the Society." This is the one single instance in which I find Dr. Overton inaccurate. (1) As regards episcopal licenses, the Society had begged for them from Bishop Middleton, and rejoiced when Heber gave them. (2) There were no English missionaries of other Church Societies when Heber went out, except the professors in Bishop's College, belonging to the S.P.G. Three young S.P.G. men arrived during Heber's short episcopate. In the South, all the S.P.C.K. men were Germans in Lutheran orders.

† This, as before stated, was the first Anglican ordination of a Native of India. But Heber had already ordained, *in* India, a Native of Ceylon, a student at Bishop's College, named Christian David.

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good plans. At Calcutta, Thomason was Hon. Secretary; at Madras, Marmaduke Thompson; at Bombay, Thomas Carr (afterwards first Bishop of Bombay). The Treasurer at Madras was J. M. Strachan, in after years perhaps the most influential layman in the counsels of Salisbury Square. George Udny, who had been one of the original promoters of missionary work in Bengal twenty years before,* was still a member of the Calcutta Committee. But the Committee at home then contained scarcely any one, save Charles Grant, who knew India personally. The position is almost entirely reversed at the present day. On the one hand, there are very few chaplains in India of the type of Corrie and Thomason. On the other hand, Anglo-Indian officials are an important element in the Home Committee, and so are retired missionaries; and both classes add to their past local experience the larger experience gained in the Committee itself of Missions all round the world. Add again to this a mail communication in less than a fortnight, and the electric telegraph, and we can realize the immense change that time has wrought. Whether the consequent tendency to centralization may not go too far is a further question, not to be discussed here.

Ecclesiastical difficulties.

Difficulties, however, arose between some of the missionaries—particularly some of the Lutherans—and the Corresponding Committees; the former objecting to being controlled by the latter. The Home Committee had to interpose; and in 1818 they laid down important rules on the subject. The missionaries were bidden to recognize the full authority of the Corresponding Committees in "external affairs," which were defined as comprising "the fixing of stations, the locations and transference of missionaries, reception or dismissal of catechists and other assistants, the regulation of salaries, the undertaking and the general planning of buildings, &c." In "internal affairs," which were defined as "the spiritual power and authority for the due exercise of which a missionary was responsible to the ecclesiastical rulers of the Church he belonged to," the missionaries were to be directed by "the Bishop or other regular Ecclesiastical Power." The Society "assumed no control over the conscience of a missionary in the discharge of his spiritual functions," but "it would ever exercise the right of retaining or dismissing him, according as it might approve or disapprove his views, temper, or conduct." Counsel's opinion, however, which was obtained at this time, affirmed that the Bishop had absolute power over locations—that is, of English clergymen. He had no authority over laymen; nor over Lutheran ministers—so where was the "Ecclesiastical Power" that was to control the very persons with whom the difficulties arose? The Committee, however, gave positive instructions that Anglican forms of worship were to be used in all the Society's Missions, and at the same time

* See p. 54.

passed a resolution to receive no Lutheran candidate who was unwilling to promise this.

Liberal contributions in India.

In regard to funds, the Corresponding Committees undertook large responsibilities. They did much more than administer grants from England. They boldly set forth the principle that for the evangelization of India the English in India were primarily responsible, and they treated the Society's grants as virtually *grants-in-aid* to Missions locally supported and worked. For missionaries they might have to look to England; but for money they looked primarily to India—certainly for the money for buildings, the maintenance of schools, and the payment of Native agents. This system was originated at Calcutta, in 1817, by a sermon preached by Corrie at the Old Church, in which, having just returned from England, he told the Anglo-Indians how, in his own father's parish at home, the poor were denying themselves to send the Gospel to the Heathen. "When," said he, "shall we begin to see British Christians in India do the same?" No less than £300 was collected after that sermon. Thomason wrote:—"This was in every respect an interesting occasion. Never before had a Discourse been delivered, professedly with a Missionary object, from a pulpit of the Established Church in India. It is my full intention to keep up the practice, if it please God to spare my life." And the success of the plan was remarkable. For instance, in 1823, while the Calcutta Committee drew bills on the Society at home for £7387, they raised in Bengal just £4000; and while the Madras Committee drew on the Society for £3390, they raised on the spot just £2000. In fact, the number of godly officers and civilians in India had largely increased, under the influence of the many devoted men for whom Simeon, through Charles Grant, had obtained chaplains' appointments; and their scale of giving was much higher than prevailed, or ever has prevailed, in England. When we are told, as we so often are told, that Anglo-Indians do not believe in Missions, the answer is that they are the most liberal supporters of the very Missions their eyes have seen, most of which were actually started at their instance and at their expense. That is to say, the truly Christian men among them; and who else are competent judges?

Glancing now at the C.M.S. Missions as they appeared in 1823, we find that the Corresponding Committees had from the first set before them *three methods* of missionary work for adoption, viz., the (1) Press, (2) Schools, and (3) what they called Missionary Establishments, i.e. stations with ordained missionaries. The employment of Native Christian "readers" like Abdul Masih was apparently included under the first head, as they were to "read" to their countrymen the Scriptures, tracts, &c., which the Press produced; but of course, as "missionary establishments" multiplied, these "readers" developed into "catechists" under the ordained missionary. All three methods were being

Work at Calcutta.

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worked at Calcutta. The Mission (after a temporary location at Garden Reach, south of the city) had secured a valuable piece of ground in the heart of that part of the native quarter known as Mirzapore,* using for its purchase a gift of Rs. 30,000 from Major Phipps. At that time the Society had a plan for establishing in all its Missions what were called "Christian Institutions," by which was meant a seminary for the preparation of Native teachers, with mission-house, church, printing-office, &c., all in one compound. The purchase at Mirzapore was with this object; and it has been an important centre of work, more or less on those lines, from that day to this. A church, Trinity Church, was built, and opened in 1826. A printing establishment was started under a man named Brown, who had been sent out for the purpose, after serving for some years in the printing-office employed by the Society in London.† He was really in his own province an excellent missionary, and died at his post in 1824. Presses and founts of type, English, Arabic, and Persian, were sent out by the Society; the Nagri or Sanscrit character types being obtained in India. Portions of Scripture, prayer-books, catechisms, primers, hymn-books, tracts, simple expositions, were produced in large numbers; and it is interesting to see in one of the lists "500 Hints on Prayer for the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit."

First mission schools.

Schools of various grades were gradually started both in Calcutta and in several other of the chief cities of North India; and every effort was made to introduce what was then known as the New or National System of Education. This was the pupil-teacher system started in England by Dr. Bell,‡ and worked by the National Society, which was founded in 1811. Bell himself had invented it at Madras,§ and the Church Missionary Society took it back to India. To us now it seems curious that no attempt was in the first instance made to give Christian teaching in those small schools. But the idea was to awaken a desire for knowledge, however simple, as a road

* Not to be confounded with the town of that name near Benares, which is a station of the L.M.S.

† The firm then was W. M. Watts. The business was in after years taken over by Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington, who are still the Society's chief printers.

‡ And, almost simultaneously, by Thomas Lancaster, who instituted the "British" or undenominational form of education, in contradistinction to the "National" education of Bell and the Church. The controversy between the advocates of these systems was as bitter then as it has been in recent years.

§ He was an army chaplain there, and superintended the education of the boys at the Military Orphan Asylum. One day he chanced to see some Native children writing with their fingers on the sand. He told a teacher at the school to teach the alphabet in the same way; but the teacher neglected to do so, and then Bell set an elder boy to teach the younger so. This was the origin of the whole pupil-teacher system, the discovery of which was welcomed in England with quite extraordinary enthusiasm. See Overton, *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, chap. vii.

by which the Gospel should afterwards travel. Of the first school opened, at Kidderpore, a suburb of Calcutta, the Committee say in the Report of 1817,—"It is under the care of the missionaries, *but is not likely to alarm prejudice, as the schoolmaster is not a Christian.*" It would be easy to criticize such a system now. Apparently it was criticized then; for the Committee, in the Report of 1819, entered into a careful defence of it. "Where we cannot effect what we would," they say, "it is the part of prudence to attempt what we can."

And certainly this system did prove the thin end of the wedge. For example, at and around Burdwan, an important town seventy miles north-east of Calcutta, several village schools were started by a Christian officer stationed there, Captain Stewart, in communication with the Corresponding Committee and with funds provided by them. At first the Scriptures were not even read in them; and Thomason wrote that he thought Captain Stewart had acted "very wisely." Then it was arranged to open a central school in the town, at which English should be taught, and to which should be drafted the most promising of the village scholars. Here we see the embryo "Anglo-Vernacular School." And as the scholars could not come in daily, Stewart provided lodging and food for them for the inside of each week—in which plan we see the embryo Mission Boarding-School. After this had been going on for a year, Thomason wrote:—"Burdwan is now ripe for a Missionary. He will have a large School of Boys prepared for him, already well taught, capable of receiving any instruction that he may judge it expedient to impart. He will have escaped the drudgery of elementary instruction, and will sit down at once to the full and mature labours of a Missionary"; and Stewart, having thus gained the confidence of the parents, gave notice that the Christian Scriptures would be introduced into the central school when the missionary arrived. In due course he did arrive; and after another year, the English residents at Burdwan, invited to the annual Examination, beheld with astonishment the Gospels being read, taught, and questioned upon, in a school of Heathen boys, with their Heathen parents looking on. "The Brahmans stood by, and heard their boys speak of Jesus as the Son of God and the Saviour of the World, and of His command to go and preach the Gospel to all people, without uttering a word." Yet the boys themselves, only a few months before, had objected to read any book which contained the name of Jesus. The following year, 1822, the report was, "The Gospels are now read in *all the schools*. Who could have expected, a year ago, to see a thousand Hindu children reading the Gospel?" The wedge had been driven home; and it is simple matter of historical fact that more converts from Hinduism have been gathered into the Christian Church through the influence, direct or indirect, of schools, than by any other one

Burdwan.

Results of school work.

instrumentality.* Even at the present day, when the evangelistic preacher or lecturer goes out from England for a winter's campaign among English-speaking Natives, the knowledge of Christianity that he builds upon in addressing those who are still Heathen has been gained by them in Mission Schools. When one and another yields to the claims of Christ pressed by these evangelists, he yields to a Lord and Saviour whose claims he well knew before—claims which, humanly speaking, he would not have recognized now but for that prior knowledge.

The Perownes.

One of the missionaries who was located at Burdwan bore a name which has become highly honoured in his distinguished sons. This was the Rev. John Perowne, who went out and laboured at Burdwan seven years. He was the father of Bishop J. J. S. Perowne, of Worcester; of Dr. E. H. Perowne, Master of Corpus; and of Archdeacon T. T. Perowne, of Norwich.

No other station in Bengal proper, outside the capital, was occupied except Burdwan. But higher up the great plain of the Ganges, in that part of India afterwards (in 1833) designated the North-West Provinces, work had been begun at several cities, generally through the influence of Anglo-Indians already there. Corrie's residence at Agra as chaplain had fixed the location there of Abdul Masih; and during the period now under review, the faithful old evangelist continued his labours amid the respect of all who knew him. He was supported by the counsel and sympathy of a godly officer, Lieutenant Tomkyns. Corrie's appointment to Benares, on his return from his furlough, had issued in a determination on the part of the Society to assault that great fortress of Hindu idolatry. His own heart was deeply moved by the scenes around him. He was no modern globe-trotter, viewing the degrading superstitions of Benares with languid curiosity. Like St. Paul at Athens, his spirit was stirred within him, and he saw in those crowds of deluded devotees immortal beings who might be living for the glory of God. He wrote also of a neighbouring district, quite a small one, where a friend of his was magistrate, that in it two widows, on an average, were burnt every month; that six lepers were buried alive within the year; and that one hundred persons had, in the year, drowned themselves in wells, in revenge for some offence. An unexpected opening for good work in Benares came through a wealthy Hindu, named Jay Narain, establishing and endowing a large Boys' School, and handing it over to the Church Missionary Society. This great School has ever since been an important educational agency, and has given a knowledge of the Christian faith to many who have only embraced the faith in after years.

Benares: Jay Narain.

Chunar: W. Bowley.

Chunar, on the Ganges, not far from Benares, was occupied

* "From Hinduism." Not reckoning the large accessions from the non-Aryan peoples.

also at Corrie's instance. It was a Government station for invalid soldiers, and the policy at that time was to begin by providing schools for the children of Englishmen, who, like the rest of the Eurasian population, were much neglected. That this class was worth caring for was illustrated by the fact that the missionary who was stationed at Chunar, and whose name will ever be inseparably connected with it, William Bowley, was himself an Eurasian. He was at first employed as a catechist. Then, when Bishop Middleton declined to ordain Natives of the country, he received Lutheran orders, from three of the Lutheran ministers already in the field, at the same time as Abdul Masih. In 1825, again along with Abdul Masih, he was ordained as an Anglican clergyman by Bishop Heber. He laboured at Chunar with exemplary devotion for nearly thirty years. Greenwood, who has been mentioned more than once before as one of the first two English clergymen engaged as missionaries in India, was also at Chunar, doing the English part of the work.

Meerut: early converts.

At Meerut, the furthest to the north-west of all the stations, an interesting work was carried on under the superintendence of another of the zealous chaplains, the Rev. Henry Fisher. Two particularly interesting converts here come into view. The first was a Brahman named Permanund, who had been converted to Christ under the teaching of the Baptist missionary mentioned in a former chapter as having been twice sent down from the North-West under guard by order of the Government.* He had not, however, been baptized, because he wished his infant son to be admitted into the visible Church with him, and this, of course, the Baptist missionary would not do. He came under the notice of Mrs. Sherwood, the wife of an officer at Meerut, and the well-known authoress of excellent books for young people; and in 1815 she obtained for him an appointment as schoolmaster under the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee. He was thus the Society's first agent in that city; and at Christmas, 1816, he was baptized by Mr. Fisher by the name of Anund Masih (Joy of Christ). He laboured for twenty years, and then was ordained. It is a thing to remember that the first Native clergyman of the Church of England in North India (Abdul Masih) had been a Mohammedan, and that the second (Anund Masih) had been a Brahman—the two classes from which those who knew not the power of Divine grace had often declared that no converts could be won.

The other interesting convert at Meerut was a non-commissioned officer in the 25th Sepoy regiment, a Brahman of very high caste, who, having long been convinced of the folly of idolatry, and having seen something of Christian worship when serving in Mauritius, came spontaneously to a room over the city gate at Meerut, where Anund Masih had gathered a few converts, and at once joined the little community, and was baptized by the

* See p. 99.

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name of Matthew Prabhu-din. The officer commanding the regiment reported to the Government "so singular and unprecedented an occurrence" as the conversion of a Sepoy to Christianity, stating that "the greatest consternation" prevailed among the Native troops, and that serious mischief might result. The Governor-General ordered a special Commission of Inquiry, and it turned out that the only "consternation" had been among the English officers, and that Prabhu-din, though he could no longer eat with the Brahmans in the regiment, was still respected by them as a good soldier. Nevertheless, he was dismissed, "rejected," wrote Fisher, "by his earthly commander, because he was a Christian." The Government allowed him his pension, and afterwards offered him admission to another regiment: but this he declined, saying he had done nothing to deserve dismissal from his own.* He continued a faithful Christian, and was often alluded to in warm terms in Mr. Fisher's reports.

Sepoy convert cashiered.

The Society had also for some time schools and agents at Allahabad, Lucknow, and Delhi. The first Church of England work, therefore, at the last-named city, now famous as a great S.P.G. centre, was done by the C.M.S. Anund Masih frequently visited Delhi, and a sect of Hindu ascetics called Suadhs came under his influence; but no great results followed. It is also noteworthy that the first attempt to carry the Gospel to Thibet was made by the Society during this period. At Pitalya, then a military station in the Himalayas, the commanding officer, Captain Latter, was a zealous Christian, and at his instance the German missionary Schröter, who accompanied Greenwood and Norton to India in 1815, was appointed to that place, with a view to his studying the Thibetan language, becoming acquainted with the people, and preparing Scriptures and tracts for them. His letters, and those of Captain Latter, during four or five years, are very interesting; but he died in 1820, the first C.M.S. missionary removed by death in any Mission except West Africa: and Latter also dying soon afterwards, the enterprise was never resumed. But Schröter left important MSS. of his Thibetan studies, and these were handed over to Carey and the Serampore Mission as a help to the translational work going on there, while his valuable collection of books on Thibet was given to Bishop's College. Schröter himself was a remarkable man—a great linguist and a true and humble missionary. So also were the next two men who died in India, Schmarve and La Roche, both likewise Lutherans.

On the border of Thibet.

One more important forward step taken at this time in North

* The full details, with the official correspondence and minutes of the Commission of Inquiry, are published in Wilkinson's *Sketches of Christianity in North India* (London, 1840). Sir John Kaye, who is generally on the Christian side upon questions of the kind, disputes the fact of the man being dismissed because he was a Christian (*Christianity in India*, p. 342): but the official documents seem decisive on the point.

First girls' schools Miss Cooke.

India calls for notice. In 1820, Miss M. A. Cooke was sent out by the British and Foreign School Society, at the request of a local educational body at Calcutta, with a view to her starting a school for Hindu girls. Female education had already been successfully begun at Serampore by Mrs. Marshman, of the Baptist Mission; and Miss Cooke was to make a further attempt in the same direction. After a few months, the local body found itself without funds to go on, and transferred Miss Cooke to the C.M.S. While she was still studying Bengali, and wondering in what way she might presently begin to work, an incident occurred which gave her an unexpected opening. On January 25th, 1822 —a date worth noting—Miss Cooke visited one of the Boys' Schools, in order to observe the pronunciation of the language. "An European Female," as the Report quaintly styles her, in the heart of the native town, was a novelty which drew a crowd round the school door. In the crowd was a little girl, whom the Native teacher drove away, telling Miss Cooke that the child had for three months been disturbing them by begging to be allowed to learn to read with the boys. Miss Cooke immediately said that she would come the very next day, and begin to teach her as well as she could. Next day, accordingly, she went again, accompanied by an Englishwoman who had been long in India and spoke Bengali well. They found fifteen girls assembled, and their mothers standing outside, eagerly peering through the lattice. The women were admitted, and a most interesting conversation took place. The lady friend, who is not named, thus narrates it:—

"They inquired whether Miss Cooke was married. I answered No. Had she been, or was she going to be?

"'No: she is married, or devoted, to your children: she heard in England that the women of this country were kept in total ignorance; that they were not taught even to read and write, and that the men alone were allowed to learn, and that there was no female to teach you. She therefore felt much sorrow for your state, and determined to leave her country, her parents, her friends, and every other advantage, and come here for the sole purpose of educating your female children.'

"They with one voice cried out, smiting their bosoms with their right hands, 'Oh, what a pearl of a woman is this!'

"I added, 'She has given up every earthly expectation to come here: she seeks not the riches of this world, but that she may promote your best interests.'

"'Our children are yours! we give them to you!' replied two or three of the mothers at once."

Two days afterwards this lady went again:—

"One asked, 'What will be the use of learning to our female children?'

"I said, 'It will enable them to be more useful to their families; and it will tend to gain them respect, and increase the harmony of families."

"'True,' said one, "our husbands now look upon us as little better than brutes.'

"Another said, 'And what benefit will *you* derive?'
"'The only return we wish is to promote your happiness.'
"'Then I suppose this is a holy work, and pleasing to your God.'"

It is a far cry from this simple beginning to the accomplished Christian Indian ladies who are graduates of the Universities; yet the one has led on, step by step, to the other. Miss Cooke, at least, had faith to believe in great results. In a few weeks, petitions began to come to her asking for a girls' school in this and that street, and when she sent to England her first report, she could tell of fifteen schools at work, and nearly four hundred girls in attendance. Eurasian girls had been obtained from the Female Orphan Asylum as teachers. Miss Cooke suggested that Girls' Schools throughout England should be invited to contribute specially to this work; and, recollecting the Royal Letter in favour of the S.P.G. four years before, she added, "Would that the King would command a Sermon to be preached for the Cause throughout his Dominions!" Meanwhile the Calcutta Committee, true to their principle of appealing primarily to the English in India, opened a special fund, which speedily reached 3000 rupees, the Marquis of Hastings (the Governor-General) and the Marchioness giving 200 each.

A year or two after this, Miss Cooke was married to one of the new missionaries, the Rev. Isaac Wilson; but she continued her labours zealously, both during her married life and long after she became a widow in 1828.

Bombay.

Leaving North India, we come to the Bombay Presidency. In 1818, a Corresponding Committee was formed by the Rev. Thomas Carr, another of the zealous chaplains (afterwards first Bishop of Bombay); and in 1820, a Cheshire curate, the Rev. R. Kenney, was sent out by the Society, the first missionary of the Church of England in Western India. He began earnestly, but he only stayed six years, and the work for long after that was on a very small scale.

Madras.

The story of the Missions in the South is very different. It was in the Madras Presidency that the Danish and German Missions, supported by the S.P.C.K., had been carried on all through the eighteenth century. The most important centres were Tranquebar, which always remained in direct connexion with Denmark, and Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madras, which were definitely S.P.C.K. Missions. As before mentioned, the work had greatly languished after the death of Schwartz, and was at its lowest ebb during the first twenty years of this century. I. C. Kohlhoff was at Tanjore, and Pohle at Trichinopoly; and there were a few Natives also in Lutheran orders, who were called "country priests." Three more were so ordained in 1818, four years after there was a Bishop in India, a notable circumstance in S.P.C.K. history. The earliest C.M.S. missionaries were sent to assist these Missions. Schnarre, and afterwards Bärenbruck, were in charge at Tranquebar, after the death of the Danish veteran Dr.

John; and Rhenius and L. Schmid at Madras. But the latter brethren, and others who followed them, among whom J. Ridsdale should be specially named, presently began independent work in and around the capital. A church was built in Black Town (the most populous native quarter of Madras) in 1819; and the three methods already specified in the account of North India were all adopted also at Madras. Tamil books and tracts were prepared and printed in large numbers at the mission press, and some Telugu works also; many vernacular schools were opened; and a Seminary for training Native evangelists was begun.

Travancore.

But the principal interest of the Southern Missions is derived from Travancore and Tinnevelly. Concerning Travancore, it need only be said here that Norton, one of the first two English ordained missionaries, was sent there shortly after his arrival in India in 1815, and took up his residence in the following year at Allepie, where he laboured twenty-five years, and died at his post; and that the famous triumvirate, Benjamin Bailey, Henry Baker, and Joseph Fenn, went to Cottayam in 1818-19. These three were specially commissioned to work for the revival of the Syrian Church; and this branch of the Society's enterprise will come before us in another chapter.

Tinnevelly: early S.P.C.K. work.

Of Tinnevelly, the famous southernmost province in the Madras Presidency, more must be said. Its missionary history dates back to 1771, in which year Schwartz's journal mentions that one of his Native Christians from Trichinopoly was reading the Gospel to the Heathen there. In 1778, Schwartz himself visited Palamcotta, the English capital of the province, three miles from Tinnevelly town, and found a few Christians there. He baptized a Brahman widow who had been living with an English officer, and been taught by him the rudiments of Christianity. She received the name of Clorinda, and was afterwards chiefly instrumental in building a little church. In 1780, Pohle visited Palamcotta, and organized the congregation; and in 1786, when Schwartz paid them a second visit, they numbered 160 persons. In 1790 he ordained, according to the Lutheran use, one of his best catechists, Satyanadhan, and put him in charge, speaking of his zeal, love, and self-denial, in the highest terms. This ordination was the one over which the S.P.C.K. so rejoiced, as before mentioned.* As a further evidence of its sense of the importance of this opening, the S.P.C.K. sent Jænické, a new German missionary, to Tinnevelly, and he laboured there till his death in 1800. The harvest from the seed sown by him and Satyanadhan was great. Thousands were baptized by Gericke, one of the Tanjore missionaries, in the first five years of this century; no less than 5095 in three months in 1802. But from 1806 to 1816 no missionary visited Tinnevelly; there were, in

* See p. 23.

fact, as we have seen, none to go; and the work fell all to pieces. Perhaps the baptizing had been too rapid; certainly the caste customs tolerated were themselves enough to eat the life out of the Christian community; and in 1816 there were only 3000 professing Christians left.

Hough's efforts.

In that year another of the good chaplains, the Rev. James Hough, was appointed to Palamcotta; and to him is due the reorganization, revival, and extension of the Missions in Tinnevelly. He at once made diligent inquiries about the Christians, and found the three thousand souls scattered among sixty villages, without schools, and without Tamil Testaments even for the few who could read. But they were living in peace, and on the whole he was pleased. The two chief villages were Nazareth and Mothellur, where he found "country priests" ministering to the people. He at once sent a report home to the S.P.C.K., but without waiting for its aid he at his own expense started schools and obtained Testaments, Prayer-books, and tracts from Madras, and himself began to learn Tamil. The S.P.C.K. supplied a little money, but could send no men, being unable to reinforce even its larger Missions in Tanjore and Trichinopoly. At length Hough applied to the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee at Madras; and in 1820 Rhenius and B. Schmid were sent to Palamcotta. They were warmly welcomed by Hough, who was on the point of retiring in broken health. He wrote to the Society:—

> "I can now look forward to my approaching departure hence with less regret. Yet, as the scene of my labours, the object of my anxieties, the subject of my prayers, and the source of my delight, for four years past, I cannot entertain the thought of quitting it for ever without painful emotion. I am most thankful for having been permitted to make a small beginning here in the noble work of turning the Heathen from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God."

henius.

For several years these two good men bore the whole burden of the Tinnevelly Mission. Schmid supervised the schools; Rhenius, with his attractive personality and perfect knowledge of Tamil, shepherded the S.P.C.K. congregations and directed the S.P.C.K. catechists, and also, by his preaching all over the district, started extensive new work under his own Society. The transfer of the S.P.C.K. Missions to the S.P.G., the arrival of the first S.P.G. missionaries, the friendly division of the territory, and the further development of C.M.S. work, belong to a later period. Here it may suffice to say that, under Rhenius's holy influence and untiring energy, there seemed for a time as if an old prediction of Jænické's might be fulfilled: "There is every reason to hope that at a future period Christianity will prevail in the Tinnevelly district."

CHAPTER XVI.

"*Insular Missions*": *New Zealand, Ceylon, West Indies, Malta.*

Samuel Marsden and the Maoris—The New Zealand Mission—Christmas Day, 1814—The Lay Settlers—Trials and Disappointments—Henry and William Williams—The Openings in Ceylon and the First Missionaries—Antigua, Barbadoes, Honduras—Malta as a Centre of Influence.

"*Let them . . . declare His praise in the islands.*"—Isa. xlii. 12.

THE term "Insular Missions" is not a recognized one in C.M.S. phraseology; but it is to be found in occasional use in the early Reports, and in that of 1820 a very interesting passage is quoted and adopted from the local Report of one of the Associations (not named), which puts the thought of the Isles of the Sea in a very striking way. After surveying the Continents of Asia and Africa, the "Insular Missions," it is suggested, might seem little worthy of notice. "But *what* is it that has placed us, the inhabitants of the British Islands, but a few ages since scarcely included in the known world, and described only by the whiteness of our cliffs, the tin on our coast, and our strange superstitions—*what* has placed us in a position from which we parcel out the globe? . . . And who shall say that the Cinghalese, or the New Zealanders, or the West Indian brethren of those Africans in whom so wonderful a change has already taken place, may not, when our still enlarging Missions shall have made them fully acquainted with Him through Whom all have access by one Spirit unto the same Father, rise to our elevation, or even reach a standard of spiritual dignity and power which Christendom has not known since the Apostolic Age?" Might not those Islands, continues this Report, "one day inquire in *their* Missionary Meetings how the British Church may be revived?"

Island Missions and the British Isles.

Several great islands in the various oceans presented themselves from time to time to the thoughts of the C.M.S. leaders. Ceylon came into view in the very first year. The West Indies, and Madagascar, and Sumatra, and the Malay Archipelago, were brought under their notice by governors, chaplains, and other Englishmen resident or interested in them. Malta—great historically and strategically, if not in size—asked for help by the

mouth of a Roman Catholic priest. The innumerable islands of the Southern Seas might have been suggested by the great enterprise of the London Missionary Society in some of them; but perhaps the very fact that they were partly thus provided for excluded them from consideration, as they are never alluded to as a possible field. But a Mission to New Zealand was the second undertaken by the Society; and not one of its Missions has a more thrilling history.

New Zealand.

Samuel Marsden in New South Wales.

The shipping of the first cargo of convicts to Botany Bay has been referred to in a previous chapter as one of the several events that marked in so striking a way the year 1786. The second of the Government chaplains sent out to the settlement thus formed was Samuel Marsden, whose heroic enterprise, prolonged through more than forty years, has justly earned for him the title of the Apostle of New Zealand. The son of a Yorkshire tradesman, sent to Cambridge by the Elland Society (an association for assisting godly men to study for holy orders), he was appointed in 1793, through the recommendation of Wilberforce, chaplain to the penal establishment. "For many years," to use the words of Dean Jacobs, the historian of the Church of New Zealand, "he carried on singlehanded a most determined struggle against the vilest imaginable iniquities, the grossest abuses of authority, and the most shameless licentiousness shielded by official influence. As a sure consequence, he provoked the virulent opposition of powerful and unscrupulous adversaries—men interested in maintaining the abuses he exposed—who strove for years, though happily without success, to blacken his character and drive him from the Colony."* With this conflict, however, we have nothing to do. But while Marsden was faithfully doing his duty to God and man in New South Wales, and while he did not neglect, as we shall see hereafter, the downtrodden and degraded aborigines of Australia, his sympathies were especially drawn out towards the Maori race of New Zealand.

New Zealand was so named by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, who discovered the islands in 1642. He did not, however, venture to land, in the face of the warlike demonstration made against him by the Natives; and it was left to Captain Cook, more than a century later (1769), to begin friendly intercourse with them. But the adventurous traffic that sprang up in the South Seas in consequence of Cook's discoveries was marked by the treachery and fraud and violence by which the pioneers of so-called "Christian commerce and civilization" among barbarous races have so often disgraced the Christian name. The authentic accounts of the merciless cruelties perpetrated by English traders on the Maoris, who in good faith put themselves in their power,

* *Colonial Church Histories: New Zealand.* By the Very Rev. Henry Jacobs, D.D., Dean of Christchurch, New Zealand. S.P.C.K., 1888.

give the reader the same kind of sickening shudder that one feels on seeing dumb animals wantonly ill-treated. Of course retaliation ensued whenever a chance for it occurred. Nevertheless, the Maori savages, fierce as they were, and addicted to cannibalism, proved to be one of the finest aboriginal races with whom Englishmen ever came in contact.

Marsden and the Maoris.

The first Maoris that Marsden saw were two men who had been brought by Captain King, Governor of the penal settlement on Norfolk Island, to Port Jackson (the great inlet now known as Sydney Harbour), with a view to their giving hints on the cultivation of New Zealand flax (*phormium tenax*). Subsequently others came over to New South Wales, and Marsden strove to do them good and bring them under the sound of the Gospel. He constantly received them at his own house at Paramatta (fifteen miles inland from Sydney), and put up huts in his garden for their accommodation, as many as thirty being sometimes there at once. There were awkward incidents now and then. On one occasion a lad died who was the nephew of a chief, and his uncle was about to kill a slave, to attend his spirit in the invisible world. With great difficulty he was persuaded to defer it till Marsden, who was absent, came home. Then he had to give way to Marsden's protestations. One of the chiefs entertained in 1806 was a man of great intelligence named Te Pahi (Tippahee), who was so struck by what he saw of the arts of life that he begged for some one to be sent over to teach his countrymen. In 1808, Marsden visited England, and at once came to the Church Missionary Society to plead for the Maori.

Marsden's appeal to C.M.S.

The Society was then still in its infancy. It had sent out exactly five missionaries, and these to a Mission-field comparatively near, and familiar to the leaders through the Sierra Leone Company, and indeed to some of them, Zachary Macaulay and Melville Horne for instance, from personal knowledge. Now they were asked to send men to the Antipodes, to a land whence it would take twelve months to get an answer to a letter, to a race of warlike barbarians among whom no Europeans had yet settled. It must have been a startling suggestion, even to men of faith like Pratt and John Venn. Moreover they had had a serious warning regarding the South Seas by the disasters and disappointments that had attended the London Missionary Society's great enterprise. Nevertheless, after the second Committee meeting for the consideration of the proposal, it was decided to accept it. After all, no elaborate scheme was before them; no great company of settlers, going forth in their own ship, as in the case of Tahiti, was asked for. Marsden did not even suggest a "Mission," in our sense of the word. He only asked for three mechanics. His theory was the theory of many now who know nothing of the history of Missions. There is no excuse for them now; but there was much excuse for Marsden and the Society then. The theory seemed reasonable on the surface; and they had no

experience to correct it. It was this, expressed in Marsden's own words:—

> "Nothing in my opinion can pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel but civilization,—and that can only be accomplished among the Heathen by the arts. . . . The arts and religion should go together. The attention of the Heathen can be gained, and their vagrant habits corrected, only by the arts. Till their attention is gained, and moral and industrious habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the Gospel. . . . To preach the Gospel without the aid of the arts will never succeed among the Heathen for any time."

The "lay settlers."

Marsden and the Society were to learn the fallacy of this by hard experience, and it was the New Zealand Mission that was to teach them. However, two men were found who seemed suitable, William Hall, a joiner, recommended by Mr. Fawcett of Carlisle, and John King, a shoemaker, recommended by Daniel Wilson, then at Oxford (as Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall). It did not occur to the Committee to give them any theological instruction. They were plain Christian men, and if they were by-and-by to give any teaching at all, it would be of the simplest character. But they did have some preparation. Hall was sent to Hull to learn something of ship-building and navigation, and King to a rope-walk to learn spinning, &c. The third man wanted should have been a smith; but a smith did not appear. Basil Woodd, however, brought a young schoolmaster, who also understood farming, Thomas Kendall. Humble as such a band was, it was found desirable to secure the "favour" of Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary for the Colonies, and of Colonel Macquarie, who was going out to New South Wales as Governor. A passage was obtained, with some difficulty, for Hall and King by the transport-ship *Ann* (by which Mr. Marsden also sailed), on condition of their lending a hand on the voyage when required. They were to have £20 a year for personal expenses, and to be provided with seeds, live stock, and tools, and then to maintain themselves. They are never called "missionaries" in the old Reports, but at first "lay settlers," and some years later "teachers." Kendall, who did not sail till later, is called "schoolmaster" until his ordination.

Their instructions.

Inexperienced as the Committee were in such a Mission as this —or indeed in any Mission—the Instructions to Hall and King are singularly good and wise. The Society's object, they said, was "to introduce amongst the Natives the knowledge of Christ; and in order to this, the Arts of Civilized Life." The men are instructed as to both their religious and their civil life. As regards religious conduct, they are enjoined (1) to guard earnestly the sacredness of the sabbath-day; (2) never to omit family worship, and to "perform it as publicly as possible, by reading Scripture or singing "loud enough to be heard by a passing Native." "To show them that you worship your God every day, as Daniel did, cannot but make some impression on them."

(3) They were to converse with the Natives about sin and salvation "when employed in planting potatoes, sowing corn, or in any other occupation." (4) They were to gather the children together for instruction as soon as possible. "While catechizing them, you may speak through them to the grown people." Then as regards civil conduct, they are bidden (1) to "spend no time in idleness," but "occupy every moment set apart for labour in agriculture, building houses or boats, spinning twine, or some other useful occupation." "If you indulge in idleness, you will be ruined." (2) To make themselves independent in respect of provisions, by cultivating grain and rearing pigs and poultry. (3) To give no presents to the Natives, and to receive none. (4) To show the Natives the advantage of industry by sending their handiwork (mats, &c.) to Port Jackson for sale. (5) On no account to be drawn into wars. "Tell them you are forbidden by the Chiefs who have sent you out."

Their voyage.

The *Ann* sailed in August, 1809, and reached Port Jackson in February. On the voyage one of those unexpected incidents occurred which in missionary history have so often displayed the particular providence of God. A poor, haggard Maori was found on board, who, after the strangest adventures, and after the most barbarous treatment by English captains, had been brought to England and turned ashore to starve; and this Maori, whose name was Ruatara,* proved to be a nephew of the chief Te Pahi, and himself a chief likewise. His joy at learning the errand of Hall and King may be imagined, and he eagerly promised them all assistance and protection in his power. But on arriving at Port Jackson, Marsden and his party had to meet a grievous disappointment. News had just come that the British ship *Boyd* had been burnt by the Maoris, and the crew killed, and eaten. This, it was afterwards proved, was but in retaliation for murders by traders; and in its turn the massacre was revenged by a party of whalers, who attacked and burnt Te Pahi's village, although he himself had done all in his power to save the crew of the *Boyd*, and did in fact save some of them. But these sad events put an end to any hope of a speedy settlement in New Zealand.

Long delays.

After some months of weary waiting, a whaling-ship was found willing to take the young chief Ruatara and land him in New Zealand, and he was sent in her to ascertain the prospects of safely settling there. But nothing was heard of him for more than a year, and Marsden could only wait anxiously, while the Society at home began almost to despair of the enterprise. At last Ruatara appeared at Port Jackson. The captain of the whaler had refused to land him in New Zealand, but carried him off to Norfolk Island and put him ashore destitute; and at length

* Written in the earlier Reports "Duaterra."

he had persuaded another ship returning to Port Jackson to take him back thither. Another attempt was made after a while, and this time Ruatara did land; and the result of his intercourse with the other chiefs was that though they received his descriptions of civilized life with mocking scepticism, they agreed to welcome the settlers.

Opposition of colonists.

But now Marsden encountered fresh obstacles. The Colony of New South Wales thought the extermination of Maori savages more desirable than their conversion; and the traders who were profiting by fraud and violence all over the Southern Ocean objected to any attempt by missionaries, whether in New Zealand or at Tahiti, to preach honesty and morality and peace. Every possible slander was set on foot against Marsden; no one supported him; no ship would take him and his mechanics across; nor indeed would the Governor give him temporary leave from his duties as chaplain to enable him to go. At last he purchased a small brig of 110 tons, the *Active*, and sent Kendall and Hall over to make further inquiries; and on their return with a favourable report, and bringing Ruatara and other chiefs with them, the Governor gave him permission to go, and take the whole party with him, i.e. the three men from England, with their wives and children, and half a dozen mechanics from Port Jackson, and the Maori chiefs. The strange condition of South Sea society at the time may be gathered from the composition of the crew of the *Active:* one Englishman, one Irishman, one Prussian, one Swede, one Norwegian, one American, one white Colonist, one Maori, two Tahitians, and one Sandwich Islander!

Marsden to New Zealand.

These few details have been given in order to convey, if possible, some slight idea of the difficulties attending even the preparations for a Mission to New Zealand in those days. It was now November, 1814. Five years and three months had elapsed since the *Ann* left England. Another year and three months were yet to pass before the Society at home heard of the settlement having really been begun. This was not sowing the seed and waiting patiently for the harvest. It was waiting for even an opportunity to sow the seed. Truly patience had her perfect work in those days!

The voyage from Sydney to North Cape, the northern extremity of New Zealand, about 1000 miles due east, is now done in four or five days by steamer. The *Active* left Port Jackson on November 28th, and sighted North Cape on December 15th, a good voyage for a little sailing vessel. The Bay of Islands, whither she was bound, being the entrance to the district where Ruatara and other friendly chiefs were dominant, is a little to the south of North Cape, on the further (east) side. How Marsden heard that a deadly feud had sprung up between Ruatara's tribe and another; how he at once landed, despite Ruatara's warnings, and, with only one Sydney man and an interpreter, went, un-

armed, straight to the hostile party; how he slept that night in their midst under the open canopy of heaven; how in the morning he persuaded them to make peace; how he went on joyfully with his whole party to Ruatara's tribe; how the horse, the bull, and the cows he had brought with him, excited the Natives, whose largest animal was the pig; how everything betokened a prosperous start for the settlement,—has often been told, and can be read again and again with deepest interest. Let us come to Christmas Day. It fell that year on Sunday. Ruatara had gathered his fellow-chiefs and people together. "A very solemn silence prevailed. I rose and began the service by singing the Old Hundredth Psalm, and I felt my very soul melt within me when I viewed my congregation, and considered the state they were in. After reading the service, I preached from St. Luke ii. 10, 'Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.'" * Such is Marsden's simple account of one of the great historic scenes in the history of Missions,—indeed one of the really great scenes in the history of the British Colonial Empire, for the very existence of the now flourishing Colony of New Zealand is due to the courage and faith of Samuel Marsden in flinging himself among the Maoris. The Mission he initiated on Christmas Day, 1814, tamed the race; and then, in poured the colonists.

Christmas Day, 1814.

Marsden spent two months in the country, and then returned to his own duties in New South Wales. From Paramatta he sent a full report of his proceedings home to England. It arrived early in 1816, while Edward Bickersteth was on his voyage out to Africa, and just before William Johnson sailed thither. It excited the liveliest interest. There were yet to pass many years before praise could ascend to God at the news of Maori conversions; but prayerful sympathy was called forth, and Africa had already taught the Society that there must be a sowing in tears before there could be a reaping in joy. One ripe ear, however, was very quickly reaped, though not in New Zealand itself. A young Maori, named Maui (Mowhee), who had been under Marsden's instruction at Paramatta, worked his way to England as a common sailor, and on reaching London was taken by the captain to the Church Missionary House. The Society received him, and sent him to Basil Woodd at Paddington; and there he showed evident signs of Divine grace in his heart. He set to work to learn how to teach, hoping to go back to his own country as a teacher; but, as in the case of Simeon Wilhelm

A Maori dies in London.

* Seventy-eight years after, on September 28th, 1892, the C.M.S. Deputation to the Colonies landed at the beautiful city of Auckland, a little south of the Bay of Islands, and proceeded to the Cathedral, where were gathered the Bishop and clergy and a large congregation of white colonists. Marsden's text on Christmas Day, 1814, was the text of the first address, and the Church of New Zealand was invited now to join in sending on the "good tidings of great joy" to "all people."

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the Susoo lad,* disease struck him, and he died in the faith of Christ on December 28th, 1816, just two years after Marsden's Christmas sermon at the Bay of Islands. A deep impression was made by the Christian deaths of the young Negro and the young Maori in London, within a few months of each other, and before any decided encouragement had come to the praying members of the Society from either Africa or New Zealand. The names of Mowhee and Simeon Wilhelm were coupled in many utterances of thankfulness in sermons and speeches all over England; and both their portraits appear in the same volume of the *Missionary Register*, 1818.

Meanwhile Marsden was carrying on a Maori Seminary at Paramatta, where Natives might be more effectively trained in "the arts of life" under his own eye than in New Zealand itself; suitable men being sent over from time to time. This Seminary lasted for some years, with varying fortunes. At the Bay of Islands, the little band of settlers were patiently trying to win their way among the Maoris. It proved wearying and discouraging work. Ruatara had died before Marsden left, and the loss of his help and protection was keenly felt. Savagery of all kinds abounded; robberies were incessant; and repeatedly the settlers and their families were warned at night that they would be murdered before morning. Hall and King made no progress in the language, though Kendall did; and it was hard to get even the friendly Natives to learn anything, whether reading or writing or handicrafts. And with all this, there was constant peril from a settlement of escaped convicts on the opposite side of the Bay—men of the most reckless character, whose wicked treatment of the Maoris continually endangered the lives of all white people In 1819, however, when, after the lapse of four years and a half, Marsden paid a second visit to New Zealand, taking with him a clergyman sent out by the Society to be the spiritual head of the Mission—Mr. Butler,—and again when he paid his third visit, in 1820,—things looked brighter in several ways. The "arts of life" really seemed to be progressing. There were fields of wheat; there were horses and cattle; fruit-trees sent from Sydney were flourishing; blacksmith's shops, saw-pits, rope-walks, were at work; and a boarding-school was successful in taming and teaching even the wild and volatile Maori children. Kendall was especially efficient: he was the schoolmaster, the farmer, the doctor, and the linguist. He had already prepared some small papers in the Maori language. The settlers were gaining respect and influence, insomuch that, although, within a year or two, about one hundred Natives had been murdered by European traders and escaped convicts, no retaliation had been attempted upon the Mission settlement. The Committee were much encouraged: they saw the good influence of even the small beginnings

The missionary settlement.

* See p. 161.

of industrial, educational, medical, and linguistic work; and they hoped great things from the efforts of the new Governor of New South Wales, Sir Thomas Brisbane, in putting down the outrages perpetrated by Europeans—concerning which they had in an earlier Report used this strong language:—

"Your Committee feel it strongly that Providential Guidance has thrown the Society, in its two attempts among the more uncivilized Heathen, into conflict with the most rapacious of their countrymen. But whether it respects Western Africa or New Zealand, they will not cease to protest against these enormities, and to wipe their hands of these crimes: nor will they desist from employing all practicable methods of redress, till such redress is actually obtained."

Hongi in England.

But a much darker period now ensued. A great chief named Hongi,* who was supposed by the missionaries and by Marsden to be their best Maori friend and one likely to be soon influenced by the Gospel, came to England with Kendall. He was received with much respect and kindness by the Society's leaders; and one good thing resulted from the visit—he and Kendall were sent to Cambridge for two months to enable that great scholar, Professor Samuel Lee, "the Society's Orientalist," † to fix the grammar of the Maori language; and the Grammar and Vocabulary produced by Lee became the foundation of all subsequent Maori translations. Kendall was admitted to holy orders during their stay, and high hopes were entertained of the future of the Mission. But it turned out that Hongi's chief object in coming to England was to obtain guns and gunpowder; that he had obtained a large quantity, and that on his way back he purchased more at Sydney by selling the valuable presents given him, including some from George IV., who had granted him an interview; and his return to New Zealand was the signal, not for peace and advance in civilization, but for war and massacre and cannibalism. The narratives of his proceedings are truly dreadful; and the settlers were filled with horror when they saw the heads of men and women tossed about in wild fury, and tit-bits from human corpses brought to their own dwellings and offered to them to eat. Worst of all, to the shame and dismay of the little band, Kendall himself was proved to be the ally of Hongi, and seemingly the instigator, not indeed of his cannibalism, but of his ambitious designs. The Society had laid down strict rules against the use of guns and gunpowder in bartering for food, and honest men like Hall and King were ready to starve—as indeed they nearly did—rather than disobey this rule. Kendall opposed them, and claimed liberty to trade in arms and ammunition, and one or two of the Sydney men sided with him. This led to the discovery of his alliance with Hongi. In the Report of 1822, the Committee say, referring to the change in the chief's temper and attitude,—"Into the circum-

Kendall's treachery.

* Written "Shung-hee" in the earlier Reports.

† See p. 120.

stances which led to this they will not now enter; they have obtained a clue to them, which will lead, they fear, to some painful conclusions." In the following year the Committee say:—

"Had the whole number of labourers in this Mission maintained among these Heathens the Christian spirit and character, the Committee would have made comparatively light of its external difficulties; but it is with grief that they add that its main trials have arisen from within. It has been found requisite, in the faithful discharge of the duty which Christian Communities owe to the honour of that Name by which they are called, to separate from the Society two Members of the Mission, for conduct disgraceful to their profession. The Committee trust that it will never become necessary again to exercise this painful duty: but should the necessity at any time recur, the path of duty is obvious, as no blessing from God can be expected, but in proportion as the simplicity and purity of the Christian character are maintained."

Agents dismissed.

One of the two dismissed was, of course, Kendall; the other was Mr. Butler's son. In the following year, a third man, a mechanic, was dismissed; and Mr. Butler himself, who had come to England, withdrew. But several others—thirteen had gone out from England up to 1823, and some from New South Wales—were working and praying earnestly. In the Report of 1824 the Committee say:—

"In the midst of the evils which have arisen to this Mission from the sins of some who have been engaged in it, and the infirmities of others, God has not left Himself without witness in this land, but has maintained among His people, under all the trials endured from the Natives, and the still greater trials from some of their own body, faithful and devoted Labourers, who, though they have felt, to use their own expression, as 'living Martyrs,' have continued to lift up holy hands in the midst of these savage tribes, to labour unwearidly for their good, and to cause the light of a meek and holy conversation to shine around them."

When we remember that all these sore trials were burdening the minds and hearts of the Committee in the very year of the terrible mortality at Sierra Leone, described in the Thirteenth Chapter, we cannot but praise God that His grace enabled them to hold on with unfaltering faith; and that the blessing vouchsafed to Johnson's work at Regent was fresh in their memories as a token, after all, of the favour of the Lord. Marsden, too, upon whom fell the heaviest burden, in grappling on the spot with the difficulties of the Mission, both external and internal, never despaired for a moment. He had his previous experience with the L.M.S. Tahiti Mission to fall back upon; and that Mission now, after years of trial, was being blessed beyond anticipation:—

"I had many a battle to fight [he wrote] for years, with some of the first settlers sent out to the Society Islands, who turned out unprincipled men. The Directors of the London Missionary Society despaired of success, after they had expended many thousands of pounds; and they frequently wrote to me on the subject, expressing their fears that they must abandon the Mission. I never had myself, however, but one

opinion relative to that Mission—and that was that it would succeed: and God has now blessed the word of His grace to thousands of the poor Heathen in those Islands."

He added, significantly,—"The way is still open, if Labourers can only be procured fit for the work; and God will find these and send them forth when He sees meet. You have some excellent ones of the earth in New Zealand, whom the Lord will assuredly bless; but we must not sow and expect to reap in the same day."

The new epoch: Henry Williams.

In that very year, 1822, was sent forth the man whom we may regard as the first of the second generation of New Zealand missionaries, and who was destined in God's providence to be one of the chief instruments in the evangelization of the Maori race. Henry Williams had been an officer in the Navy, and had served in the wars with both France and the United States. He offered to the Society in 1820, and received his education for the ministry under a clerical relative, the Rev. E. G. Marsh. He was the second candidate to receive holy orders from the Bishop of London under the new Colonial Service Act;* and he sailed, with his wife and three children, on August 7th, 1822. The Instructions given him are very significant. The Committee were now realizing that if Civilization preceded Christianity, it was very likely to prove an obstacle to Christianity, and that the Gospel did not need the "arts of life" as its precursors, however useful they might be to win attention to the Divine message, and, as in this case, to make a Mission partly self-supporting. "It is the great and ultimate purpose of this Mission," they said to Henry Williams, "to bring the noble but benighted race of New Zealanders into the enjoyment of the light and freedom of the Gospel. *To this grand end, all the Society's measures are subordinate.*"

"The Committee are the more earnest with you on this point, because, in the constant attention which this Mission will require, for years to come, to secular business, the temptation of the Labourers has been, and will be, not to give a due proportion in their plans to Religious Education and Instruction. . . .

"Go forth, then, in the true spirit of a devoted Missionary, having no secular object in view, but desirous of bringing glory to God by advancing the Kingdom of His Son. . . .

"The result of your labours, be well assured, will in due time show itself. What a man soweth, that shall he also reap. Indefatigable labours, unwearied patience, persevering prayer, simple faith, and unfailing love, will in the end produce their visible fruit to the praise and glory of God; while self-will, evil tempers, indolence, self-indulgence, pursuit of gain, a worldly spirit, strife and contention, neglect of devotion, and all those other evils to which we are by nature prone, would render you unprofitable to New Zealand, and a burden to the Society; and would fill you with self-reproach and sorrow, if they did not end, as they have done in some awful instances, in a state of apostasy from God."

* See p. 245.

PART III. 1812–24. Chap. 16.

No fire-arms!

In the Address delivered at the same time by E. G. Marsh, there is a striking passage about self-defence. The New Zealand missionaries were not only forbidden to use muskets for barter, Mr. Marsh enjoins them not to use arms at all, even to save the lives of their families: *—

"As you are about to enter the territories of a savage and powerful people, to commit yourselves to their hospitality, and to live under their laws, it would be vain to think of protecting yourselves by force against their violence. It is impossible to shut your eyes to the fact that, so far as human means are concerned, you must be considered as in their power and at their mercy. . . . All offensive instruments, therefore, it is wise for a Missionary to renounce. As his object is peaceful, so should his hand be unarmed. He should carry the olive-branch, and not the sword; and should exhibit the example of a person who comes into the enemy's camp in the sacred character of a Herald of Peace. He will therefore neither wear a sword, nor bestow one. He will persist in abstaining from earthly weapons while he is prosecuting a spiritual warfare. He will say under all provocations, 'I will go in the strength of the Lord God; I will make mention of His righteousness only.'"

The reply of Henry Williams is also interesting, and just such as might be expected from a naval officer entering missionary service. He assures the Committee that he shall "consider it a most sacred duty to regard" their orders at all times "as rigidly as ever he did those of his Senior Officer while he was in His Majesty's Service"; and, referring to his wife, he says, "With regard to Mrs. Williams, I beg to say that she does not accompany me merely as my wife, but as a fellow-helper in the work." Even at the end of the century, Henry Williams's example would not be out of date!

Mrs. H. Williams.

Henry Williams proved to be a man after Marsden's own heart. From the time of his arrival in New Zealand, the whole Mission improved; and Mrs. Williams, as he had said, was a true fellow-worker. Trials, however, were not over. A new station was established, among new people; and the thieving and threats from which the earlier settlers had suffered, had now to be again encountered. Moreover, "four young children in a very small dwelling, which effectually excluded neither wind nor rain, was in itself sufficiently inconvenient; and to this was added the want of a fire even in cold weather, for the walls of rushes were too combustible to allow of one in the house"; while the cooking Mrs. Williams had to do in an open shed, whatever the weather. That is, when there was anything to cook; but the Natives stole their fowls and destroyed their vegetables, and refused to supply

* There is no real inconsistency between these counsels and the duty of a missionary to join, in case of urgent need, in a defensive fight under the orders of the State, as recently in Uganda. What is here deprecated is his defending the Mission against violence offered to it in virtue of its missionary character. An English open-air preacher attacked by roughs would refrain from injuring them in self-defence, but he would join in defending those very roughs against a foreign invader.

food except in exchange for guns and powder, which Williams resolutely declined to barter. "Often," wrote he of his wife, "is she tired *in* her work, but never *of* it."

Another of God's chosen instruments for the evangelization of New Zealand was now on his way out, in the person of Henry Williams's brother. William Williams had been brought up to the medical profession, and had been assistant to a surgeon at Southwell; but on Henry's going forth as a missionary, he determined to follow him. He went to Magdalen Hall (now Hertford College), Oxford, and took his degree in 1824; and in July, 1825, he sailed with his young wife for New Zealand.* In the Instructions, the Committee, perhaps encouraged by the words that Henry Williams had uttered about his wife three years before, specially addressed Mrs. William Williams. They exhorted her to remember that "no country can be happy or Christian but in proportion as its Females become so," and to seek every opportunity of influencing the Maori women. "You should rank," they said, "with those honourable Women of old who laboured with even Apostles in the Gospel." In all missionary history, has any woman proved herself more worthy of this "rank" than Jane Williams?

William Williams.

Mrs. W. Williams.

When William Williams and his wife reached Sydney, they were met by Henry in a little vessel, the *Herald*, which he, profiting by his naval experience, had himself built at the Bay of Islands, with the assistance of W. Hall, who, as will be remembered, had learned something of ship-building at Hull before leaving England seventeen years before. The *Active* had been sold some time previously; a vessel which had taken Marsden to New Zealand for his fourth visit in 1823 had been wrecked; and Henry Williams had determined to supply the want himself.

Meanwhile, not a few signs had appeared of the grace of God working in Maori hearts. There were inquirers after the way of salvation; there were hopeful deaths; and on September 14th, 1825, the first baptism took place, that of a chief named Rangi, on his deathbed. There could be no doubt of the genuineness of his faith: he received the name of "Christian"; and he was the first of a great company of believers destined to be gathered out of one of the most savage and ferocious races ever met with. But the great ingathering was not yet.

First convert.

Ceylon.

The very first Report issued by the Society, in 1801, gives evidence that, in wistfully surveying the wide fields of Heathendom, the Committee did not pass over the Island of Ceylon. It had long been in the possession of Holland, having been taken by that enterprising little State from the Portuguese in 1656; but it had

Ceylon: Dutch and English.

* She lived to receive the C.M.S. Deputation to the Colonies in 1892, and died, honoured and revered by all, in 1896, aged 95¼. Her husband was the first Bishop of Waiapu, and her son the third.

lately (1796) been conquered by England. The Dutch, as mentioned in a former chapter,* had forced Protestant Christianity upon the people, by subjecting Buddhists, Hindus, and Romanists alike to heavy civil disabilities; but they had honestly endeavoured to provide religious ministrations for them, building churches and supporting clergy and schoolmasters. The British, of course, restored religious liberty; and though the first governor did seek to continue the official patronage of religion, this policy was soon abandoned. The people quickly perceived that their new rulers cared little what religion prevailed; and whereas in 1801 there were 342,000 Singhalese and 136,000 Tamils who professed Protestant Christianity, in ten years more than half of these had gone back to Buddhism or the Tamil devil-worship. "Government religion" had been thrown off, and the Dutch churches were going to ruin. The Society, however, was thinking of Ceylon before these apostasies occurred, and regarded it as a specially hopeful field. Moreover, there was no East India Company there to exclude or expel missionaries. The British authorities, indeed, were fairly favourable. But Africa presently filled all the field of vision, and Ceylon disappeared for a time from view.

In 1810-11, two circumstances brought Ceylon once more prominently before the Society. One was the publication of Buchanan's *Christian Researches in the East*, which within two years ran through twelve editions, and which gave much information about Ceylon. The other was the presence in England of the Chief Justice of the Island, Sir Alexander Johnston, an admirable Christian man, who had on his own account employed two Singhalese men to translate Bishop Porteus's work on the Evidences of Christianity, and who earnestly pressed the claims of the comparatively new British possession upon the sympathy of Christian England. On his return to Ceylon, he caused the first number of the *Missionary Register* (January, 1813) to be translated into Singhalese, Tamil, and Portuguese, for circulation in the Island; and he wrote to Pratt proposing a Church Missionary Association there, and the sending of suitable native youths to England for training. This latter plan was forestalled by the Society resolving to send out missionaries; and it will be remembered that the first two English candidates for whom ordination had been procured, Greenwood and Norton, were at first designated to Ceylon, and only diverted to India after they had actually sailed.

Sir A. Johnston.

Not till 1817 were there men actually available. But in that year the first four were sent forth, Samuel Lambrick, Robert Mayor,† Benjamin Ward, and Joseph Knight. Lambrick was a

First missionaries to Ceylon.

* See p. 56.

† Mayor married Charlotte Bickersteth, sister of the C.M.S. Secretary, and was the father of the three distinguished brothers Mayor, of St. John's, Cambridge, one of whom became Latin Professor.

man in middle life, who had been a tutor at Eton, and was probably the most mature person yet engaged by the Society. They were all ordained by Bishop Ryder of Gloucester. This was the first occasion of sending out four clergymen at once to one Mission, and many years elapsed before the Committee were able to take a similar step. They were heartily welcomed, not only by Sir A. Johnston, but also by the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg. It is very interesting to observe in the early Reports how frequently the Colonial Governors are mentioned as heartily co-operating with Missionary Societies. Sir R. Brownrigg, when he left Ceylon in 1820, referred in a public speech to his action in this respect. "The chief ends I have had in view," he said, "were the happiness of the people confided to my care, and the honour of my own country, to which I was responsible for the sacred trust." On these accounts, therefore, and not merely because of his personal faith in Christianity, he felt it his "bounden duty to foster and encourage" Missions.*

Kandy.

It was by Sir R. Brownrigg's advice that the old hill capital, Kandy, was occupied by Lambrick. The Kandyans were a singularly vigorous race, and had maintained their independence all through the Portuguese and Dutch periods; and it was with difficulty, and after the destruction of one detachment of troops sent against them, that the British succeeded in subduing them, in 1815. Two years later, a formidable rebellion broke out, but it was quelled just before the missionaries arrived, and the Governor wished one of them to go there at once. The possession of the famous relic called "Buddha's Tooth" by the chief Buddhist Temple at Kandy added to the importance of the place, as pilgrims from all parts resorted to it. Two other stations were opened at the same time: Baddegama in the southern Singhalese country, and Nellore, in the Jaffna Peninsula, at the north end of the Island, a densely-populated Tamil district. Four years later, Lambrick removed to the village of Cotta, in the plain, six miles from Colombo, which has been an important centre ever since.

Heber in Ceylon.

Bishop Heber visited Ceylon in 1825, and was exceedingly pleased with all he saw. "The Church missionaries in this island," he wrote, "are really patterns of what missionaries ought to be—zealous, discreet, orderly, and most active."† It is a curious illustration of the times that his advice was asked by the brethren as to the propriety or otherwise of their meeting the missionaries of other denominations in periodical gatherings for Bible-study, conference, and prayer; and that so good and large-hearted a man as Heber, while "not thinking it necessary to advise their cessation, now that they were established," did feel it necessary to request the chaplains and such other of the clergy as were not missionaries to abstain from attending them,

* *Missionary Register*, 1821, p. 71.

† Dr. G. Smith's *Bishop Heber*, p. 286.

and did also feel it necessary to suggest restrictions as to the part laymen might take in them:—

"With no feeling of disrespect or suspicion towards the excellent laymen who have joined you, I would recommend, if my counsel has any weight (and I offer it as my counsel only), that, though there is no impropriety in their taking their turns in reading the Scriptures, and mingling in the discussions which arise on the subjects connected with your conference, they would abstain from leading in prayer, except when the meeting is held in one of their own houses, and when, as master of the family, they may consistently offer up what will then be their family devotion."

Ceylon a hard field.

The Society had expected Ceylon to be an easily fruitful field; but the opposite proved to be the case. One of the missionaries wrote in 1868, reviewing the past history: *—

"A more arduous task, a more trying field of labour, it would be difficult to imagine. It is a matter well understood by planters, that while the primeval forest land, if cleared and planted, will soon yield them a rich return, the *chenas* of the lower ranges, previously exhausted by native cultivation, though far more easy of access, and requiring far less outlay at the beginning, will too often mock their hopes, and can only be made to yield a return at last, by a long and expensive mode of cultivation. This fact has its counterpart in spiritual husbandry. . . . Pure Buddhists and Hindus are tenfold more accessible than the thousands of relapsed and false professors of Christianity. . . . The traditions preserved in native families of the fact that their forefathers were once Christians and afterwards returned to Buddhism, is naturally regarded by them as a proof of the superiority of the latter religion; whilst the sight of churches, built by the Dutch but now gone to ruin, adds strength to the belief that Christianity is an upstart religion, which has no vitality, and which, if unsupported by the ruling powers, cannot stand before their own venerated system."

And in few Missions did the progress prove slower, for many years, than in Ceylon. But a brighter day afterwards dawned; and though the work has never produced startling results, no Mission has had year by year to tell of more manifest tokens of Divine grace in individual hearts and lives.

West Indies.

West Indian Negroes.

When the "Society for Missions in Africa and the East" was founded, there was evidently no thought of extending its operations to the West. The sympathy of the leaders, however, with the Negro race, and especially with the Negro Slaves, could not fail to reach to the British possessions in the West India Islands, in which so many thousands of Negroes were still the slaves of English planters. But the call thither came in an unlooked-for way. As before explained, it was not the practice of the Committee to take a map of the world, and put their fingers upon particular regions to which they would like to send missionaries.

* Jubilee Sketches of the C.M.S. Ceylon Mission.

There was always an invitation or other external reason for going in this or that direction. This was what has been always regarded as Providential Leading. It was so with the West Indies. Mr. William Dawes, who had been Governor of Sierra Leone, and afterwards a member of the Committee, went, in 1813, to live in the Island of Antigua, and offered to act as an honorary lay "catechist" to such Negroes as he could reach. His proposal was cordially accepted, and although his name does not appear on the Society's roll, he really did effective missionary work for some years—much as the India chaplains did. He instituted both day-schools and Sunday-schools, and the Society granted him money for teachers. An officer in the Royal Artillery, too, Lieutenant R. Lugger, who was quartered at Barbadoes, started schools, assisted by the Society, in that Island, and the scheme was afterwards extended to St. Vincent and Dominica. In 1820, more than two thousand Negro children were under instruction. The Committee also sent a clergyman who had offered to the Society to Hayti, as a chaplain. Meanwhile, the S.P.G. held the Codrington Estate in Barbadoes in trust, and employed a chaplain to instruct the slaves employed upon it. The work of other Missions will appear by-and-by.

Honduras.

British Honduras, although on the mainland of Central America, may be regarded as a part of the West Indies, and therefore must be mentioned here. At the invitation of the English chaplain there, Mr. Armstrong, the Society, in 1818, sent a second chaplain, a schoolmaster, and a printer, for the purpose of establishing a Mission among the Mosquito Indians, who appeared to be particularly accessible to Christian instruction. But the second chaplain returned invalided, and the work was never prosecuted with effect, although for three or four years Honduras held its place in the Society's Reports.

The Committee rejoiced when two Bishops were sent to the West Indies in 1824, to preside over the new dioceses of Jamaica and Barbadoes; and at a later period important work was undertaken in the former jurisdiction.

Malta.

Malta as a Mission centre.

How Malta came to be occupied, and with what purposes, will appear in the next chapter. Here it need only be observed that the Committee regarded the little Island as a convenient base for extending operations in all directions. "From this commanding station, Christians have easy access, in their efforts to raise and propagate the Faith, to important portions of the Three Continents of the Old World, by a line of coast equal in extent to half the circumference of the Globe." The access to Africa from the Mediterranean was especially prominent in their thoughts. They looked at Egypt, pitying the oppressed Coptic Church, and trusting that "while the Pyramid and the Temple had excited enthusiasm and animated research, Christian zeal

would not be found deficient in giving aid to that Church whose country afforded protection to our Infant Saviour, and whose shrines were consecrated by the labours of a Cyril and an Athanasius." And they looked at the Barbary States, and joyfully anticipated the day when "the northern shores of Africa, and all the other coasts of these magnificent inland seas" should "feel the reviving influence of that Sacred Light which once shone upon them with distinguished splendour." And they did not confine themselves to rhetoric. Scores of pages in the volumes of the *Missionary Register* at this time are filled with important information regarding North Africa and the Levant generally. From the Malta Press went forth thousands of Christian tracts and portions of Scripture to every accessible North African port. And from Malta started the Mission to Abyssinia, which ultimately led the Society to Eastern Equatorial Africa.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Eastern Churches: Efforts to Revive Them.

The Committee's Eyes upon the East—An Appeal from Malta—William Jowett—C.M.S. Policy with the Eastern Churches—The Bible for the Eastern Churches—Promising Beginnings—Turkish Atrocities—The Syrian Church of Travancore—Buchanan and Colonel Monro—C.M.S. Designs—Fenn, Bailey, Baker.

"*He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.*" —Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29; iii. 6, 13, 22.

THE energy with which the young Society was now being conducted led to many plans being proposed to the Committee for development in different directions; and the extraordinary breadth both of knowledge and of sympathy which Josiah Pratt displayed in the *Missionary Register*—to which there is really no parallel at all in the present day—naturally induced a belief that the Society could be used for almost any good purpose at home or abroad. Among the suggestions made to the Committee repeatedly by various friends was that "clergymen of learning, intelligence, and piety" should be stationed at various Continental cities, particularly in Italy. The idea was not to try and add to the number of Protestant communions abroad; not necessarily to encourage open secession from the Roman Church. But it was thought that there must be many godly individuals in that Church who would welcome more Scriptural and truly Primitive teaching, and that gradually a reforming movement might be set on foot within the Italian and Spanish and Gallican Churches themselves. "Frequent and strong representations," the Committee say in the Report of 1818, were made to them as to the good which might thus be done. It did not appear to them, however, that this was the proper work of the Church Missionary Society. That work, they said, was "to communicate the knowledge of Christianity to such as did not possess it." Still, there was a way in which they were willing to help. Though their funds, they felt, were not applicable to such projects, their "knowledge and influence" might be rightly used in "reviving and diffusing Christianity in any of the Churches abroad,"—not only in the Roman Church, but in the too rationalistic Protestant Churches, such as those of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, &c. They were disposed, accordingly, to "render advice

C.M.S. not for Roman Catholic countries.

and assistance to suitable clergymen, willing to proceed to places where they were likely to be useful." Apparently, they had no opportunity of fulfilling this promise, because no suitable clergymen came forward.

Why for Eastern Churches?

But it was different with the Churches of the East. The Society did enter upon an important enterprise with a view to their possible revival. Where lay the difference? It lay in this, that the revival of the Eastern Churches would undoubtedly have an effect on the Mohammedan and Heathen World. "It has not appeared," says the same Report, "conformable to the direct design of the Society to expend any part of its funds on Christian Countries, otherwise than with *the ultimate view of winning, through them, the Heathen to the reception of the Gospel.*" Long before this, indeed, their eyes had rested with peculiar interest on the sacred regions of the East. It was humiliating that in the lands in which the Incarnate Son of God lived and died, in which Apostles laboured, from which the Gospel had first sounded out, a fanatical and yet sterile religion like Islam, the enemy of all enlightenment, the bar to all progress, should be dominant. Yet the Eastern Churches, so far from being effective instruments for winning the Mohammedans to Christ, were, and still are—regretfully as it must be said,—a real obstacle to their evangelization. "We have lived," they say, "among Christians for twelve hundred years, and we want no such religion as *that*." And it must indeed be sorrowfully acknowledged that the ignorance and superstition prevailing among the Oriental Christians go far to justify such a remark.

As far back as 1802, a Bristol friend had written to the young Society,—"Would it not be an object well worthy the attention of your Missionary Society, to attempt the revival of Spiritual and Evangelical Religion in the Greek Church?" In the next Annual Report, this proposal is just mentioned, but merely as one of several suggestions of possible missionary enterprises, and without any expression of the Committee's wish to adopt it. A few years later, Claudius Buchanan, whose *Christian Researches in the East*, describing his travels in India and Ceylon, had excited so much interest, was contemplating a journey to the Levant, no doubt with a similar object. His book had revealed to Christian England the existence of the ancient Syrian Church in Travancore. Another book, had he taken this proposed journey, would doubtless have told with equal sympathy of the oppressed Churches of Greece, Asiatic Turkey, and Egypt. He did not go, however. Perhaps the then urgent question of the opening of India kept him in England. The actual proposal which ultimately led to the Society's enterprises in the Mediterranean, came, strange to say, from a Roman Catholic.

Two English friends of the Society had been visiting Malta, and had made the acquaintance there of Dr. Cleardo Naudi. From them, no doubt, he heard of the new Missionary Society of the

Church of England; and in June, 1811, he addressed a letter to Pratt.* In this curious document, he calls attention to "the multitudes of Christians of different denominations in the Levant [i.e. the various Oriental Churches] "living mingled in confusion with the Turkish inhabitants." Prior to the War, he says, the Roman Congregation De Propagandâ Fide frequently sent missionaries to these "ignorant Christians"; but that Institution being "now no more—its property sold—its revenues usurped and diverted," they were "deprived of the true light of the Gospel." There were still, it was true, some "Fathers of St. Francis" in Egypt, but, it was "much to be lamented," they were "very ill-informed." "It now, therefore," he goes on, "devolves upon you to enter on this labour of propagating the Christian Faith among Infidels, and of confirming it among the Ignorant." And he appeals for missionaries of the English Church who would "accommodate themselves to Eastern customs in respect of manners, dress, &c.," and learn Arabic and Modern Greek.

Appeal from a Maltese Romanist.

It is surely a curious spectacle. Evidently the good doctor was a truly pious man. To him Eastern Christendom was heretical, and should be enlightened by Western Christendom. Rome was no doubt the chief representative of Western Christendom; but if she failed, the English Church, as an independent Branch, was quite qualified to teach the East. It is remarkable also that he quotes a Greek deacon who had observed to him that "the institution of the Bible Society of England must have taken place by heavenly inspiration"!

The Committee responded warmly. In the Report read at the Anniversary of 1812, they invited "zealous young clergymen" to come forward and be "the honoured instruments of confirming and propagating the doctrine of the Cross in countries dear to them as scholars from classical associations, and more dear to them as Christians from sacred." It is a striking coincidence that on the very day on which they had received Dr. Naudi's letter, they had also before them one from Melville Horne, calling attention to Buchanan's account of the Syrian Church of Malabar, and urging them to send a Mission for its enlightenment; and in the same Annual Report of 1812, they dwelt upon this call also. In addition to which, the Abyssinian Church, and Egypt, and Arabia, and Persia were all referred to; and the Committee expressed their longing for another Pentecost when "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa—in Egypt—and Arabians" would "speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God." In the following year, they enlarged further; and the paragraph is interesting as showing what was thought at that time of the prospects of the Papacy:—

Attitude of C.M.S. Committee.

"The Committee feel deeply impressed with the conviction that Malta has not been placed in our hands merely for the extension and security

* Printed in the Appendix to the Report of 1812.

of our political greatness. The course of Divine Providence seems plainly to indicate that the United Church of England and Ireland is called to the discharge of an important duty there. The Romish Church is manifestly in a state of gradual but rapid dissolution. Its scattered members ought to be collected. What Church is to collect them? The prevailing form of worship in the East almost universally, and in the rest of the world generally, is episcopal. Was ever such an opportunity presented for extending Christianity in that primitive form of its discipline which is established in the United Empire?"

Encouraged by the Society's response, Dr. Naudi came to England, and laid before the Committee proposals for sending them two or three Maltese or Greeks or Italians for English education and ordination. On being shown the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Oath of Supremacy, which candidates for English orders must accept, he expressed his belief that they would be no obstacle. The Committee approved of this plan; but nothing seems to have come of it. They appointed Naudi, however, the Society's correspondent at Malta; and they proposed to a young Cambridge man, the brother of Pratt's wife, to go out to the Mediterranean as "Literary Representative," to inquire into the state of religion in the Levant, and to suggest methods for translating and circulating the Scriptures, and other ways of influencing the Oriental Churches. This was William Jowett, son of John Jowett of Southwark, a gentleman who had been one of the original members of the first Committee, but who had died a few months after his appointment.* William Jowett was Twelfth Wrangler in 1810, and a Fellow of St. John's; and he had a curacy at Nottingham. In after years he was to become a Secretary of the Society. He now accepted the proposed commission, but could not go for two years.

William Jowett.

We go forward, therefore, to 1815. We enter No. 14 Salisbury Square. We find the Committee sitting, with the President, Lord Gambier, in the chair. The Cambridge Wrangler is present—the first University graduate to go forth in the service of the Society. It is a quiet "dismissal," not a public meeting as when bands of men for Africa and India had been taken leave of. But Josiah Pratt rises, and reads, as Jowett's instructions, one of the most important of all the Society's early manifestoes.

His instructions,

The Committee quite understood that they were not undertaking a Mission of the ordinary kind. Jowett's "high office as a Minister of the Gospel and a Messenger of Divine Mercy" might have to be, "in its direct exercise, suspended for a time." His task was (1) to collect information about the state of religion on the shores of the Mediterranean, and (2) to inquire as to the best methods of "propagating Christian Knowledge." There was very little known in England on these points. "The Classic, the Painter, the Statuary, the Antiquarian, the Naturalist, the

* John Jowett's brother Benjamin was grandfather of Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol.

Merchant, the Patriot, the Soldier, all," say the Committee, "have their reporters; but no one details to us the number and the characters of Christians; no one has opened to us channels of communication with such men; no one names the men who are there, perhaps, in retirement sighing over the moral condition of their country, and calling, as Europe once called to Asia, Come over and help us." * From Malta as a centre, Jowett is to survey the religious horizon. First, he is to look at the Roman Church. "Notice her condition—any favourable indications—the means of communicating to her our privileges. You cannot act, under your circumstances, as a public impugner of her errors, nor as a reformer of her practice; † but you may watch, with a friendly eye, to ascertain the best means of restoring her to primitive health and vigour." Then he is to study the various Oriental Churches, Greek, Jacobite or Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian, Armenian, Nestorian. Then the Mohammedans: "Carry your eye all round the Sea, by its north-eastern, its eastern, its south-eastern, its southern, and its south-western borders, and you behold the triumphs of the False Prophet. Turkey presents itself as almost begirding, directly or by its vassal states, this inland ocean." ‡ Then the Jews: "multitudes are scattered among the Mohammedans, and no one has hitherto investigated the state of this people." Nor are the Druses and other strange communities omitted from the enumeration. Then as to methods of work: Jowett is to visit and correspond with rulers and consuls and ecclesiastics and travellers of all kinds; to form, if possible, local associations for distribution of Scriptures (in fact, small Bible Societies); to prepare for the establishment of a printing-press at Malta; to study the languages of the Levant, and to seek for valuable MSS. of the Scriptures in them. Then it is hoped that "some of the distinguished Prelates of our Church" would open a correspondence with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, "so that through their influence our systems of education might be communicated, and Bible Societies established."

Regarding Christians, Moslems, and Jews.

Hopes for Eastern Churches.

It was, indeed, to the Eastern Churches that the Society chiefly looked for the future evangelization of the non-Christian populations in the neighbouring Asiatic and African countries. "As these Churches," they said, "shall reflect the clear light of the

* A curious illustration of the ignorance here lamented is furnished by the insertion in the *Missionary Register* (June, 1818) of a quite elementary account of the population and condition of Jerusalem, *sent from Madras*, being derived from an Armenian bishop visiting India.

† Under the European Treaties which had confirmed the annexation of Malta by Great Britain, the Maltese were to be left "undisturbed in their faith." The Government therefore would not allow any evangelistic work among them.

‡ At that time, of course, Greece and the Greek Islands, Roumania and Bulgaria and Servia and Bosnia, and the whole of North Africa, owed allegiance to Turkey.

Gospel on the Mohammedans and Heathens around, they will doubtless become efficient instruments of rescuing them from delusion and death." And "it is by bringing back these Churches to the knowledge and love of the sacred Scriptures, that the blessing from on high may be expected to descend on them." * Again,—

"The revival of the Greek Church, in its primitive purity and vigour, should be an object of the affectionate exertions and earnest prayers of all who wish the extension of Christianity in these regions. Enlightened and animated by the free and ample circulation among them of the Holy Scriptures, the Greeks—numerous, widely scattered, with a cultivated language, and maintaining a ready intercourse among themselves and with others—will act most powerfully and beneficially on the large masses of people among whom they live." †

Accordingly, these Churches were to be dealt with in a moderate and conciliatory spirit. In the Instructions given to a later band of missionaries, there is a striking passage illustrating this: ‡—

"Study—for it is peculiarly applicable to the circumstances of an enlightened and devout Christian labouring in the midst of a benighted and corrupted Oriental Church—study that spirit of moderation, delicacy, and caution, which was exhibited by the Apostles toward their countrymen the Jews, and toward their converts from among the Gentiles. Although they acted, and spoke, and wrote under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and foreknew certainly the approaching dissolution of the Jewish Polity, yet, in ritual observances, such as Circumcision, Washings, the Change of the Sabbath, Fasts, Attendance at the Temple and in the Synagogues, and generally in all the discipline of the old covenant, which was waxing old and ready to vanish away, they were temperate, conformable, conciliatory, and large-hearted. They were, especially, backward to dispute, excepting when ceremonial observances were abused to disparage the doctrine of free justification by faith in Christ, or substituted for the inward sanctification of the heart by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Imitate them, by continually insisting, in the simplest and most practical manner, on the two cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, Justification and Sanctification; and waive as much as possible, those contentions which are unprofitable and vain."

And again, on another occasion, Jowett was cautioned about proselytism:—

"The eternal salvation of the souls of men is the grand object of our hopes and cares. . . . But a difficulty arises here, so far as our course lies among those who are already outwardly members of Christian Churches. Whenever the member of a Church which holds the main truths of the Gospel, though with a great mixture of error, discerns that error, he is perhaps disposed to break away from its Communion. It requires much wisdom, candour, and fidelity, to guide the conscience aright in such cases."

And the Committee go on to distinguish between the Roman Church and the Churches of the East:—

"The Roman Catholic Church is entangled in a snare from which it

* Report, 1820. † Report, 1819. ‡ Report, 1829, p. 142.

cannot be freed, while it holds the Infallibility and Universal Headship of the Bishop of Rome. The Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches, though in many points far gone from the simplicity and purity of the truth, are not so entangled; and also possess within themselves the principle and the means of reformation."*

Bright prospects.

At first, the enterprise gave high promise of success. Jowett went forth, and, after him, the first two Oxford men enrolled by the Society, James Connor, Scholar of Lincoln, and John Hartley of St. Edmund Hall. They travelled to Egypt, Syria, Turkey, the Greek Islands, at a time when such journeys were almost as difficult and fatiguing as in the time of St. Paul; for example, on one occasion the voyage from Malta to Constantinople occupied sixty-nine days! Sometimes they were in quarantine for weeks, as the plague continually raged in the Levant. A printing-press was established at Malta, which at one time (rather later, 1827) was under the charge of John Kitto, the deaf but learned mason who afterwards did so much to popularise the best results of Biblical study and Oriental research.† This press sent forth Scriptures and tracts by the thousand in Maltese, Italian, Modern Greek, and Arabic. Some of them were written by Dr. Naudi, and it is interesting to find an enlightened Roman Catholic—for he does not seem to have left his Church—writing tracts on the importance of the Scriptures being read by the people at large. Some of them consisted of extracts from the Greek Fathers, translated into Modern Greek. Maltese, however, was especially studied, as an introduction to Arabic; and a large part of the Bible was produced in it. It was observed that in the Greek churches, the Old Testament was read in the Septuagint version, and the New in the original Greek; in the Coptic churches, in Coptic; in the Syrian churches, in Syriac; in the Abyssinian churches, in Ethiopic; and generally, read from old MSS; but that none of these ecclesiastical languages were "understanded of the people," nor did even the priests often possess printed copies. The Society, therefore, in conjunction with the Bible Society, published editions of the Scriptures in these languages for the use of the priests and others who could read them. The object was "the enlightenment and elevation of the priests of the respective Communions by Scripture Truth and Charity," in order that, "by their means, translations might be made into the Vernaculars for the use of the people, and for the conversion of the Heathen around them." In two cases the Society was itself instrumental in getting important vernacular versions into circulation. First, a Greek Archimandrite at Constantinople, named Hilarion (afterwards an Archbishop in Bulgaria), undertook a version of the New Testament in Modern Greek, which was duly published. Secondly, a translation of the Ethiopic Bible of the Abyssinian Church had been made a few years before by an aged monk named Abu Rumi,

Malta Press.

* *Missionary Register*, 1829, p. 407.

† Whose son is Prebendary Kitto, Rector of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

under the direction of the French Consul at Cairo, M. Asselin de Cherville. The MS., consisting of no less than 9539 pages in the Amharic language and character (the Abyssinian vernacular), all written out by Abu Rumi, was lighted on by Jowett, and, after some negotiation, purchased for the Bible Society; and portions of it were printed, many thousands of copies of which were afterwards circulated by C.M.S. missionaries in Abyssinia.*

Welcome from the Eastern Bishops.

The intercourse which the "Literary Representatives" had with the Eastern bishops and priests was very hopeful. The Bishop of Smyrna, the Bishop of Scio ("a truly learned man"), the Professors at the great Greek College at Scio, and leading priests and doctors at Athens, Milo, Zante, &c., gave Jowett a warm welcome on his very first journey. When he visited Egypt, the Coptic Patriarch granted him letters to the principal priests and convents. Mr. Connor was received with equal warmth by the Greek Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, the Greek Archbishops and many Bishops in Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus; and the Syrian and Armenian Patriarchs and Bishops in Syria and Palestine. The two brethren, indeed, saw quite enough to make them, as Jowett significantly says, lift up their hearts to God with the cry, "That it may please Thee to illuminate all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with true knowledge and understanding of Thy word!"—but many of the most influential ecclesiastics entered heartily into the plan of forming local Bible Societies, and circulating Vernacular Versions; and several such societies were actually formed, at Malta, Smyrna, Athens, and Corfu and other Ionian Islands. Apparently the only obstacle was fear of the Turks taking alarm, and withdrawing some of the small amount of religious liberty then allowed to the oppressed Christians. Even where no regular organization was formed, the Patriarchs and Bishops frequently fostered plans for the circulation of the Versions. The Rev. Robert Pinkerton, Agent on the Continent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, a very able man, came south at this time, and took an active part in the work. Mr. Henry Drummond, afterwards so well known by his connexion with Edward Irving, also fostered these local plans and associations, employing for the purpose an agent named Christopher Burckhardt (not to be confounded with the famous traveller of that name). "His idea of a Bible Society," writes Jowett, "is very simple. It is two or three people sitting down together, signing a set of rules, and then saying, 'We are the Bible Society of ——,' and immediately acting as such. The only objection to this system is its want of appearance in the eyes of its neighbours: which, however, is in some degree its security." This is the true way of forming almost any society!

Bible Societies.

The spirit of inquiry thus awakened in the East led one

* The revision of this Version for the Bible Society was one of the tasks of the East African missionary Krapf, in his old age, and it was finished only in 1879, and printed at the St. Crischona Mission Press, near Basle.

ecclesiastic, the Archbishop of Jerusalem in one of the three branches of the Syrian Jacobite Church, to visit Europe, in order to obtain help towards printing the Scriptures in the particular form in which his people could read them, i.e. in the Arabic language printed in Syriac characters. He applied to Rome and Paris in vain, and then came on to London. He was warmly received by the C.M.S. Committee, and a special fund was opened, not by the Society itself, but by its friends independently, in aid of his scheme, of which Professor Macbride of Oxford and Professor Lee of Cambridge were Secretaries. The Archbishop was taken leave of at a large public meeting at Freemason's Hall, presided over by Lord Teignmouth.

An Eastern Archbishop in England.

In 1820, Jowett came to England for a few months, and brought out a valuable work, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, on the plan of Buchanan's previous book on the Further East; and so great was the interest aroused by his accounts of the Lands so dear to Christian hearts, that he was, at the age of thirty-four, appointed to preach the Annual C.M.S. Sermon. (Has there ever again been a preacher of it so young?) His text was admirable: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches." The ancient Churches of Ephesus and Pergamos and Thyatira and Sardis and Laodicea were, in their respective distinguishing features, abundantly represented in the Oriental Christendom of the Nineteenth Century; and there were not wanting, here and there, Churches in some degree worthy to represent even Smyrna and Philadelphia. In this excellent sermon, Jowett did not view the Eastern Christians merely as objects of interest and sympathy. He saw that they ought to be the evangelists of the Moslem world. But for this they were not yet qualified. "They believe in Christianity; but the grounds of their belief are not such as would persuade unbelieving nations. Christianity is upheld chiefly by Custom and by Authority; and not unfrequently, by belief in idle legends and lying wonders." Therefore they must be familiarised with the Scriptures, and taught the Historical Evidences of the Faith. And the enterprise of enlightening the Oriental Churches was to be regarded only as a preparatory work. Jowett's ardent hopes looked forward to "the conversion of the Mohammedan Provinces which encompass two-thirds of the Mediterranean, the recovery of the Jews to their true Messiah, and eventually the evangelizing of all the dark and unknown regions of Interior Africa."

Jowett's Sermon.

These far-reaching hopes were not damped by the sad and untoward events that immediately ensued in the East. On Monday, April 30th, 1821, Jowett preached his sermon. On the very Sunday following, May 6th, a terrible outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism occurred at Constantinople. The venerable Patriarch of the Greek Church, who had so heartily thrown himself into the work of Bible translation and distribution, was attacked by a Turkish mob while performing divine worship, and

Outbreak of Mohammedan bigotry.

Part III. 1812–24. Chap. 17.

dragged to a cruel and ignominious death. Other bishops and priests were killed; and the outrage was followed by others not less barbarous in many parts of the Turkish Empire. In particular, the frightful massacre at Scio horrified all Europe—a rehearsal, one may say, of the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities of later years. The city of Scio was sacked; the great College, the headquarters of Greek learning, the churches, the hospitals, the houses, were all destroyed, and the valuable libraries burnt; and thousands of the people were mercilessly slaughtered. These outrages led to the Greek War of Independence; and thus began the gradual dismemberment of Turkey. Christian Englishmen at that time little thought that the Ottoman Empire would last through the century; they would have been shocked at the idea of British blood and treasure being expended in the hopeless attempt to prop it up; by them, and by their fathers for several centuries, the Turk had been ever looked upon as the relentless foe of Christendom; the Poles who had hurled him back from the gates of Vienna, and the Greeks who now rose against him, were the heroes of those days. The advance of Russia, if anticipated at all, was anticipated with pleasure and hope. Several Russian Bible Societies had been established, and were doing splendid work. In the *Missionary Register* of December, 1817, there are speeches reported of the Archbishops of Moscow and Tobolsk, delivered at meetings of the societies of those cities. The Czar Alexander himself was the ardent promoter of Bible and missionary enterprise, and the personal friend of the Gurneys and Frys and other leaders of philanthropy in England. Russia was looked to as the ally of all that was good; Turkey, as almost the embodiment of evil. In a powerful Introduction to the *Missionary Register* of 1823, Josiah Pratt enlarged on the subject. "The stronghold of the Mohammedan Antichrist," he wrote, "is shaken to its foundations." Recent events were "all additional symptoms of the approach of that Ruin which has long been preparing for this main support of the delusions of the False Prophet—delusions by which the god of this world has for twelve centuries blinded the eyes and besotted the hearts of countless millions of mankind."

Massacre of Scio.

Turkey and Russia.

But, for the time, the growing work of Bible and tract circulation was greatly impeded. In a previous chapter,* the Papal Bull of 1817 against the Bible Society was noticed. In 1824, a new Pope issued a Circular warning Catholics against its translations—although the Bible Society, with great wisdom, circulated in Roman Catholic countries the vernacular versions made by Roman divines themselves. In like manner, the Sultan, as Commander of the Faithful, immediately after the issue of that Circular, put forth a Firman forbidding the import of any Christian Scriptures into the Turkish dominions, and ordering copies to be

The Pope and the Sultan.

* See p. 153.

burnt. Thus, wrote Pratt, "the Eastern Antichrist co-operates with the Western!"—and the co-operation was perhaps closer than the public realized, for the opinion of some of the British Consuls, and of leading Romanists in the East themselves, was that Romish influence was at the bottom of even the Sultan's action, seeing that Papal missionaries were in no way interfered with. No one at that time would have thought Pratt narrow-minded for stigmatizing the Papacy as the Western Antichrist. Bishops and divines beyond all suspicion of Evangelicalism habitually did so then.

Jowett continued at Malta till 1830, and Hartley made interesting tours in Asia Minor, and in the Ionian Islands; but from 1825 onwards the Society's efforts were chiefly concentrated on Egypt and Abyssinia, and the missionaries were all Germans or Swiss from the Basle Seminary. Other missionaries from the same institution, however, worked at Smyrna and Syra. But all this belongs to a later period in our History. The nett result of the enterprise for the revival of the Eastern Churches was, undoubtedly, that Oriental Christendom, though according manifest respect to the good men living in its midst, and willing to use the publications of the Malta Press, was by no means inclined to be quickened into fresh life by the Christendom of the West.

The Malabar Syrian Church.

Syrian Church in India.

There is another Oriental Church for the revival of which, at this period, the Society made earnest efforts. From the earliest centuries, Christianity had taken root in South-West India; and when Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, reached India by sea round the Cape in 1498, he found flourishing a Nestorian Church, which, though not free from errors and superstitions, knew nothing of the Papacy, the cultus of the Virgin Mary, or Transubstantiation. An army of Portuguese priests followed, and in many places the Indian Christians submitted to the yoke of Rome. In 1541 came Xavier; and at Goa he found visible signs of Portuguese Christianity in the shape of "a magnificent cathedral, a resident bishop, a chapter of canons, a Franciscan convent," &c. The ancient Church, however, did not submit to Rome till 1599, when Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, by an unscrupulous use of both force and fraud, secured its subjection at the Synod of Udiampura. All the married priests were deposed; the doctrine of transubstantiation and the worship of the Virgin were enforced; and the Inquisition was established. But when the Dutch dispossessed the Portuguese of certain ports on the Malabar coast in 1663, they made way for a Syrian Metropolitan to come from Antioch, who was welcomed by the majority of the Christians as their liberator from Roman tyranny; and the result was that the Church, instead of resuming its old Nestorian connexion, became Jacobite, and has ever since looked to Antioch

as its ecclesiastical centre.* Hence the common name of Syrian Church, though the designation used locally is "Christians of St. Thomas." The majority of its members are in the protected states of Travancore and Cochin; and the Romanists being also numerous, those states have the largest proportion of Christians in the population to be found in India.

Buchanan's Researches.

It was Claudius Buchanan who first drew public attention to this ancient Church. In his *Christian Researches* he gives a graphic account of his visit to Travancore in 1806, and writes enthusiastically of the Syrian Christians and their comparative freedom from error. He brought to England the famous Peschito MS., now in the University Library at Cambridge, the only complete ancient MS. of the Syriac Bible in Europe, except one at Milan. In the Report of 1812, in which was propounded a comprehensive programme of missionary work in the East, evidently inspired by Buchanan's book, the C.M.S. Committee say of "the Syrian Christians of Malayala" that "they have maintained a regular Episcopal Succession from the earliest ages, and in all important points accord with the faith of the Primitive Church"; and it is suggested that "a few learned, prudent, and zealous clergymen would be received, as there is ground to hope, with open arms by this venerable Church. Their labours," it is added, "would tend, under the Divine blessing, to revive and confirm the influence of the faith in that oppressed Community, and might lead ultimately to a union between our Churches."

Colonel Monro.

But the first practical step towards helping the Syrian Church was taken by the British Resident at the Hindu Court of Travancore. A previous Resident, Colonel Macaulay, had welcomed and aided Buchanan; and now his successor, Colonel Monro, in 1813, formed a plan for establishing a college for the education of the Syrian clergy and laity, inducing the Hindu Rani (Princess) to endow it with money and lands, and applying to Mr. Marmaduke Thompson, the Madras chaplain, for a clergyman of the Church of England to be Principal. In 1816, Thompson being now Secretary of the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee at Madras, sent in response two of the first missionaries who arrived from England,

Norton and Bailey.

Thomas Norton and Benjamin Bailey. This step met the hearty approval of the Home Committee, who thereupon commissioned their Orientalist, Samuel Lee, at Cambridge (not yet Professor), to write a sketch of the history of the Malabar Church; which he did with his usual learning and thoroughness, and it was printed as an appendix to the Report of 1817. Another missionary, Dawson, who was sent in the following year, had soon to return

Baker and Fenn.

home invalided; but in 1818 arrived Henry Baker and Joseph Fenn. Norton was stationed at Allepie, the energetic Resident obtaining from the Rani a grant of land for the Mission. Bailey,

* The best account of the Syrian Church, its history and doctrine and liturgies, &c., is given in *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, by T. Whitehouse; London, 1873. Mr. Whitehouse was a chaplain at Cochin.

Baker, and Fenn, the celebrated Travancore Triumvirate, settled at Cottayam, where Colonel Munro's Syrian College had been established. Fenn had been a young London barrister, who gave up brilliant prospects to be a missionary. Having good connexions, and exhibiting unusual powers, he was already making £1500 a year. But he heard the Divine call, and responded at once; and he was ordained in the first instance to Francis Cunningham's curacy at Pakefield. To him was more especially committed the work of seeking to influence the Syrian Church.*

C.M.S. plans concerning an ancient Church.

The missionaries were expressly instructed by the C.M.S. Committee "not to pull down the ancient Church and build another, but to remove the rubbish and repair the decaying places." "The Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient and primitive worship and discipline, rather than be induced to adopt the liturgy and discipline of the English Church; and should any considerations induce them to wish such a measure, it would be highly expedient to dissuade them from adopting it, both for the preservation of their individuality and entireness, and greater consequent weight and usefulness as a Church; and to prevent those jealousies and heart-burnings which would in all probability hereafter arise."

At the first arrival of Norton, some apprehension was manifested by the Metran (Metropolitan) and other Syrians that the English clergy were coming, as the Roman clergy had come, to subjugate them to the domination of a foreign Church. "But I assured them," wrote Norton, "that it was our sole desire to be instrumental, by the Divine assistance, in strengthening the Metran's hands for removing those evils which they had derived from the Church of Rome, and which he himself lamented, and to bring them back to their primitive state, according to the purity of the Gospel, that they might again become a holy and vigorous Church, active and useful in the cause of God." The Metran thereupon welcomed him as their "deliverer and protector." This Metran, however, soon died; but he was succeeded by two excellent men, who were Metrans jointly, and who both proved most friendly, and anxious to follow the counsels of the missionaries. On December 3rd, 1818, an assembly was summoned by one of them, Mar Dionysius, which was attended by forty catanars (priests) and seven hundred of the laity, and at which Joseph Fenn addressed them. He dwelt on the duties of both clergy and laity, pointing out the evils of enforced celibacy for the former, and the importance of conducting public worship in a language "understanded of the people"; and suggested the appointment of six

* An interesting account of Joseph Fenn, by Dr. J. C. Miller, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1878. He was for fifty years Minister of Blackheath Park Chapel, and a venerated member of the C.M.S. Committee. He was the father of several clerical sons: among them, C. C. Fenn, of Ceylon, and afterwards Secretary of C.M.S.; David Fenn, of Madras; J. F. Fenn, of Cheltenham; T. F. Fenn, Head Master of Trent College.

of the most able catanars to consult with the Metran and the missionaries as to the purifying and simplifying of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, which were extremely elaborate and complicated and in many respects superstitious,—adding the caution that it was desirable to "alter as little as possible." *

Early success of missionaries.

Of course, it was not expected that reforms could be effected at once; and meanwhile the three brethren set to work in the various departments allotted to them. Fenn took charge of the College, at which it was arranged that every candidate for the Syrian ministry should be trained; Bailey, having been two years longer in Travancore than the others, and being therefore more advanced in the language, began the translation of the Bible into Malayálam; and Baker started and supervised schools in Cottayam and the surrounding villages. They quickly won the personal esteem of the people; and a remarkable letter † was written by the Metran to the President of the Society, Lord Gambier, in 1821, in which, comparing the Pope to Pharaoh, he called Colonel Macaulay, (the first Resident), Moses, and Colonel Monro, Joshua; speaking also affectionately of "Mar Buchanan, the illustrious priest," of "Priest Benjamin, Priest Joseph, and Priest Henry" (Bailey, Fenn, and Baker), and of "Samuel the Priest," i.e. Professor Lee, who had written them a letter in the ancient Syriac language. Bishop Middleton, of Calcutta, who visited Travancore just when the work was beginning, approved of the missionaries' plans; and the Principal of Bishop's College, Dr. Mill, two years later, wrote with surprise and pleasure of the judicious way in which, in his judgment, they were filling a very difficult position.

But disappointing results.

For some years the reports were very hopeful; and yet no definite reform had been accomplished. The actual practice of the Syrian Church proved to be far more superstitious than was perceived at first. The clergy were ignorant and often immoral, and the people given to drunkenness and license of all kinds. Many of the religious customs were simply borrowed from the surrounding Heathenism. In respect both of religious observance and of morality, the Christians had "mingled with the Heathen and learned their works." But the missionaries noted this great and fundamental difference between them, that while the Heathen gloried—as they glory to-day—in their shame, and justified the vilest practices by the example of their gods, the Christians entirely acknowledged their own sin and degradation, and even the superstitious character of their worship, and professed to wish for improvement. Both the Residents and the missionaries urged the marriage of the priests, the prohibition of which was no original rule of the ancient Church of Antioch, but had been borrowed

* An abstract of this Address is given in the Appendix to the Report of 1820; in which also there is an official report by Colonel Monro to the Madras Government on the history and condition of Christianity in Travancore.

† Printed in full in the *Missionary Register* of 1822, p. 431.

from Rome. Celibacy, indeed, was held in high honour; but in actual fact there was very little real celibacy. Though the priests had no lawful wives, they had mistresses, and children, quite openly; so that marriage would have been an important reform. But although the good Metrans did advocate it, very little came of the proposal. Meanwhile, Fenn and Bailey went on training the young priests and translating the Scriptures, and attending the Syrian services regularly, although these were often extremely distasteful to them.

In 1825 the good Metran, Mar Dionysius, died. His successors proved to be men of a totally different spirit, and opposed all reforms. For ten years more, nevertheless, the Society persevered; but, as will appear hereafter, the enterprise was at last acknowledged to be a failure. To the Jews at Pisidian Antioch, in the earliest days, St. Paul had said, "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken unto you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles." So, in effect, said the missionaries to the Indian children of the Syrian Antioch. They now turned to the Heathen. But this as viewed from 1825, is still in the future.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Outlook after Twenty-five Years.

Josiah Pratt retires—Sombre Tone of his Last Report—Cunningham on the Great Enemy—Discouragement and Repulse in the Mission Field—Deaths—New Friends—The Anniversaries—Men and Means—Ordinations—New N.-W. America Mission—The S.V.M.U. Motto anticipated—The One Hope, an Outpouring of the Spirit.

"*Much discouraged because of the way.*"—Numb. xxi. 4.
"*But David encouraged himself in the Lord his God.*"—1 Sam. xxx. 6.

A QUARTER of a century had now passed since the little band of obscure clergymen and laymen established the new Society in the Castle and Falcon Inn. We have traced the history of the Society's early struggles, of its trials of faith and patience, of its almost sudden leap, at the age of thirteen, from infancy to vigorous youth, of its rapid extension throughout the country, of its relations with other Societies, of its first Missions in West Africa, in North and South India, in New Zealand, in Ceylon; of its efforts in behalf of the Eastern Churches. Let us now pause for a moment at the year 1824, and survey the Society's position, its Missions, and the world generally.

As before stated, it is a curious fact that in 1824 the Society was not aware of its being twenty-five years old! The tradition had grown up that it was founded in 1800, probably because Pratt and the few other survivors of the little band of founders * had been wont to date the commencement of the Society, not from its actual formation in 1799, but from its resolve to go forward in the following year, when the Archbishop's reply was received. It was Henry Venn who afterwards put the matter right, and celebrated the Jubilee in the true fiftieth year. But let us take advantage of the mistake, and instead of taking our stand definitely in April, 1824, adopt for our survey the broader platform of the years 1824 and 1825 generally, up to which period the preceding chapters have brought the history of the Missions.

Josiah Pratt resigns.

On April 23rd, 1824, just after the real twenty-fifth birthday, Josiah Pratt resigned his Secretaryship. It is only a close study of the period that can enable one to realize the importance of this

* Of the original thirty-two (members of Committee and V.P.s), twelve were still alive in 1824.

event. Pratt has never been fully appreciated. He is not a historic character. But a sense of his greatness grows upon the mind as the Society's inner history is followed, and as the *Missionary Register* is studied page by page. In particular, the combination in him of faithfulness to the spiritual principles which were—and are—the life and soul of the Society, with the truest and most generous breadth of sympathy towards other men and other organizations, was almost unique. One cannot resist the conviction that in this breadth of sympathy he did not always carry all his colleagues on the Committee with him; but of the value of it to the Society during those critical early years there can be no manner of doubt. To quote two very diverse authorities: Dr. Overton calls him "quite one of the best in every way of the Evangelical clergy." "Like many of the Evangelicals," he says, "Pratt showed great business talents, which were most valuable in the management of their various projects. He was a man of singularly unobtrusive character, and was rather forced by circumstances than led by his own choice into prominence. His forte was practical wisdom." And Mr. Jowett, who was one of his successors in the Secretariat:—"He was a man all energy—grave, firm, undaunted energy, with a mind comprehensive, sagacious, sound, and practical; a mind always busy, going forth in its excursions throughout the length and breadth of the land, and through the compass of the whole earth. . . . With these original qualities of the understanding was combined a power of labour truly astonishing. . . . Others might deliberate; he could deliberate and act too. . . . In the qualities of his heart he was truly large, fervent, and affectionate." "I never knew a man like him," Bishop Gobat once said, "able to ask of missionary candidates such plain questions without offending." How true was Cecil's forecast when Pratt first came to him as curate in 1795, and the young clergyman was timid and downcast—"Never mind, Pratt: make yourself useful, and *the time will come when you will be wanted.*"

His character and work.

The ground of Pratt's retirement was the increasing burden of the *Missionary Register*, which occupied a very large portion of his time; and any reader of its volumes at that period will wonder that the editor could find an hour for anything else. It may justly be again observed that no missionary periodical of the present day can compare with what the *Register* was then, in comprehensiveness and completeness, and editorial industry. That there was no hidden reason for resignation behind, in the shape of any difference with the Committee, is clear from the fact that they at once appointed him Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, an office of far more dominating influence then than it could possibly be now, when the numbers are five or six times greater.*

* There is now no permanent Chairman of this Committee. In the absence of the President, some Vice-President or other member is voted to the chair *ad hoc*.

Part III. 1812–24. Chap. 18.

His last Report.

There is no reason to doubt that Pratt wrote the bulk of the Report of 1824, though he retired just before its presentation. Its concluding paragraphs are singularly weighty. Let a short passage be given:—

> "No man can say that he has acted up to the extent of his obligations. Let him but feel, in its full energy, the constraining power of the love of Christ to his own soul, and the first waking thought and the last conscious desire of every day will be how he may best live unto Him who died for him. Let him but know in the full comprehension of their value, the things which are freely given to him of God, and lay to heart the dreadful state and imminent danger of the perishing world, with his own responsibility for the talents committed to his charge, and the few fleeting moments in which, to all eternity, he will be able to do anything toward the Salvation of immortal souls—let him feel all this as he ought, and every faculty of body and soul, every hour of his waking life, and every atom of power and influence which he can command, will be devoted to rescue souls from death and to hide a multitude of sins."

A time of trial.

But upon the whole, this last Report of Pratt's has a distinctly sombre tone. Its opening words are, "The Committee have to display a chequered scene," and reference is immediately made to the "very severe trials" which it had "pleased God, in His wise and righteous Providence, to bring on some parts of the Missions"; and the whole outlook at this time was very different from the animated expectations that had marked the period of development, 1813 to 1816. Missionary leaders were now learning, year by year, the hard lesson that the Jericho-walls of Heathenism do not fall at the first summons; that the great Enemy's malice is most especially manifested against that division of the Lord's army that attacks him in his strongholds; that the "strong man armed" can only be dispossessed of his usurped dominion by the direct power of the "Stronger than he." Many encouraging facts dwelt upon by Pratt in the *Register* * a few months before this time, as for example that the contributions to the various Societies now amounted to £1000 per day,†—that the Scriptures had been translated into one hundred and forty-four languages,—that tens of thousands of souls had already been gathered from among the Heathen, numbers of whom had died in the faith and were now safe for ever,—only tended to make the antagonism, both of "flesh and blood" and of "principalities and powers," more vehement and bitter than ever. Naturally, therefore, we find the reality of the Devil and his works much dwelt upon at this time. For instance, J. W. Cunningham's powerful Sermon at the Anniver-

John Cunningham's Sermon.

* January, 1824. The January number of the *Register* was at this time always devoted to a survey of the world and of Missions.

† In the *Register* of December, 1825, is given a List of Contributions to "Missionary, Bible, Tract, and Education Societies," including institutions like the National Society, the Sunday School Union, the Naval and Military Bible Society, &c. The total is estimated at about £380,000; but more than half of this would be for home work.

sary of 1823 is devoted to this subject.* The text combines, in a way which is not at all common, the 31st and 32nd verses of St. John xii., "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out; and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me"; and the subject is, in the preacher's words, "The Empire of Satan upon Earth, and the Destruction of that Empire by the Son of God." After a masterly sketch of the results of the Devil's dominion, both outwardly in Heathendom, and inwardly even in the hearts of professing Christians, and a striking picture of the gradual present victory and complete future triumph of Christ, Cunningham proceeds to ask pointedly, "Why should any man be astonished to find almost innumerable obstacles and enemies to the prosecution of the missionary cause?" "The Missionary Enterprise," he goes on, "may be considered as an assault, at once open and direct, at the very heart of its citadel. Is it not then to be expected that an Enemy so fierce, powerful, and implacable, will resist such an attack? . . . Is the evil spirit an 'accuser of the brethren'?—then have we a right to expect 'railing accusation' against his opposers. Is he the 'father of lies'?—then we may expect to be pursued by the grossest falsehoods and calumnies. Was he 'a murderer from the beginning'?—then have we reason to anticipate persecution, and every species of violence by which unmeasured and unwearied malignity can prosecute its object." At his concluding paragraphs we will look presently.

Reverses in the field.

Meanwhile, let us glance at the Mission-field. In West Africa, the work had almost collapsed, owing to the terrible succession of deaths; there were already signs of the tares springing up amid the wheat, even in the district (Regent) that had been the scene of the lamented Johnson's much-blessed labours; and the slave-trade, particularly under the French flag, was reviving, with all its horrors, along the whole coast. In New Zealand, after ten years' work, no spiritual fruit had been gathered, and the Mission had been sadly damaged by the bad conduct of some of the agents. On the shores of the Mediterranean, and in Travancore, the ancient Churches of the East were showing less disposition than they had shown at first to accept the reforming suggestions from the West; and the Greek revolt had been met by increased manifestations of bigotry and fanaticism on the part of Mohammedan Turkey. In Russia, too, the narrower school in the Russo-Greek Church was regaining the upper hand, and troubling the Scottish Missions on the Caspian; and this, with the growing enmity of the Tartar population, led to several stations being abandoned; while the death of the Czar Alexander in 1825 put an end to the large hopes that hung upon his personal piety and sympathy with missionary effort. In India, progress was very slow, except in Tinnevelly; the most shocking accounts of widow-burning and

* Likewise C. F. Childe's Sermon in 1879.

child-murder were coming home, and rending the hearts of the readers of the *Register*;* the first Bishop had died, and the second had only just landed; from the S.P.C.K. Tamil Missions no reports were being received at all; and the greatest Mission in Bengal, that of the Baptists at Serampore, was in the midst of the untoward dispute which presently separated it for many years from the parent society. In South Africa, the great work of Moffat and others,—and in the South Seas, the great work of John Williams and others,—under the London Missionary Society, were meeting with serious (though temporary) checks. China was still virtually closed; but Morrison, whose Chinese Bible had long been complete, was at this very time in England, forming plans for Chinese work at Singapore in view of a possible future entrance into the empire itself. Japan, of course, was still hermetically sealed; and its name never occurs at all in these early Reports and *Registers*.

Perhaps the most painful manifestation of the Enemy's malice was in the West Indies. The Anti-Slavery Society had just been formed (1823); Wilberforce had committed the cause to Fowell Buxton, and Buxton had opened his Parliamentary campaign; and the slave-proprietors in the West Indies, having taken alarm at the rising feeling in England against slavery in any form, were seriously opposing missionary work among the negroes. Some Wesleyan missionaries, overawed by their attitude, had publicly disclaimed all sympathy with the Abolitionists, and thereupon had been disavowed and censured by their Society at home. In Demerara, a missionary of the L.M.S. was unjustly condemned to execution for his sympathy with the negroes, and died in prison. But his case, and the West Indian Slavery question generally, will come before us hereafter.

Criticism at home.

Naturally, controversies like these brought Missions into unusual public notice; and a torrent of ignorant and prejudiced criticism poured forth from newspapers and reviews, which added to the general sense of sore conflict and trial of faith. Notwithstanding the favourable attitude of the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, towards Missions, most leading statesmen—as usual—had no faith in them; and it is curious to find the Duke of Wellington, then in the plenitude of his unique authority, declining to be Patron of the Wellington C.M. Association, on the ground that "if the Society's object was to convert the Hindus, its efforts would be fruitless if they were not mischievous." Ecclesiastical opposition against the C.M.S., too, had revived. Good Bishop Ryder was translated from Gloucester to the Diocese (as it then was) of Lichfield and Coventry, and the new Bishop of Gloucester (Bethell) forbad all sermons and collections for the Society; several Archdeacons attacked the Society in their charges; and at places like Worcester, Reading, and Guildford, attempts to form C.M. Associations failed. Nor did the opponents balance this

* See *Missionary Register*, 1824, pp. 238, 278.

opposition by any zeal in behalf of Missions under auspices more congenial to them. The S.P.G. was again in financial difficulties. The great King's Letter Collection in 1819 had been put in trust for Bishop's College; and the ordinary funds had rather suffered by it. In 1823, the S.P.G. income from voluntary contributions was only £2100, which with £4700 from the dividends on reserve and trust funds, and £9200 from the Government for Canadian clergy, was quite insufficient even for its then limited work; while it was at this very time arranging to take over the South Indian Missions which the S.P.C.K. had not the machinery for managing. Again Pratt came to the front with a strong appeal for S.P.G. in the *Register*;* other C.M.S. men helped: for example, a "district society" was formed at Clapham itself by Dealtry, Basil Woodd and Cunningham speaking on the occasion. And from about this time the Society began to expand and develop as it has done ever since. In the very next year, 1826, it held its first really public meeting, in Freemasons' Hall, on which occasion Dealtry was one of the speakers.

So there were many things to account for sombre reports. And the Church Missionary Society could not but feel the departure of old and revered friends. Thomas Scott—"Father Scott," as he was affectionately called, died in 1821, and Charles Grant in 1823;† both, however, leaving sons who did noble work for the missionary cause. Wilberforce's last speech in Parliament, on West Indian slavery, was delivered in 1824; and though he lived yet some years, it was mostly in retirement. On the other hand, new friends were coming forward. Charles Grant the younger, afterwards Lord Glenelg, who had already gained a position in Parliament, was a warm supporter. So was Fowell Buxton, Wilberforce's successor in the Anti-Slavery campaign. The names of Hugh Stowell and Hugh McNeile begin to appear among the speakers at meetings. Henry Venn the younger, the future Secretary, joined the Committee in 1822. Buxton's first speech at the Anniversary, in 1822, is very striking in its way of presenting our responsibility:—

Deaths of friends.

New friends.

> "I will put the case to myself:—'You are a professor of Christianity—you avow your belief of its truth, and admire its doctrines—you enumerate the blessings which He gives who gives all things, and you count among them His inestimable love in the redemption of the world—you know that Christian charity is the inseparable fruit of true faith—and you know that this charity seeks above all things the salvation of the souls of men. What do you do? You subscribe your two or three guineas a year! The conversion of eight hundred millions of souls—there is the object to be accomplished!—and there is the sacrifice which you are prepared to make for it!'

* November, 1825.

† Charles Grant literally died in harness. After two days and nights of almost uninterrupted work, he retired to rest feeling rather ill—as well he might. The doctor was sent for, and applied remedies; but Grant turned over in bed, and "fell asleep."

"Were I to say, in the ordinary business of life, 'Such and such an object is my grand concern: to that I direct all my powers: on that my very soul is centred: and I give for this great object my two-and-forty shillings a year'—such professions would be counted but an idle mockery, when compared with such feebleness and inadequacy of exertion."

As regards patronage, too, there was some little progress, notwithstanding the criticisms and the opposition. No other English Bishop had joined, besides the two already on the list, Bathurst of Norwich, and Ryder, now of Lichfield and Coventry; but Archbishop Trench of Tuam represented the Church of Ireland, and the Bishop of Calcutta (Heber) the Episcopate abroad. There were two Deans, Pearson of Salisbury, and Lord Lifford of Armagh; and there were four Heads of Houses, of Oriel and Magdalen Hall at Oxford, and of Queens' and Corpus at Cambridge. The laymen were better represented by ten peers and ten M.P.'s. Of the latter, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, the well-known and highly-respected member for Oxford University for so many years, is the most noticeable. We shall meet him hereafter. It should be added that many other peers were Patrons of Provincial Associations, though not of the Parent Society. No less than twenty-six of these appear in the Report of 1824. Among the names it is interesting to see "the Earl of Derby" and "the Earl of Rosebery." Here also we may notice the names added to the list of Honorary Governors for Life, for their "very essential services to the Society," in addition to those mentioned in our Tenth Chapter.* There were, of the home clergy, J. W. Cunningham, Fountain Elwin (Secretary of the great Bristol Association), John Langley (Shropshire Association), William Marsh, Gerard Noel, Legh Richmond, R. W. Sibthorp (the eloquent preacher who afterwards joined the Church of Rome, then came back, and then seceded again), Charles Simeon, J. H. Singer (Secretary of the Hibernian Auxiliary, afterwards Bishop of Meath), Professor Scholefield of Cambridge, Haldane Stewart, and one or two others; Henry Davies (Bombay Chaplain); and three laymen, viz., Colonel Munro, of Travancore; J. M. Strachan, of Madras; and J. H. Harington, of Calcutta.

The Anniversaries continued to be occasions of great interest to an ever-widening circle of members and friends. The preachers subsequent to 1817, up to which date they have already been noticed, were, in 1818, Professor Farish, of Cambridge; in 1819, the Hon. Gerard T. Noel; in 1820, B. W. Mathias, of Dublin; in 1821, William Jowett, whose sermon has before been noticed; in 1822, Marmaduke Thompson, the Madras chaplain; in 1823, John W. Cunningham, of Harrow, as already mentioned; in 1824, Fountain Elwin, of whose sermon more presently.

Progress at home.

The Society's Income was steadily rising. In 1823-4 it was £34,500; and in the following year it rose to £40,000, and never

* See p. 111.

again fell below that figure. The advance shown is really not so great as it actually was, owing to some slight changes in the mode of presenting the accounts. In a future chapter, the financial details will be more fully explained. The sources of Income presented a striking illustration of the power of littles. Large benefactions and legacies were few and far between; but penny collections were organized all over the country. Ladies' Associations were a great power in those days. They were not parochial, but for a town or district; and hundreds of ladies went round and round collecting the pennies week by week and month by month. The poor gave eagerly; artizans' Missionary Unions were formed; Sunday-schools and Juvenile Associations were multiplying. At Harrow, Cunningham had been unable, from local circumstances, to start a regular Association so early as he wished; but at length a meeting was held: the room was thronged; and five hundred labourers, servants, &c., put down their names as penny subscribers. A Juvenile Association at Hull, and a Sunday-school at Leeds, raised each of them over £100 a year. A new publication, the *Quarterly Paper*, had been started in 1816, for free distribution to those humble but regular contributors; and over half a million copies were circulated in 1822. It was beginning to be the custom at some Provincial Anniversaries to hold meetings in the evening "for the Labouring Classes." Of course regular Annual Meetings everywhere were held in the daytime. An evening meeting at Manchester in 1823 is specially mentioned, which was attended by 1200 persons of the working class. Yet, with all this activity, the great bulk of the clergy still held aloof; and many even of decided Evangelical views merely supported the Society because it was Evangelical, but showed no real zeal in the missionary cause. Again and again do the Annual Reports and Sermons appeal to the clergy; and this in tone and language that leave no doubt in the reader's mind that they were regarded as exceptionally backward in fulfilling their great obligation to obey the Lord's Last Command.

At the end of 1824, the Society had sent out from Europe ninety-eight men,* and six single women. Of the ninety-eight thirty-two were English clergymen; thirty-two were English laymen (including a few who were ordained afterwards); thirty were in Lutheran orders (sixteen from the Berlin Seminary, nine from the Basle Seminary, two from the University of Jena, and three others); and four were German laymen. Of the whole ninety-eight, fifty-four were still on the roll at the end of 1824. Of the six single women, five had married and one died. The number of wives was forty-seven.

It was only in the Report of 1823 that the Society first published a Statistical Table. It contains the numbers of Euro- Statistics.

* The roll of men to that date is exactly one hundred; but this includes Bowley, the Eurasian, in North India, and Puckey, a lay settler in New Zealand who had gone from Sydney.

pean and Native missionaries and agents, and of schools and scholars. At the end of 1824, there were but two "Native missionaries," Abdul Masih and Bowley the Eurasian. There were 319 "Native teachers and assistants," but two-thirds of these were in India, where probably the non-Christian school-teachers were included. There were 296 schools, and 14,090 scholars. Not till 1832 was an estimate given of the number of communicants; and not till 1869, of the total number of Christian adherents.

The numerous deaths and disappointments in the Missions, especially in West Africa, led the Committee to think much of the importance of native agency. In the Report of 1823, they express very earnestly their hope and prayer that efficient native evangelists and teachers might be raised up "in such numbers, through the blessing of the Holy Spirit, as to supersede the necessity of any other supply of Teachers from Christendom than those guides and counsellors who, availing themselves of the experience of all the older Churches of Christ in the West, might be the means of establishing and extending the rising Churches of the Heathen World." But this was yet in the future.

Candidates.

Meanwhile the arrangements for training men at home were at this time occupying much of the Committee's attention. Since Scott had been obliged to give up the charge of candidates—Benjamin Bailey was the last under him,—they had been distributed among various clergymen in different parts of the country, for theological reading with a view to holy orders. That is, for part of their time. The weeks occupied during the consideration of their candidature, and again between the completion of their theological studies and their sailing for the Mission-field, they spent under Bickersteth's care, in Salisbury Square as long as he resided in the House, and, when the House became too small, at a house taken for him in Barnsbury Park. Mr. Dandeson Coates, afterwards Lay Secretary, lived at the Office after Bickersteth left it, and gave a good deal of time to assisting in the details of business. With Bickersteth also resided the men from Basle during their sojourn in England. But as his chief work was in the country, travelling from place to place, preaching and speaking at local Anniversaries, the time that he could give to the candidates and students was not large. In view of all these circumstances, the Committee began to feel that a regular Training Institution for the Society was becoming an urgent need. Some of their friends opposed the idea, and urged that accepted candidates should be sent to the Universities; but it was ultimately agreed that while men educated independently at the Universities, and then coming forward for missionary work, should be earnestly sought for, it was desirable, in the case of men of humbler station, requiring to be trained at the Society's expense, that they should be under the more immediate supervision of the Society's representatives. Hence the scheme, one of Pratt's special hobbies, for establishing an Institution at Islington. Of this Institution we

shall see more in an early chapter. The House in Upper Street was opened for the reception of students on January 31st, 1825; but the college buildings were not erected for two or three years later. Its history, therefore, falls into our next period.

Basle men.

Meanwhile the Basle Seminary was turning out admirable men, under the guidance of its highly-respected Principal, Theophilus Blumhardt. The Committee justly placed great confidence in his faithfulness and wisdom; and when he visited England in 1822, he was warmly welcomed, and spoke at the Anniversary Meeting. Although at this time, and until 1826, his men received only Lutheran orders, he fully agreed to their adopting the Prayer Book in its entirety, and assured the Committee that they were able, "from a full conviction of their hearts," to accept the ordinances of the Church of England. In the next quarter of a century we shall find that a large proportion of the Society's best and ablest missionaries came from the Basle Seminary; but most of these, as we shall see, received further training in England, and English orders.

Ordinations.

One of the early difficulties of the Society in sending forth missionaries—the obtaining English ordination for them—was now entirely removed. After Bishops Ryder and Bathurst joined the Society, they ordained men at the Committee's request, accepting as a title the Committee's agreement to employ them. Archbishop Harcourt, of York, did the same on two or three occasions. But an arrangement like this could only be provisional. However, the difficulty was solved in 1819 by an Act of Parliament called the Colonial Service Act, which gave the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London power to ordain men for "His Majesty's Colonies and Foreign Possessions," under certain restrictions. From that time the Bishop of London regularly ordained the Society's missionaries. Indeed he had claimed to have the right before, objecting to Bishop Ryder doing so; * and the Act settled the question. The first missionary thus ordained was Isaac Wilson (who married Miss Cooke of Calcutta), at Christmas, 1820, and the second Henry Williams (afterwards Archdeacon in New Zealand), at Trinity, 1822.

Mission in North-West America.

One new Mission had been lately started, which has not yet been mentioned. The Society for Missions in "Africa and the East" had gone into the Far West. So far back as 1810, a gentleman in Upper Canada, Mr. John Johnston, had called the Society's attention to the Red Indians of the Ojibbeway tribe on Lake Superior, and stated that if a man could be sent to them, the Bishop of Quebec (then the only Bishop in Canada) would no doubt ordain him. Inquiry was accordingly made; but Bishop Mountain declined to ordain any such person, and the matter dropped. In 1819, another proposal was made to the Society, by a member of the North-West Fur Company (not yet amalgamated

* Committee Minutes, September, 1818.

with the Hudson's Bay Company), to establish a Mission among the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, in what is now British Columbia. The Committee undertook "to procure further information"; but what the result was does not appear, as the matter is not again referred to. Nearly forty years were yet to elapse before a North Pacific Mission was started.

A third proposal led to more definite results. In 1820, the Rev. John West, Curate of White Roding, Essex, an active member of the Society, was appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company chaplain to their settlement on Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg. He laid before the Committee a proposal for establishing schools for the Indian children in that district; and they voted £100 to assist him in this scheme. In the following year, he wrote proposing a regular Mission; and two members of the Board of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Nicholas Garry and Mr. Benjamin Harrison, attended the Committee to support the application. The result was the appointment of Mr. West himself to superintend the Mission, of a schoolmaster to work under him, and, subsequently, of one of the Society's students, David T. Jones, to be an additional missionary; and the voting of £800 a year to cover expenses. These decisions being come to in 1822 make that year the date of the North-West America Mission.* In the autumn of that year, Captain (afterwards Sir John) Franklin, returned from one of his great Arctic expeditions, and came to the Society to urge it to extend its work to other Indian tribes scattered over those vast regions, particularly pressing the claims of the Eskimo. But many years were to pass before these extensions could be undertaken.

Higher views of Missions.

It is very interesting to observe how, as the work went on year by year, the C.M.S. leaders were acquiring not only experience in the practical conduct of Missions, but higher and truer conceptions of the work itself, and of the obligations of Christians regarding it. In a former chapter it was observed that the miseries of the Heathen appeared to them at first the chief motive of Missions, and that the unique position and urgency of the Lord's Last Command did not seem to have dawned upon them. In the Report of 1819, however, we find for the first time the two great Missionary Commands of Christ put in juxtaposition, and the duty of "every Christian in every age" insisted on plainly:—

> "From the moment when our Lord, looking on the desolate multitudes of Judæa, gave that injunction to His disciples, 'Pray ye the Lord of the Harvest that He would send forth labourers into His Harvest,'—from that moment, Prayer for this object has never ceased to be the Duty of every Christian. From the moment when He left that last command, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,'—from that moment, every possible effort has been the Duty of every Christian in every age."

* So it was called for three-quarters of a century. It is now called North-West Canada Mission, this name being preferred by Canadian friends.

In Pratt's annual Survey of the World, in the *Register* of January, 1820, there is a remarkable anticipation of a great thought which has only been quite recently formulated, viz. that it is the duty of Christians to take definite measures for the Evangelization of the Whole World within a limited time. As now formulated, the "watchword," as it is called, says "*in this Generation.*" It is not put quite in that form in 1820; but elaborate calculations are given regarding the number of millions of Heathen in the world, and the possibility of sending 30,000 missionaries from Europe and the United States in twenty-one years. It is shown, in the quietest and most cogent manner, that this could be done, and that the cost would be met by an annual contribution from each communicant in Protestant Christendom of four dollars, say sixteen shillings. The use of dollars in the calculation reveals the source of the scheme. It was drawn up by Gordon Hall and Samuel Newell, two members of the first band of missionaries sent to the Heathendom of the Eastern Hemisphere by the Christians of the United States—of that band, sent by the American Board of Foreign Missions, whose untoward reception by the British authorities at Calcutta, in 1812, has been noticed in a previous chapter. They were now at Bombay, and thence they sent this remarkable scheme to Boston. Pratt received it in due course, and inserted large extracts, with full commendation, in the *Register*. From the United States it is, in our own day, that the proposition in still more definite form has come.

S.V.M.U. motto anticipated.

It does not appear that this Bombay scheme laid any hold of the mind of the Christian public. The time was certainly not ripe for it. But there was another subject brought forward at this period, which engaged wider attention, and which also anticipated much that has occupied the minds of devout and devoted Christians in these latter years. This was *the need of a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit.*

An outpouring of the Spirit needed,

It is a remarkable circumstance that what seems to have first brought this subject into especial prominence in Josiah Pratt's mind was—of all things!—the Coronation of George IV., in 1821. The very solemn Coronation Service had not been heard in England for sixty years, owing to George III.'s long reign; and when it was at last used again, its unfamiliar phrases created a deep impression. In the *Register* of January, 1822, Pratt quotes and comments on the Service, pointing out especially that it "recognizes and enforces the necessity of the constant and abundant influences of the Holy Spirit, in order to success in the labours of Government and in the conduct of the Christian Life." For instance, "The King is consecrated to his Office by the significative act of anointing with Oil—denoting those Gracious Influences and that Heavenly Unction of the Holy Spirit, without which he cannot fulfil his awful obligations. To this end, Prayer is put up for the strengthening Grace of the Holy Ghost." Then, after noticing the difficulties and disappointments besetting mis-

And prayed for.

sionary work all over the world, Pratt urges upon Christians the duty of prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit. In the following year, 1823, his annual Survey is headed, "The Conversion of the World dependent on the more abundant influence of the Holy Spirit." The subject, it is stated, was attaining prominence "in the Pulpit, in Prayer, in Addresses and Resolutions at Public Meetings, in Instructions delivered to Missionaries, in Reports of Societies, and in the Communications of the Labourers themselves"; and it is added that special courses of sermons on "the Deity, Offices, and Gracious Operations of the Holy Ghost" were being delivered in many churches. In that year came John Cunningham's Sermon, referred to earlier in this chapter. By what means did he affirm that the influences of Satan must be met and overcome? "It is only by an agency like his own, spiritual and invisible," urges the preacher, "that we can hope effectually to contend with him"; and therefore, Prayer for the Holy Spirit is the great weapon. He refers to "the multiplication of prayers for the outpouring of the Spirit" as "a sign of the times," and dwells on "the consolatory fact that thus the weakest, the most unlearned, the poor palsied or bedridden soldier of the Cross can carry the war into the very camp of the Enemy."

Then in the following year, 1824, Fountain Elwin, the energetic Secretary of the great Bristol Association, being the appointed Preacher, went straight to the heart of the subject. "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh"—these words, in which St. Peter, on the Day of Pentecost, quoted the old prophecy of Joel, were his animating text. And it is a delightful sermon every way, full of Scripture, full of the Spirit of whom it speaks, full of true missionary earnestness and enthusiasm. Why is the professing Christian world, it asks, exhibiting so little of the life and power of religion? Because the words are true of so many, "Having not the Spirit." Why is Oriental Christendom withered and decayed? Because they have still to hear "what the Spirit saith unto the Churches." How long will Israel be yet an outcast from the Lord? "Until the Spirit be poured upon them from on high." Why is Heathendom in moral darkness? Because *another spirit*, the "god" and "prince of this world," rules there undisturbed. What then is to be done? Send forth men who can truly respond to the solemn question at their ordination, "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost?"—who will take no weapon but "the sword of the Spirit"—whose motto will be, "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit"—who will "keep the unity of the Spirit"; and we all, on our part, must *look* for the outpouring, like Elijah by his servant's eyes—*pray* for it, as Elijah did while the servant was looking—and *labour* to promote it, because even the Omnipotent Spirit works by means.

Part IV.

FROM PRATT'S RETIREMENT TO VENN'S ACCESSION: 1824–1841.

NOTE ON PART IV.

This Part only contains six chapters, but they are long and important ones. The first two are devoted to home affairs. Chap. XIX. is the first of a series of chapters which, one or more in each Part of the History, introduce to us the *Personnel* of the Society, the Secretaries and Committee-men, the Preachers and Speakers at the Anniversaries, the Candidates and Missionaries, and those friends and fellow-workers who died in the period. In like manner, Chap. XX. is the first of a series of chapters which in each Part show us the Society's Environment during the Period, particularly dwelling on the state and progress of the Church of England, with especial reference to the relations of the Evangelical school or party to other schools and parties. In this chapter we see something of the condition of England when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, the great improvements within the Church, certain internal differences among Evangelicals, and the rise of the Tractarian or Oxford Movement.

The other four chapters take us again to the Mission-field. India absorbs two of them. Chap. XXI. is an important chapter, parallel to the "Environment" chapters at home. It notices the changes and developments in India in the period of the 'thirties, particularly the reforms of Lord W. Bentinck; also the episcopate of Daniel Wilson, and his struggle with Caste; also the advent of Alexander Duff and the commencement of Educational Missions under his auspices. Then Chap. XXII. turns our attention to the C.M.S. Missions, and takes a survey of them all round India, with a glance at other Missions, and at Ceylon. Chap. XXIII. carries us back to Sierra Leone, and then across the Atlantic to the West Indies, telling the painful story of Slavery there and the story also of Buxton's successful attack upon it. All the other Missions are grouped together in Chap. XXIV., New Zealand, the Mediterranean, and Rupert's Land, and the short-lived attempts at work in Abyssinia, and in Zululand, and among the Australian Blacks.

REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM.

REV. W. JOWETT

REV. E. BICKERSTETH.

BISHOP RYDER.

SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON.

J. W. Cunningham, Vicar of Harrow, the most frequent speaker at C.M.S. Anniversaries.
W. Jowett, First Cambridge Missionary; Secretary of C.M.S., 1832-1840.
Edward Bickersteth, C.M.S. Secretary, 1816-1830.
Henry Ryder, Bishop of Gloucester and of Lichfield; First Bishop to join C.M.S.
T. Fowell Buxton, M.P., Leader in Anti-Slave Trade Campaign.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Personnel of the Period.

Dandeson Coates — Edward Bickersteth — The Committee — Lord Chichester President—The two Bishops Sumner—The Preachers and Speakers—B. Noel and Dale suggest "Own Missionaries"—The Missionaries—The C.M. College—Deaths—Simeon and Wilberforce.

"We have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office."—Rom. xii. 4.

THE title of this Fourth Part of our History embodies no mere arbitrary division of time. The period of Pratt's Secretaryship was a distinctive period; and so was the period of Henry Venn's Secretaryship. Pratt's retirement marked a real epoch; and so, still more conspicuously, did Venn's accession. It is impossible to study the history of the seventeen years that elapsed between the one epoch and the other without feeling that they formed in some respects an interregnum. There was progress, assuredly. The Society's income more than doubled in the period. Associations multiplied all over the country. Two hundred missionaries were sent out, against one hundred in the preceding twenty years. In some of the mission-fields there was distinct advance, as we shall see. Nevertheless, the progress was due rather to the natural growth of what had been planted before, than to definite forward steps—except in one instance, the West Indies Mission—on the part of the Society. Consolidation rather than extension is the note of the period. Much was done in the way of regulations, financial and personal. The rules regarding Candidates, Students, Furloughs, Marriage, Children, Sick and Retired Missionaries, Associations at home, Corresponding Committees abroad, Episcopal Licenses, &c., &c., were gradually formulated. The Society, having passed its infancy and its vigorous youth, was settling into the maturity of middle life.

A period of consolidation, not extension.

Throughout the period, a commanding lay personality to a large extent dominated the committee-room. Mr. Dandeson Coates had been a member of the Committee from 1817; and from 1820 he had lived in the Church Missionary House, rendering valuable assistance in the practical details of the work. On the rearrange-

Dandeson Coates.

ment consequent on Pratt's retirement in 1824, he was appointed Assistant Secretary; and in 1830 he received the title, then first used, of Lay Secretary. This office he held till his death in 1846. He was a very able man, possessing, said Henry Venn long afterwards, "first-rate powers of business." "The official correspondence," continues Venn,* "was never more ably conducted. Sir James Stephen used to say that he knew no one in the public service who worked more efficiently and zealously in an administrative department." It is to him, evidently, that the formulating of the various regulations for the practical working of so complicated a machine as a great missionary society was mainly due. He represented also, with great vigour—sometimes with too great vigour,—the policy of a vigilant guardianship of the Society's independence of official Church control. This was naturally the lay view of many questions that came before the Committee; and the more conciliatory, though not less staunchly evangelical, element was supplied by his clerical colleagues,—who, however, were often overborne by the force of his strong personality. Both Bickersteth and Jowett, who were successively his associates as Secretaries, felt the strain. Of the latter, Venn says:—"Of his Christian wisdom and missionary sympathies it is not possible to speak too highly; but the full vigour of his lay colleague somewhat overshadowed his administration." Canon Bateman, the biographer and son-in-law of Daniel Wilson, writes:†—"The clerical secretary at this epoch (1832) was the pious and amiable William Jowett; but the lay secretary and the ruling mind was Mr. Dandeson Coates. Most men of that day will remember his tall, thin figure, his green shade, his quiet manner, untiring industry, and firm but somewhat narrow mind. Whilst Mr. Jowett was writing kind and gentle letters, Mr. Coates was stamping upon the committee the impress of his own decided views; and the lay element, paramount for the time at home, soon became predominant abroad." Bateman was perhaps not quite an impartial judge, for reasons which will appear hereafter; but the traditions of the Church Missionary House confirm the general impression given by his words.

Edward Bickersteth.

Of the clerical secretaries of the period, the first to be mentioned is Edward Bickersteth. We have already seen something of his earlier life, of his work at Norwich, of his visit to West Africa, of his residence (first at Salisbury Square and then at Barnsbury Park) with the candidates, of his provincial journeys in behalf of the cause. During Pratt's tenure of office, he was Assistant Secretary; on Pratt's retirement he succeeded to his chair. But his principal work remained the same: he might still be called "chief deputation" and "candidate secretary." Little, if any, of the official administration was committed to him; he kept up that

* Address at the Opening of the New House, 1862; printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1862, and in the Appendix to the *Life of H. Venn*.

† *Life of Bishop Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 10.

fatherly, or brotherly, correspondence with the missionaries which is so important a part of a Secretary's work—though so little noticed,—and for which the personal touch he had had with them as candidates specially fitted him; but such of the regular business as was not absorbed by Coates's all-embracing energy was done by a second clerical secretary, the Rev. T. Woodroffe. Of this colleague, though he held office seven years, the old records tell nothing that gives the student of them any definite impression; and Venn, in the reminiscences already quoted from, does not mention his name. But Bickersteth, though not occupied with official business, was a power in the Society. The growth of the income, the multiplication of associations, the increasing number of offers of service, were mainly due to his energy and devotion; and, next to Pratt, he was unquestionably the best and greatest of Venn's predecessors. He represented the highest spiritual side of the Society's principles and methods and operations. His evangelical fervour was irresistible; and wherever he went, from county to county and from town to town, he stirred his hearers to their hearts' depths, and set them praying and working with redoubled earnestness. His beautiful loving influence healed many divisions, and bound both workers at home and missionaries abroad in holy fellowship. If ever a C.M.S. secretary was filled with the Spirit, that secretary was Edward Bickersteth.

His spiritual fervour.

In the Memoir of Bickersteth by his son-in-law, Professor T. R. Birks, and in an appendix thereto by Henry Venn, illustrations are given of the application by Bickersteth of his spiritual principles to controverted questions in the Society. He supported Coates in some at least of his assertions of the Society's independence, though not quite from the same standpoint; not from the dread of episcopal or clerical officialism, which was natural in a layman, but from a jealous care of the spiritual character of the work. An important instance of this will come before us hereafter. But upon some questions, the laymen who were strong advocates of independence were not with him, and in his judgment they took too secular a view. Venn says, "He was sometimes overborne in argument, but . . . subsequent events have shown that his spiritual wisdom was a surer guide than the more acute and forcible reasoning of his opponents." One question, regarding the training of students at the Missionary College, led to painful divisions between old and mutually valued friends. Bickersteth was outvoted on this occasion;* and although he loyally accepted the decision, it is evident that the strain of such conflicts told upon him, and prepared the way for his retirement. Like other clerical secretaries in earlier days, he had a pastoral charge in addition to his secretaryship, being minister of Wheler Chapel (now St. Mary's, Spital Square); and finding the double

His difficulties

* *Memoir of E. Bickersteth*, vol. i. pp. 422, 438.

labours beyond his strength, especially while his work consisted so largely of journeys to the provinces, he proposed to the Committee certain changes in his duties, particularly a smaller amount of deputation service. "After fourteen years of incessant travelling, he might," he thought, "in justice to himself, and without injury to the Society, have some partial relief." He plainly intimated that if they felt unable to adopt his proposals, "he was prepared to consider their decision as the voice of God calling him to another sphere of labour"; yet in the face of this, the Committee declined his suggestions—whereupon he wrote his letter of resignation. He delayed sending it, however; and on the very next day, Sunday, March 14th, 1830, Mr. Abel Smith, M.P. for Herts, who "chanced" to be a worshipper at Wheler Chapel, mentally resolved to offer him the rectory of Watton. This "coincidence"—if such a word may be used of so signal an instance of "particular Providence"—settled the question; and Bickersteth was able to name a happier reason for retirement. "I have never ceased," writes Henry Venn in the Address before quoted from, "to regret the early dissolution of his connexion with the office." For twenty years more, however, Bickersteth continued the devoted friend and untiring advocate of the Society; and perhaps the more prominent part which he was now able to take in the general current affairs of the Church was really of greater value than his continuance in Salisbury Square could have been. We shall often meet him again in these pages.

His retirement.

Clerical Secretaries.

Woodroffe and Coates were now the only Secretaries; and two years later, 1832, Woodroffe also retired. To him succeeded William Jowett, whose impaired health prevented the continuance of his missionary labours in the Levant. His "overshadowed" position in the office has been already referred to. In 1839, a third Secretary, the Rev. T. Vores (afterwards a well-known clergyman at Hastings), was appointed. H. Venn, then a leading member of Committee, wrote of him:*—"He has the abilities that we want, but whether he can stand his ground against all circumstances is the question." In the following year Jowett retired, and, some months later, Vores also. All this while the dominating spirit was Dandeson Coates; but in 1841 began the Secretaryship of Henry Venn, and very soon the whole Society felt that a hand was upon the helm which could be trusted to the uttermost. That hand was destined to steer the good ship for thirty years.

Organizing Secretaries.

After Bickersteth's retirement, no Secretary at headquarters was commissioned for deputation work; and many years elapsed before any office was created similar to that of the present Central Secretary. But the growing demands of the ever-increasing number of Associations led to the appointment, even in Bickersteth's time (1828), of a "Visiting Secretary," who held no rank in

* In a letter to D. Wilson, Vicar of Islington, *Life of H. Venn*, p. 103.

the Secretariat proper. A second was added two or three years later, and a "Lay Agent," a retired naval officer, who looked after local funds, distribution of papers, &c. In 1835, for the first time, appears the title of "Association Secretaries." There were then four, one of them being the layman, Mr. Greenway, and another, newly appointed, being the Rev. Charles Hodgson, who for many years worked Yorkshire with extraordinary energy, and brought up the contributions of that great county to a point from which in these later years it has actually receded. In the same year the arrangement was first made of dividing the country into districts—four at first,—and placing an Association Secretary in each.

Members of the Committee.

Turning now to the governing body of the Society, we find it in those days very much smaller than at present. The average attendance at the General Committee in 1837 was eleven laymen (out of twenty-four elected members) and eight of the subscribing clergymen. The Committee of Correspondence, upon which, as now, fell the labour of detailed administration of the Missions, consisted nominally of the twenty-four lay members of the General Committee and of six or eight clergymen; and the average attendance in that year, in which they met forty-three times, was eleven. But there were good and strong men among those who by their regular attendance really governed the Society. Henry Venn, in the Address before referred to, mentions in particular Sir James Stephen, son of the James Stephen whom we met with in our earlier chapters, father of the great judge of recent times and of Mr. Leslie Stephen, and author of the Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography. He was a high official in the Colonial Office, and subsequently became an Under-Secretary of State and Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. He was a valuable member of the Committee for nine years. Mr. W. A. Garratt, an able barrister, was for twenty-three years a regular attendant, and seems to have had exceptional influence in the Society's counsels. The legal profession was also represented by W. Blair, John Poynder, E. V. Sidebottom, W. Grane, and W. Dugmore, Q.C. Among other leading lay members, W. M. Forster should be mentioned, who, with his wife, was wrecked, and drowned, off the Welsh coast in 1831; Dr. John Mason Good, "a physician of high reputation in medical literature, and a scholar acquainted with seventeen languages"; R. J. Bunyon, a leading financial member; Sir George Grey, afterwards the well-known Whig Home Secretary; and Dr. John Whiting (uncle of the Rev. J. B. Whiting), who acted as honorary medical adviser. Very early, too, the Indian civil and military services began to furnish valuable members, as they have done ever since. Colonel Phipps, General Latter, Major Mackworth, and J. H. Harington, were among the first; but the most important and influential member from India was J. M. Strachan, who had been Treasurer of the Madras Corresponding Committee,

Leading laymen.

and who, from 1830 onward, was for nearly forty years in the forefront of the Society's leaders. Captain the Hon. F. Maude, R.N., joined the Committee in 1833, and therefore belongs to the period under review; but his great services for more than half a century will be more suitably noticed hereafter. Among the

Clerical members.

clerical members of the period, Venn particularly mentions James Hough, the former chaplain in Tinnevelly, with "his unimpassioned but warm-hearted sentiments"; M. M. Preston, with his "grave aspect, affectionate heart, thinking head, but slow speech"; C. Smalley the elder, with his "solid, practical sense, and singleness of eye to the will and glory of the great Head of the Church." To these we may add Joseph Fenn, who, invalided from Travancore, was one of the most regular and revered members from 1830 to 1875; and Thomas and John Harding, the latter afterwards Bishop of Bombay. Among occasional but highly-valued attendants from the country were Chancellor Raikes, Professors Farish and Scholefield, J. W. Cunningham, and Haldane Stewart. But foremost of all among the clergy, during the

Daniel Wilson.

first half of our period, was Daniel Wilson, whose appointment to the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1832 will come before us in an early chapter. In 1824 he became Vicar of Islington, and the wonderful expansion of Church work in that great parish dates from that year. In 1828 he established the Islington Church Missionary Association, which has ever since been one of the most active and fruitful of all the Associations,* and has long raised £3000 a year for the Society.

Vice-Presidents.

Among the Vice-Presidents, Venn specially mentions as valued helpers Lord Bexley (the Mr. Vansittart who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer), who gave important counsel to the Society regarding its finances, and for many years was a leader in several of the religious societies; Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, son of Charles Grant the elder, and President of the Board of Control (India Office); Sir Thomas Baring, Sir George Rose, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. Fowell Buxton, James Stephen the elder, and, of course, Wilberforce. Lord Ashley, afterwards the great Earl of Shaftesbury, became a Vice-President in 1837. The Treasurer, throughout the whole period, was John Thornton, nephew of the Henry Thornton who was the first holder of the office.

Death of Lord Gambier.

In 1833, the Society suffered the loss of its first President, Admiral Lord Gambier,† in his seventy-seventh year. "His Christian character," wrote Pratt in the *Register*, "was strongly marked by simplicity and spirituality. His ardent zeal for the Kingdom of Christ led him ever to take a lively interest in the Society's proceedings." The Committee, in the following year, nominated the

* Of this Association, the Author was Hon. Secretary from 1874 to 1880, and had the privilege of arranging its Jubilee, which was celebrated on January 17th, 1878, a special extra fund being raised of £1000.

† See p. 108.

Marquis of Cholmondeley as his successor; but that excellent Christian nobleman declined on the score of health. Then they approached the Earl of Chichester, Henry Thomas Pelham, a Captain in the Royal Horse Guards, who had just completed his thirtieth year. "Led," wrote his friend Mr. Alexander Beattie in 1886 (the year of his death), "in comparatively early life, under the influence of one of the Society's friends, to accept for himself the fulness and freeness of the Gospel of Christ, it was his desire, since that happy union with his precious Saviour, to make that Gospel known at home and abroad." The friend here referred to was Charles Hodgson, who had been a hunting comrade of his at Cambridge. He and the young nobleman had together dedicated themselves to the service of Christ in the churchyard of the Northumberland parish of which Hodgson was curate.*

The Earl o Chichester

The young Earl accepted the post of President on Christmas Eve, 1834, and in the following May he presided for the first time at the Annual Meeting. After a modest reference to himself, he spoke the following wise and stirring words:—

His first speech.

"A great deal was heard at the present day of the danger to which the Church of England was exposed from its political and outward foes. He thought, however, they need not be afraid of such foes as these. If the Church of England were indeed found zealously engaged in the work of her Lord, He would be on her side, and who could be against her? If she was zealously engaged in the missionary cause, then indeed the Lord of hosts would be with her, and the God of Jacob would be her refuge. But was there not cause to fear with respect to our national and beloved Church, that on account of her neglected opportunities in spreading abroad that knowledge and light which God had vouchsafed her, a long account against her was recorded in heaven? When they considered their great national wealth, their many facilities of communication with other nations, the repeated and still-continued removal of obstacles and impediments to the missionary cause in different parts of the British possessions, and when also they looked over the map of the world, and traced upon it the wide territory of British dominion, and still wider one of British influence,—was there

* Canon Tristram writes to the Author as follows:—"The story of Charles Hodgson's and Lord Chichester's conversion as told me first by the late G. T. Fox, was this:—They had been great friends at Cambridge, and both were beautiful horsemen and keen huntsmen. Lord Pelham (as he then was) went on a visit to his friend Hodgson, who had recently been ordained to the curacy of St. John Lee, near Hexham. He was already under serious impressions, and Hodgson was very anxious to do his duty as a clergyman. One day they had been out hunting together, and after putting up their horses, sauntered into the churchyard. They happened to sit upon an altar tombstone, and talked. At length they mutually vowed to give themselves to Christ, as they had never done before, and knelt down by the stone to pray and seal their vows together. From that day forward they were new men. Once when I was staying with Lord Chichester at Stanmer, I ventured to hint at the story, and asked him if he remembered his visit to St. John Lee. He said he did indeed, and if he were there he could take me straight to the tombstone, near the south-west end of the church." See also Lord Chichester's Reminiscences of Hodgson, *Christian Observer*, October, 1872, p. 747.

not some cause for shame and for fear, lest God, in His justice, might call them to a severe account for the time which had been wasted, and the mercies which had been so long abused?

"Amid those gratulations which ought to be raised upon occasions like the present, when they celebrated the triumphs gained by this and other Christian efforts over the powers of darkness, they had also to feel some degree of contrition for the little which had hitherto been done. If God were to call them to a strict account, He might reason with them as He did with His people of old, 'What more can I do for my vineyard than I have done; and yet when I looked for grapes, wherefore brought it forth wild grapes?' They might, indeed, thank God that in His mercy He had enabled this Society to bear some fruit, which proved it to be a branch of the true vine under the culture of the Divine Husbandman; but, alas! what was that Society when compared with the whole body of the Church to which it belonged? Let those who really loved the Church of England earnestly pray that it might please God to shed abroad in her a missionary spirit. He prayed that that Church might remember the debt of gratitude which she owed to her great Head, Preserver, and Redeemer."

Little did the great assembly that day think that the tall young nobleman in the chair would remain President for fifty-one years, and only miss one Anniversary in the whole of that time! Never surely did any Society possess for so long a period a President so sagacious, so large-hearted, so true to his Divine Lord, so justly honoured and revered by all who had the privilege—a privilege indeed!—of coming in contact with him.

Bishops.

During the period under review, several Bishops joined the Society; and some who did not formally do so testified their sympathy in other ways. Bishop Barrington of Durham, for instance, bequeathed £500 to the funds. In 1840, there were eight Vice-Patrons holding English sees, and four holding sees abroad. Two should be specially named, who became warm and most valuable friends: Charles Richard Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, and John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. These two good men threw themselves heart and soul into the service of the leading religious institutions, and year by year they spoke at meeting after meeting, especially at those of the Church Missionary, Jews', and Bible Societies.

The two Sumners.

Preachers of the Annual Sermons.

The brothers Sumner were both preachers of the C.M.S. Annual Sermon, in 1825 and 1828 respectively. J. B. Sumner, who came first, was only Prebendary of Durham when he preached. Charles R. Sumner was appointed at the very next Anniversary after his accession to the see he so long adorned. It cannot be said that either of their sermons was remarkable. The two that came between them, in 1826 and 1827, by Edward Cooper and Henry Budd, two excellent country rectors, are much more impressive to read. The latter in particular, is a striking exposition of 2 Cor. v. 20, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ." It will be remembered that it was under Budd that John West, the first C.M.S missionary to the Red Indians, had

served as curate, and that West baptized his first Indian pupil by the name of his old rector. Budd opens his sermon with an apology for appearing as a substitute for "a well-tried labourer in the vineyard of the Gospel in a foreign clime." This was no doubt Thomason, who was then at home, but too ill to undertake such a duty. The Minutes of the period show that several eminent clergymen were asked at various times to preach the Annual Sermon who were unable to do so, and who in fact never did: among them Archbishop Trench of Tuam, then the one episcopal patron in Ireland; Copleston, Provost of Oriel, and afterwards Bishop of Llandaff; Dean Davys, of Chester; Archdeacons Browne and Law; John Hambleton of Islington; and Haldane Stewart. The absence from the list of this last name, one so universally honoured in Evangelical circles, is strange; and so is the absence of the name of Daniel Wilson the younger, who succeeded his father, the Bishop of Calcutta, in the Vicarage of Islington in 1832, and held it for more than half a century. Pratt was repeatedly invited to undertake the Sermon, but always declined such an honour. The last attempt to persuade him was made in 1832, by Jowett, who appealed to him as the Society's "Moses":—"You have seen, first, the day of small things; then a day of surprising success, which elated many; then the chastisement of the Lord our God (Deut. xi. 2); now, I do believe, a day of humble awe and believing enlargement. Point out to us, I pray you, guidance and encouragements for a little longer. *Write us a Christian Deuteronomy* (Ps. lxxi. 17, 18)." But the appeal was in vain.

Names missing.

The other preachers during the period now under review were Dr. J. H. Singer, afterwards Bishop of Meath, 1829; Dr. Pearson, Dean of Salisbury, whom we have before met in this History, 1830; John Graham, of York, 1831; Edward Bickersteth, 1832; Archdeacon Bather, of Salop, 1833; Professor Scholefield, of Cambridge, 1834; the Hon. Baptist W. Noel, 1835; Archdeacon Spooner, of Coventry (brother-in-law of Wilberforce, and father of Archbishop Tait's wife), 1836; Thomas Dale, afterwards Vicar of St. Pancras, 1837; Francis Goode, son of the W. Goode whom we have met as one of the Society's founders, 1838; J. N. Pearson, who had been Principal of the C.M.S. College, 1839; Chancellor Raikes, of Chester, 1840; Francis Close of Cheltenham, afterwards Dean of Carlisle, 1841.

Of these thirteen sermons, two, those of F. Goode and F. Close, will come under our notice hereafter. Three others call for special attention, those of Bickersteth, Baptist Noel, and Dale. The brothers Noel, Gerard and Baptist, were two of the most powerful speakers and preachers of the day. The *Register* contains many extracts from their speeches and sermons, which give a high idea of their fervid eloquence. Baptist Noel's sermon in 1835 is in many ways a great one. It is evident that India was much upon his heart, and for India he pleads with a fulness of

Baptist Noel's sermon.

knowledge rarely seen among men who have not been there, and evincing his intimate acquaintance with the current history of the Missions. But what at the present day particularly arrests our attention is his partial anticipation of the "Own Missionary" plan which, after sixty years, has latterly been adopted with so much promise of blessing. He indulges in what then seemed the wild imagination of the Society being able to send to India One Hundred Missionaries in the next twelve months, and draws a striking picture of the effects, direct and indirect, of such a forward step, calculating that, as one of the results, there would probably, in twenty years, be 16,190 evangelists, European and Native, preaching the Gospel in India. Then he asks, "But can it be done?"

An "Own Missionary" plan.

"I answer: It can be done at once, and easily. Among all the friends of the Society, are there not fifty at least, who, without foregoing a single comfort which they now enjoy, without sacrificing what is more to them than the weekly penny contributed by the labourer, or the annual pound by the domestic servant, could each contribute £300 to the maintenance of one additional Missionary in India? One generous person has already signified her intention, henceforth, to do so for New Zealand. Will not twenty-five more be found to follow that Christian example for India? Thus twenty-five Missionaries might be sent. Among the larger and more wealthy parishes and congregations, with which some of our Missionary Associations are connected, are there not at least fifty, in which ten persons might add £10 to their annual subscriptions; one hundred persons £1; and two hundred more 10*s.*; without involving themselves in any painful sacrifice, or in the least diminishing their contributions to any home object? Each such parish, or congregation, could maintain one additional Missionary. If there are fifty who could do it, will not twenty-five be found generous enough to make the example, and thus add twenty-five Missionaries to India? Further—among the young men who take a benevolent interest in our Missions, are there not fifty who, at their own cost, might give ten years to Missionary labours, as some in their circumstances do, to travel for their pleasure? If so, will not ten be found sufficiently devoted to do it? Thus, sixty new Missionaries might be raised; and with these examples before them, surely the other Associations of this great Society would not find it difficult to provide for the remaining forty:—and thus a hundred additional Missionaries might be sent out within the year. . . .

"I believe that, if a hundred devoted men did go, it would infuse an unction into the ministry of thousands in this land, inspire our prayers with fervency, unlock the refused treasure, make Christians love each other, and, being equally the effect and the pledge of an enlarged blessing from God, would multiply conversions in our congregations, and, rebuking the wordliness of multitudes, form a new era in the Church, to be marked by a holier ardour, and a more self-denying energy in the whole course of Christian duty.

"Only let the experiment be made. In this congregation are probably numbers who have influence with various Associations; some who are possessed of wealth; and some who are Ministers of Christ. Will you, then, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the utmost, by example and by argument, animate our Associations, generally, to provide the Heathen with a hundred additional Missionaries within the next year? In the name of a world of sinners, I ask it of you: I ask it in the name of Christ."

Two years later, in 1837, Thomas Dale, who was then Vicar of St. Bride's and therefore preached in his own church, took up the same idea, and worked it out more nearly as has been done in our own day. If, he says, a true standard of self-sacrifice were followed, then—

Dale also urges "Own Missionaries."

"Not a few among us . . . would have *each his own special representative* ministering the Gospel to the Heathen, scattering among them, in his stead, the seed of life, and thus supplying his lack of personal service. . . .

"But next, there is a principle of combination, which is so often injuriously, that it might well be, for once, profitably applied. Where the burden is too heavy for one, why should not two, or four, or six, if linked together in close bonds of kindred, or by the closer tie of Christian brotherhood, combine to maintain their own Missionary? Why should not the various members of families, whom God hath blessed, he led thus to offer a living tribute to His praise? . . .

"But if, again, there are many instances of disciples who can bestow largely, but not to this extent, is not the principle which we have laid down especially applicable to congregations? Cannot the Pastor urge upon his flock to adopt, as the lowest, such a scale of congregational contributions as shall ensure for them one who shall represent them in the benighted empire of ignorance, and among the godless hordes of idolatry and superstition? Why should not the sword of the Spirit be unsheathed, why should not the banner of Salvation be unfurled, at their proper cost, and in their special name, by some intrepid warrior of Christ; who has abjured home, with all its comforts—kindred, with all its charities—society, with all its indulgencies and delights—country, with all the ties which it entwines so tenaciously around the heart, in order to be their delegate in the great work of preaching the Word of God? In the turbulent period of our own national history, when Liberty was struggling to the birth, but there was no strength to bring forth, and the State, in sore travail, was compelled to maintain a precarious existence at the point of sword and spear;—every adequate portion of land sent forth its own warrior, armed and equipped to battle, for his country's honour, and his own dear domestic hearth;—and for these, even the vassals of arbitrary power would contend, as though they were freemen like ourselves, and struck for liberty. Cannot something like this be accomplished, in this noblest of causes, by the voluntary energies of the Church? Cannot the parish which sent one, or the city which furnished perhaps a hundred, warriors, provide a single Missionary? . . .

"Oh! if one thousand congregations were thus stirred up throughout the land, in our own Church alone, to say nothing of other denominations of Christians; nay, if one-half this number, not one in twenty, throughout the empire, were kindled, as by a tongue of fire glanced from heaven, into this divine work of faith and labour of love, then would our calculation be complete;—then would flow into the desolate wastes of Heathenism a full and gracious tide, not of seventy, but of seven hundred Missionaries, to testify among all nations the wonderful works of God."

E. Bickersteth's sermon.

Bickersteth's sermon, preached two years after his retirement from the Secretariat, has of course a special interest. It is the only Annual Sermon ever preached by an ex-Secretary. His biographer, Professor Birks, says: "His sense of the great importance of the occasion led him to bestow much pains on the sermon, and his elder children can recollect his reading it aloud

to them in private, more than once, to discover any defects, and be more familiar with it in the public delivery. His text was Ps. lxvii. 1, 2, which he applied to the British Nation, to the Church of England, and to the Church Missionary Society. He enlarged on the high privileges of our country, its providential opportunities, and grievous sins; the past revival of the Church, and its remaining weakness and corruption; the growth of missionary zeal, and its scanty means compared with the immense expenditure on mere luxuries and sinful pleasures; the fearful wants and darkness of the Heathen world, and the blessings that would flow to it from an extensive revival of true religion in our Church and Nation; with the means by which these blessings might be secured—prayer, personal devotedness, and their combined influence on the hearts and minds of others." Bickersteth himself wrote: "God carried me through my duties with much mercy. I preached an hour and three-quarters—the longest sermon I ever preached in my life—but the interest seemed to be kept up in a crowded congregation to the end."

The Sermon, however, had long ere this exchanged places in importance with the Annual Meeting; and the enhanced interest of the latter became more manifest when Exeter Hall was opened in 1831—of which more in the next chapter. Indeed, in 1836, the Society had to hold an overflow meeting in the Lower Hall; and in 1839 an Evening Meeting was added for the first time.

Speakers at the Annual Meetings.

The lists of speakers year by year are interesting to look over. In the twenty-seven years, from 1815, when Freemason's Hall was first taken, including sixteen meetings in that Hall and nine in Exeter Hall, the same names occur again and again: Bishop Ryder fourteen times, the two Bishops Sumner (in twelve years) nine times each, the Marquis of Cholmondeley nine times, Lord Calthorpe eight times, J.W. Cunningham sixteen times, Wilberforce eight times, Daniel Wilson seven times, Gerard Noel eight times, Charles Simeon only four times (but much more often for the Jews' Society), Haldane Stewart five times, Baptist Noel four times, C. J. Hoare four times, Bickersteth six times. Charles Grant the younger (Lord Glenelg) spoke three times, Lord Bexley three times, Fowell Buxton four times, Sir Robert Inglis five times in this period, Sir George Grey once, Lord Chichester (before his appointment as President) once, Professor Scholefield three times. Hugh Stowell first appears in 1833, and he then spoke every year except one for seven years. Hugh McNeile spoke in 1827 and 1828, but not again in this period. Francis Close made his first C.M.S. speech in 1839. Henry Venn spoke once only, in 1833. Bishop Bathurst of Norwich spoke in 1818, Bishop Ward of Sodor and Man in 1828, Bishop Turner of Calcutta in 1829, Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio in 1835, Bishop Corrie of Madras in 1835, Bishop Otter of Chichester in 1837, Bishop Longley of Ripon in 1838, Bishop Denison of Salisbury in 1841. Samuel Wilberforce, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, appeared for the

first time in 1840. It has been a very rare thing for men not of the English Church to speak at the C.M.S. Anniversary; but Blumhardt, the Director of the Basle Seminary, spoke in 1822, Alexander Duff in 1836, and Merle D'Aubigné in 1838. It is very likely that Duff's appearance drew the crowd which necessitated the overflow meeting before mentioned. His speech is one of the finest ever delivered in Exeter Hall.* It is interesting to observe that Captain Allen Gardiner also was a speaker in the same year, just when he was persuading the Society to engage in a Mission to the Zulus. It will be asked, But where were the C.M.S. missionaries all this time? It is rather surprising to find so few in the lists, considering that many had come home in the 'twenties and 'thirties; but the only names are Jowett and Hartley of Malta, Raban of Sierra Leone, Fenn and Doran of Travancore, Yate of New Zealand, Gobat of Abyssinia, and John Tucker of Madras.

The missionaries.

This brings us to the most important of all branches of the *personnel*, the missionaries themselves. Among the two hundred sent out in the period under review, from 1824 to 1840, there are over seventy whose names must be recorded; and the lengthened services of some of them are remarkable. Of Daniel the Prophet we read that "this Daniel *continued*"; and truly the same thing may be said of many of the missionaries sent forth at this time. Two "continued" sixty or more years; five, over fifty years; twelve, forty or more years; nineteen, thirty or more years. Noble service was rendered, as has been before stated, by the Basle Missionary Seminary, in supplying some of the ablest and most devoted missionaries. From it, prior to 1841, went forth, to West Africa, Hänsel (10 years), Schön (20), Schlenker (16), Graf (19), Bültmann (22); to West Africa and afterwards to New Zealand, Kissling, who became one of Bishop Selwyn's Archdeacons (33); to the Levant, Egypt, and Abyssinia, Gobat, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem (17 years under C.M.S.), Lieder (35), Krusé (35), Schlienz (16), Hildner of Syra (45); to Abyssinia and afterwards India, Isenberg (32), and Blumhardt (40); to Abyssinia and East Africa, Krapf the explorer (19); to India, Deerr (24), Schaffter (30), Weitbrecht (21), Krückeberg (27), Leupolt (42), Lincké (36), C. C. Mengé (38), J. P. Mengé (30); to India, and afterwards to Smyrna, Jetter (22). Most of these came from Basle to Islington, received further training in the Church Missionary College, and were ordained by the Bishop of London. Another valuable band of Germans from Basle went to the north-west of Persia under the Basle Society, but on the conquest by Russia of the district they worked in, and their consequent expulsion, they joined the C.M.S. Among these were Schneider (37 years), Hoernle (42), Kreiss (16), who went to India; Pfander, the great missionary to Mohammedans, who laboured in India and Turkey (25); and Wolters of Smyrna (39).

Long services.

Basle men.

* See p. 310.

Islington men.

Among the English missionaries sent forth from the Church Missionary College in the period were, to West Africa, Warburton (20 years), Townsend (40), Beale (19), Peyton (15), Isaac Smith (18), Denton (16); to India, Farrar, father of the Dean of Canterbury (19), Sandys (41), W. Smith (41), Peet (33), Pettitt (22), Harley (35), Thomas (34), Stephen Hobbs, afterwards in Mauritius (38), Hawksworth (23), James Long (32); to Ceylon, Oakley, who in half a century never once returned home (51); to New Zealand, Hamlin, the first student in the College (40), C. Baker (46), A. N. Brown, afterwards Archdeacon (55), Matthews (52, and 12 as *emeritus* in the country), Ashwell (49), and Burrows (57); to North-West America, Cockran, afterwards Archdeacon, who never once came home (40), and Cowley, afterwards Archdeacon (47).

Other long services.

Among the English missionaries, several of whom were mentioned in earlier chapters, who went forth before the Islington College was opened,—or after its opening, without its training,—some also had long periods of service: in Africa, J. W. Weeks, afterwards Bishop of Sierra Leone (21, and 2 as Bishop); in India, Norton (25), B. Bailey (34), H. Baker (47), M. Wilkinson (24), J. S. S. Robertson (39); in Ceylon, J. Knight (22), J. Bailey (24), and W. Adley, who afterwards lived in England to the age of ninety-seven (22); to New Zealand, G. Clarke (21), Henry Williams, afterwards Archdeacon (45), R. Davis (40), T. Chapman (46), J. A. Wilson (35), Morgan (33).

University men.

Up to 1841, the missionaries from the Universities were few indeed, only sixteen altogether. There were six from Oxford, Connor and Hartley, of the Mediterranean Mission; William Williams, afterwards Bishop of Waiapu (53 years), O. Hadfield, afterwards Bishop of Wellington (55, and still surviving *emeritus*), and H. H. Bobart, of New Zealand; and John Tucker, of Madras (14). Cambridge sent seven, W. Jowett, 12th Wrangler, of Malta (15); R. Taylor (38), of New Zealand; F. Wybrow, G. Valentine, 1st Class Classics and Sen. Opt., and J. Chapman, 27th Wrangler (13), of India; J. F. Haslam, 9th Wrangler, of Ceylon (11); and F. Owen, of the brief Zulu Mission. And there were three from Trinity College, Dublin, viz., Doran of Travancore, J. H. Gray of Madras (10), and R. Maunsell of New Zealand (30 years under C.M.S., and 30 as Archdeacon). Some of these did not have long careers; but Wybrow, Valentine, and Haslam died early at their posts; Jowett, Tucker, and Chapman became Secretaries of the Society; while Doran was an Association Secretary for thirteen years, and J. H. Gray for twenty-two years. Upon the whole, therefore, the Society and its cause owed much to these sixteen University men. In 1841, the year to which properly our enumeration ought to extend, come the distinguished names of Fox and Noble; but they may be left to the next period.

At this point the new Church Missionary College—or, as it was

originally called, Institution—may be conveniently introduced. The considerations that led to its being established have been already briefly noticed.* They are stated at length, and, in view of the doubts expressed by many friends, with obvious care, in the Report of 1823. No other Society has ever followed this example. Both the S.P.G. on one side, and the Denominations on the other, have looked to independent institutions for the training of their missionaries. In the case of S.P.G., St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, has, since its foundation in 1848, been a chief source of supply. It was not because the Church Missionary Society has had a peculiar difficulty in getting University men that its own College has been necessary. On the contrary, a very large majority of the University men who have gone out as missionaries to the Heathen at all have gone out in connexion with C.M.S., and C.M.S. has had a larger proportion of graduates on its roll than any other of the greater Societies.† Nevertheless, the experience of seventy years has fully vindicated the wisdom and foresight of Josiah Pratt in projecting the Islington College. No other missionary institution in the world has such a roll of distinguished names. Those enumerated above belong only to its first sixteen years. Later years added largely to the list.

Church Missionary College.

The selection of Islington as the *locale* for the College proved a happy one. Probably the choice was a natural consequence of Bickersteth and his students being already in Barnsbury Park; but it is very likely that the expectation of Daniel Wilson's early succession to the vicarage also influenced the Society. The advowson had been bequeathed to him by his uncle, whose property it was; and the old vicar, Dr. Strahan, "under whom," says Wilson's biographer, "Islington slept," was not likely to survive long. In fact he died in the very year (1824) after the ground was purchased, so that when the Institution was actually opened, it was welcomed by a vicar who was at that time the most influential clergyman on the Committee. The inauguration took place on January 31st, 1825, on which occasion the passage of Scripture read was very happily chosen. It was Isa. liv., in which occurs Carey's famous text, "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes." Excellent addresses were given to the assembled friends by the newly-appointed Principal, the Rev. J. Norman Pearson, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and to the students (twelve in number) by Bickersteth.‡ But at first no new building was erected upon the ground purchased; only the house already standing on it (still the Principal's house) was used. In the following year, however, it was determined to build a real college,

Its locale, Islington.

Its inauguration.

* See p. 244.

† Of course, small bands of University men, as in the Oxford and Cambridge Missions in India, do not come into such a comparison.

‡ Printed *verbatim* in the Report of 1825.

to accommodate if necessary fifty students, with hall, library, lecture-rooms, &c.; and on July 31st, 1826, the first stones (there were *two*, one at the base of each of the central pillars) were laid by the President, Lord Gambier. On the same day, the students (twenty-six; of whom six were already in orders) were examined before the Committee in Latin, Greek, Divinity, Logic, and Mathematics. The languages of the Mission-field were then regarded as an important part of the studies, and three months later, another Examination took place of the Oriental Classes conducted by Professor S. Lee, in Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, and Bengali.

Its studies.

Its first Principal.

The first Principal, the Rev. J. Norman Pearson, of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a good and able man; but in the inexperience of the Committee, and every one else concerned, in the conduct of such an institution, grave differences of opinion arose as to the methods of training. An Investigation Committee, appointed at a time of financial pressure to examine into the Society's expenditure (as we shall see hereafter), included the College within their purview, and recommended considerable alterations. It was these differences that caused so much distress to Bickersteth, as before mentioned, and undoubtedly led to his contemplating retirement. Yet the changes ultimately decided on were in the direction of his own views. The Institution was to be less of a College and more of a Home, and the academical element was to be distinctly subordinate to the spiritual element.* In the course of the discussions Mr. Pearson resigned the Principalship, but afterwards he withdrew his resignation, and continued Principal till 1838. He then retired, on his appointment to the Incumbency of Tunbridge Wells. The Bishop of London (Blomfield) took the opportunity to express his high opinion of the College and its Principal. "He remarked that he had been much struck with the comprehensiveness of the theological knowledge acquired by the students, and with the judiciousness of the mode in which it had been imparted; and added that the Society's students had been among his best candidates." The Rev. C. F. Childe, Head Master of Walsall Grammar School, was appointed to succeed Pearson, and for twenty years proved a Principal whose devotion and success have never been surpassed.

Deaths of friends.

It only remains to mention the deaths of this period. That of the President, Lord Gambier, has been already mentioned. In 1831, died Basil Woodd, whose great services from the very first have been frequently referred to; in 1833, James Stephen the elder, and Charles Elliott, the veteran member of Committee; † in 1834, Lord Teignmouth, President of the Bible Society, and that excellent lady, Hannah More, who had for so long exercised

* See Report of 1830; and the Appendix, in which the new Regulations for the Institution are printed in full.

† See p. 70.

a powerful influence among rich and poor in the cause of true religion, and who bequeathed the Society £1000; in 1836, Bishop Ryder, and in 1837, Bishop Bathurst, the first two prelates to join the Society; in 1838, Zachary Macaulay, and Biddulph of Bristol. The deaths of Heber, Corrie, and Carey will come before us in reviewing India, and those of Morrison and Marsden in reviewing China and New Zealand. Departed missionaries also will be referred to under the various Missions. But two other deaths must be more particularly mentioned in closing this chapter, those of William Wilberforce and Charles Simeon.

Wilberforce and Simeon.

Wilberforce and Simeon had been contemporaries in a very marked sense. They were born in the same year, 1759. They were not together at Cambridge, as Wilberforce went there very young; but they entered on their respective life-works nearly together, Simeon preaching his first sermon only a few months after Wilberforce made his first speech in Parliament. Wilberforce's conversion to God occurred a few years later than Simeon's; but the opposition and ridicule they encountered in their respective circles were simultaneous. As we have seen, it was to these two men that Charles Grant and his associates at Calcutta specially addressed their first appeal for a Bengal Mission. At the very time that Simeon wrote his paper on Missions for the Eclectic Society, Wilberforce was writing his *Practical View of Christianity*. The one led to the foundation of the Church Missionary Society. The other had an influence quite unique on Christian life in England. Together in spirit, though in widely different surroundings and by very different methods, they laboured for the extension of true religion at home and for the spread of the Gospel abroad. Together they spoke at the first great public Anniversary Meeting held by the Church Missionary Society, in 1813. They both spent their fortunes for the good of Church and people. Wilberforce was far more outwardly successful in his lifetime. The extraordinary fascination of his social qualities made him personally popular even among those who sneered at his religion; while Simeon's personal influence, though very great within his own circle, never made him a generally popular man. But Simeon has been, indirectly, a greater power in the Church of England; especially through the Simeon Trust, which has secured Evangelical teaching in perpetuity for some of the most important parishes in England. Wilberforce died three years before Simeon; but it is a question whether the impressive scene at Westminster Abbey on August 5th, 1833, when all that was distinguished in Church and State gathered round the grave of the most eminent Christian the British Parliament has ever known, was one whit more significant than the scene in King's Chapel at Cambridge on November 19th, 1836, when the body of the man who had so long stood nearly alone in his witness for Christ, despised and hated by town and gown alike, was followed

Their parallel lives.

Their respective influence.

Their funerals.

to its last resting-place by the whole University and a multitude of other mourners.

Stephen on Wilberforce.

Of Wilberforce, Sir James Stephen, in one of the most brilliant of his brilliant Essays, says :*—

"Of the schemes of public benevolence which were matured or projected during the half-century which followed the peace of 1783, there was scarcely one of any magnitude in which Mr. Wilberforce was not largely engaged. Whether churches and clergymen were to be multiplied, or the Scriptures circulated, or missions sent to the ends of the earth, or national education established, or the condition of the poor improved, or Ireland civilized, or good discipline established in gaols, or obscure genius and piety enabled to emerge, or in whatever other form philanthropy and patriotism laboured for the improvement of the country or of the world,—his sanction, his eloquence, his advice were still regarded as indispensable to success."

What, asks the same writer, was the secret of his power?

"It is to be found in that unbroken communion with the indwelling God, in which Mr. Wilberforce habitually lived. He 'endured as seeing Him who is invisible,' and as hearing Him who is inaudible. When most immersed in political cares, or in social enjoyments, he invoked and obeyed the Voice which directed his path while it tranquillized his mind. That Voice . . . taught him to rejoice, as a child, in the presence of a Father whom he much loved and altogether trusted, and whose approbation was infinitely more than an equivalent for whatever restraint, self-denial, labour, or sacrifice, obedience to His will might render necessary."

Macaulay and Stephen on Simeon.

Of Simeon, Lord Macaulay wrote, "If you knew what his authority and influence were, and how they extended from Cambridge to the remotest corners of England, you would allow that his real sway over the Church was far greater than that of any Primate." † Sir James Stephen suggested that the Church of England should turn out of the catalogue of her saints such doubtful figures as St. George, St. Dunstan, and St. Crispin, to make room for "St. Charles of Cambridge." ‡ And Dr. Moule says : §—

"As regards the Church of England, his dearly-beloved Church, he has proved himself one of her truest servants and most effectual defenders. Perhaps more than any other one man who ever arose within her pale, he has been the means of showing, in words and in life, that those Christian truths which at once most abase and most gladden the soul, as it turns (in no conventional sense of the words) from darkness to light, from death to life, from self to Christ, are not the vagaries of a few fanatical minds, careless of order and of the past, but the message of the Church, the tradition of her noblest teachers, the breath and soul of her offices and order. He has shown in another direction, under conditions of peculiar and difficult experiment, that the converted

* *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, Essay on Wilberforce*, pp. 486, 499.
† Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 67.
‡ *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 578.
§ Moule's *Simeon*, p. 259.

life is, in its genuine development, a life of self-discipline, of considerateness for every one around, of courtesy and modesty, of hourly servitude to established duty, and of that daylight of truthfulness without which no piety can possibly be wholesome."

Such were the two greatest men among the early promoters of the Church Missionary Society. They were not its working leaders, like John Venn and Pratt and Basil Woodd and Bickersteth and Zachary Macaulay; but the one was the author of the original idea of such an organization, and the other was, of all its public champions, the most influential and the most eloquent. We shall meet both Simeon and Wilberforce again in this History in chapters that look back to incidents in their lives; but in treating of the *personnel* of the period now before us, we take occasion to bid them both farewell.

CHAPTER XX.

The Environment of the Period.

Public Affairs—The Reform Bill and the Bishops—Accession of Queen Victoria—Church Reform—Evangelical Improvements—The C.P.A.S.—Growth of S.P.G.—Bishop Blomfield—Opening of Exeter Hall—Bible Society Controversies—Prayer at Public Meetings—Calvinistic Disputes—Edward Irving—Plymouth Brethren—Prophetical Studies—Pratt warns against Disunion—The Tractarian Movement: Keble and Newman—Attitude of the Evangelicals; and of C.M.S.

"*Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that . . . there be no divisions among you.*"—1 Cor. i. 10.

"*Lest Satan should get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.*"—2 Cor. ii. 11.

IN studying the history, not of the Society's Missions, but of the Society itself, we cannot fail to notice how it was affected by its surroundings, in the Country and in the World, in the State and in the Church. And there was so much that was important and interesting in the environment during the period we are now studying, that it seems right to devote a chapter to it. For the leaders of the Church Missionary Society were not men wholly absorbed in the details of the Society's business, and unable to pay attention to public affairs or to the general interests of religion. On the contrary, they were men of the world in the best sense, and took a prominent part in all movements for the public good at home and abroad.

A period of large changes,

Our period, from 1824 to 1841, was emphatically a period of movement; of large changes and developments. Abroad, the reactionary influences that naturally prevailed after the fall of Napoleon were losing their force. In 1830 the counter-forces of revolution burst forth, replacing in France the Bourbons by the Citizen King, and thus preparing the way for the still fiercer revolution of 1848; and putting on the throne of the newly-formed kingdom of Belgium one of the wisest of modern sovereigns. On the other hand, Russia, under Nicholas, was commencing that forward march which, despite subsequent reverses, still continues, and the Eastern Question came during our period into the front rank of international difficulties; while the too enthusiastic antici-

On the Continent,

pations of freedom and enlightenment in the young kingdom of Greece and the new republics of South America gradually faded away. The Church Missionary Society was not unaffected by these events. Its Turkish Missions had to be given up on account of the turmoil in the East; the revolutionary spirit, spreading to England, started controversies which sadly interfered with the progress of religious enterprises; while at the same time, godly men were stirred up by the alarming condition of things to work harder than ever to preach the Gospel while there was time. "The commotions of the kingdoms around us," said the Committee in 1831, "and the agitations of our own country, call on us to 'work while it is day.'" "The pangs and throes of the Old World," wrote Pratt in the *Missionary Register*, "are fast coming on. Dark and ominous clouds are blowing up from every quarter; the moral atmosphere is surcharged with mischief, and society itself seems ready to heave from its foundations." He commends the Epistle of St. James for general reading, and goes on, "Not by our controversies, but by our meekness and patience—not by many-coloured faith, but by our works, proceeding from that well-defined faith of Scripture, 'faith that worketh by love'—will the cause of our Redeemer be truly and largely promoted in this nation and in the world."

And at home.

At home, the period takes us from the middle of George the Fourth's reign, over that of William, to the early days of Queen Victoria and her young husband Prince Albert; and we seem, even as we read these words, to step into a new atmosphere. The great material developments of the century are commencing. Steam navigation is already rapidly increasing; railway travelling has begun; even the electric telegraph is projected;* the penny post has just been established (1840); the financial reforms of Peel and his successors, which are to diffuse wealth to an extent utterly undreamed of, are about to be initiated. But an epoch of national upheaval has preceded all this. Parliamentary Reform has been effected after a conflict far exceeding in bitterness anything that we in the second half of the century have witnessed. The agitation, when the House of Lords threw out Earl Grey's first Bill, was tremendous. Quiet families in the country were terrified at night by seeing the flames of burning hay-ricks and even of farm-houses, and in the day by the news of riots in all directions, of Derby gaol broken open, of Nottingham Castle burnt, of fearful excesses in the streets of Bristol. In the midst of it all came the Cholera, a disease hitherto unknown in Europe, and caused universal terror by its ravages. A Fast Day was proclaimed by Government; and Pratt wrote in a private letter,† "I gather hope from the seeming piety with which the Day of Humiliation

Reform Bill.

Cholera.

* In 1837-8 the first steamships crossed the Atlantic, the London and Birmingham Railway was opened, and a telegraphic message was sent from Euston to Camden Town.

† *Life of Pratt*, p. 288.

was observed; for though there was a degree of impious scoffing [in the House of Commons] such as I never remember on any similar occasion, there was, on the other hand, more apparent piety than I ever saw. So it is, while the enemy comes in like a flood, the Spirit of God lifts up a standard against him." Bickersteth wrote a tract on the occasion, which was circulated by hundreds of thousands.

Parliamentary Reform did not of itself effect Social Reform; but it woke up the nation to see the appalling need of it. Let Lord Shaftesbury's biographer summarize for us the condition of things :—

Social condition of the people.

"A spirit of turbulence and lawlessness manifested itself everywhere. . . . Education was at a deplorably low ebb. . . . The factory system was cruel in its oppression. Mines and collieries were worked in great measure by women and children. Bakers, sailors, and chimney-sweeps, were unprotected by legislation. Friendly societies, many of them rotten to the core, were the only legalized means of self-help. Pawnbrokers held the savings of the people. Sanitary science was practically unknown. Ragged schools, reformatory and industrial schools, mechanics' institutes, and workmen's clubs, had not begun to exist. Taxation was oppressive and unjust. Postal communication was an expensive luxury even to the well-to-do. Limited liability, enabling working-men to contribute their small capital to the increase of the productive power of the country, was not so much as thought of. The cheap literature of the day reflected the violent passions which raged on every side. Crime was rampant; mendicancy everywhere on the increase"—

—and the writer goes on to draw a picture of London and the large towns before Sir R. Peel established the police force.* This graphic passage describes the position in 1833. In 1837, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, it was worse rather than better, a fact to be remembered when we look back over her long and glorious reign; and at this point it will be interesting to read the words of Lord Chichester, at the C.M.S. Anniversary next after her accession, regarding the young Queen :—

The young Queen.

"Since our last Anniversary, a star has risen above our political horizon—a star of beauty and of promise; and, from thousands of British hearts, there are ascending daily prayers that the dawn of her reign may be the dawn of her country's glory—that, herself reflecting the beams of the Sun of Righteousness, our Gracious Queen may gladden and refresh our drooping land. May the blessing of God so rest upon her, that the loyalty which she inspires may provoke us to a better chivalry than that of arms! May her name be associated with those works of Christian Love, which, however disproportionate to our high responsibilities, prove that we are still a Christian People! And thus shall the record of her reign be a record of victories unstained with blood—of victories, whose glory shall be ascribed to the Son of God—whose trophies shall consist, not of captive Kings or Nations made subject to the sceptre of England's Queen, but of ransomed slaves delivered from the bondage of Satan, and brought, through the efforts of British Charity, into the happy service of England's God."†

* Hodder, E., *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. pp. 131-134.

† Sydney Smith, preaching at St. Paul's on the Queen's Accession, said

The Ministry of Earl Grey, which took office in 1831 after twenty years of Tory government, and which carried the Reform Bill, did not prove antagonistic to the plans and policy of the Evangelical leaders. It was on the right side of the Slavery question, its Lord Chancellor, Brougham, having been for years one of the most powerful anti-slavery advocates; and it was this Government that introduced and passed the Abolition Bill, as we shall see by-and-by. On India questions, too, it was sound, the younger Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg) being President of the Board of Control (as the India Office was then called). Certainly it was not specially favourable to the Church. Earl Grey called on the Bishops to "set their houses in order," though he did not finish the quotation and tell them they should "die, and not live." Radical reforms were introduced, to the dismay of the majority of Churchmen; and the opposition offered to these and to the Reform Bill by the Bishops in Parliament brought upon them great odium. They were even hustled and insulted in Palace Yard; they were burnt in effigy; on the 5th of November, figures representing them were substituted for Guy Fawkes; the Archbishop of Canterbury was mobbed in his own cathedral city; the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (Ryder) was nearly killed outside St. Bride's, Fleet Street; the Bishop of London dared not go out to preach; and the Bishop of Bristol's palace was attacked and burnt to the ground. When, however, the Irish Church Temporalities Bill was brought in, which abolished two archiepiscopal and eight episcopal Sees, and many sinecure cathedral stalls, and redistributed their revenues, eleven English Bishops voted for it. They were beginning to see that although Church Reform might be painful, it was the only way of saving the Church—at least the Church Establishment. Josiah Pratt had seen this before. He wrote of the "infatuation" of those who opposed all change. "If the real evils in the Church," he said, "were promptly redressed, it would stand firm in its strength; but while nothing is done to remove its blemishes, the sappers are at work at the foundation." The obstructives, however, were outvoted; and it is impossible now to dispute the truth of Dr. Stoughton's words, that "the reforms strengthened the Church's corner-stones, added buttresses to its walls, and gave it a new lease of continuance." *

"What limits to the glory and happiness of our land, if the Creator should in His mercy have placed in the heart of this royal woman the rudiments of wisdom and mercy; and if, giving them time to expand, and to bless our children's children with her goodness, He should grant to her a long sojourning upon earth, and leave her to reign over us till she is well-stricken in years. What glory! What happiness! What joy! What bounty of God!" (Quoted by Stoughton, *Religion in England*, 1800—1850, vol. ii. p. 165.)

* An excellent summary of the Church legislation of the period is given by Canon G. G. Perry in his *Student's English Church History*, chap. xi. (Murray, 1890). "In the course of twelve years," he says, "the status of the Church of England was revolutionized."

Improved state of the Church.

There can be no doubt that the Church, notwithstanding the abuses that needed to be dealt with, was in its moral and spiritual influence far stronger than it had been at the beginning of the century. Dr. Overton gives many contemporary testimonies to the fact.* Of course its condition would not compare for one moment with its condition in the present day. Since then the standard of efficiency has been enormously raised; and the practical good work done is a hundred-fold what it was at the date of Queen Victoria's accession. But the improvement had begun; and Dr. Overton attributes it, in the main, to the influence of the Evangelical party. In the main; but he very fairly adduces the conscientious zeal of the small band of real High or "Orthodox" Churchmen—the men who were infusing new life into the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.—such as Bishops Van Mildert and Blomfield, Archdeacon Daubeney, Christopher Wordsworth the elder (Master of Trinity), H. H. Norris, and Joshua Watson the layman, though he confesses that they did not exercise a wide influence,—except indeed Blomfield, at a rather later period. These two sections together were but a small minority of Churchmen. "Both together were far outnumbered by the many who were neither one thing nor the other; some inclining to the high and dry, some to the low and slow; some whose creed consisted mainly in a sort of general amiability, and some who were mere worldlings."† This torpid majority, indeed, were easily roused to echo the cry of "the Church in danger"; but the Church Improvement and Church Extension which are the best Church Defence were effected by the two wings, and, in the main, by the Evangelicals. It is incidental evidence of this, as Overton points out, that to be "serious" still meant to be a "Low Churchman," not a "High Churchman." People generally took for granted that spirituality and Evangelicalism were, in the Church of England, nearly synonymous terms. Not that all Evangelicals were spiritual: that has never been the case; but that spiritual men, generally speaking, were assumed to be Evangelicals.

Due in the main to Evangelicals.

In a previous chapter we saw how the earlier Evangelicals introduced week-day services and evening services, and hymns, and more frequent communions. Daniel Wilson, soon after going to Islington, succeeded in arranging, says his biographer, "three full services in the church on Sundays and great festival days, and one in the week, besides morning prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays and saints' days. An early sacrament at eight, in addition to the usual celebration, had been also commenced." ‡ In fact, considerably later than this, at Evangelical country towns like Lowestoft under Francis Cunningham, attendance at early Communion was a special token of evangelical fervour. In 1836 Simeon wrote of Trinity Church, Cambridge, "Yesterday I partook of the

* *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 8.
† *Ibid.*, p. 15. ‡ *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. i. p. 264.

Lord's Supper in concert with a larger number than has been convened together in any church in Cambridge since the place existed upon earth. . . . So greatly," he quaintly adds, "has the Church of England been injured by myself and my associates." * No wonder Dr. Overton, after noticing Daniel Wilson's work at Islington, remarks that "the Low Churchmen were better Churchmen than the No Churchmen." And it was the same in practical parochial work. Dr. Moule mentions that his father, when at Gillingham, was told by Bishop Burgess of Salisbury, about the period we are now dealing with, that, "wherever he went in his diocese, it was generally those who thought with him [H. Moule] who were the active men in the parishes. "It is they," he said, "who get schools built, and diligently teach the young, and bring them well prepared for Confirmation." Moreover, it is specially germane to this History to observe that it was then, as now and as ever, the parishes in which zeal and interest in the evangelization of the world were manifested, that were in the front in all Church work at home.

C.P.A.S. founded.

This last point was also illustrated when the Church Pastoral Aid Society was founded in 1836. It was actually formed in the Committee-room of the Church Missionary Society, Pratt taking an active part in the arrangements. Bickersteth and other C.M.S. leaders were also in its counsels from the first; and its second Anniversary sermon was preached by Mr. Pearson, the Principal of Islington College. The *Missionary Register* regularly reported its proceedings, as well as those of the London City Mission, and of the Additional Curates' Society, or, as the latter was at first named, the Clergy Aid Society, which were established about the same time. Indeed the A.C.S. was started by some of the Bishops partly as a kind of protest against the Evangelical distinctiveness of the C.P.A.S. Mr. Gladstone, also, who was at first a Vice-President of the C.P.A.S., withdrew and joined the rival society.

Growth of S.P.G.

This last-mentioned incident is an illustration of the increasing activity of the more Orthodox School on the lines of organization laid down by the Evangelical Societies. The *Register* of 1839 records the formation of Provincial Associations in aid of the S.P.G., the Bishop of Nova Scotia and Archdeacon Robinson of Madras visiting some of the counties for the purpose. One result of this movement, viz., proposals for forming Joint Local Associations of S.P.G. and C.M.S., will come before us hereafter. The S.P.G. funds were now rising rapidly year by year, and it was successfully grappling with a still more rapid rise in the expenditure, accompanied by the withdrawal of the old Government grant for the Canadian clergy. Royal letters were granted to it in 1831 and 1836, the latter being specially with a view to aid in ministering to the freed slaves in the West Indies; but the healthier sources of Income grew independently of these Letters,

* Moule's *Simeon*, p. 257.

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and by 1840 the voluntary contributions exceeded £40,000. In that year its Annual Sermon was preached for the first time at St. Paul's, and the Lord Mayor gave a dinner afterwards at the Mansion House; but there were no public meetings at this time, the one in 1826, mentioned in a former chapter, and another in 1827, being quite exceptional.

The Bishops.

Among other features that marked the Church of the period was the increasing activity and efficiency of the Bishops. Conspicuous among those who were raising the standard of episcopal work were the two Sumners at Winchester and Chester, Bishop Ryder at Lichfield, Bishop Otter at Chichester, and Bishop Blomfield in London. Bishop Blomfield was called by Sydney Smith "The Church of England here upon earth"; and again he says, "When the Church of England is mentioned, it only means Charles James London."* It is worth while, therefore, to look a little at this remarkable man. The difference between Blomfield at Chester and Blomfield in London marks in curious ways the changes that were coming over the Church. For example, about ten years before Queen Victoria came to the throne, a clergyman in the diocese of Chester opened his church to a deputation to preach on behalf of some society (not named, but not C.M.S.). Bishop Blomfield wrote to him as follows:†—

Bishop Blomfield.

"*July 20th*, 1827.

". . . A circular letter has been put into my hands, announcing a sermon to be preached in your church, on behalf of a society called the —— Society, by the Rev. ——. This open defiance of my directions, with respect to these itinerant preachers, calls for some expression of my displeasure. I would put the question to your common sense, whether there must not be some check upon the preaching of sermons for societies . . . and who is to exercise that check but the bishop? . . . I have prohibited Mr. —— from preaching again in my diocese."

But when the Queen came to the throne, even the S.P.G., which was above all suspicion of irregularities, was sending its deputations over the country. Again, here is a passage from the Memoir of Bishop Blomfield, in which his son and biographer describes his views concerning ecclesiastical and religious topics, which affords a very curious glimpse into the mind of a vigorous young Bishop of the *via media* school:‡—

"He insisted upon the gown being worn in the pulpit, alleging that the use of the surplice was a departure from the usual practice, only found in remote and small parishes; he would not support the Church Missionary Society, disapproving of the principles of its management; he considered that charity was too much diverted to distant objects to the neglect of those nearer and more immediate; he considered that the revival of an *operative* Convocation would be inexpedient; he refused to sanction any collection of hymns for use in churches; he declared that it was binding upon the clergy to preach the sole merits of Christ, and the corruption of human nature, but discountenanced Calvinistic

* *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, vol. i. p. 205.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 119. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 110.

opinions; he disapproved of Wednesday evening lectures, and thought that where there were two full services on Sundays, such week-day services were not required; he would rather that the sermon should be omitted on Communion Sundays, than the elements should be administered to more than one communicant at a time; he questioned the propriety of holding oratorios in churches, and the profit of converting a dinner-party into a prayer-meeting; and he maintained that the first duty of bishop and clergy is to act strictly and punctiliously according to law."

Blomfield and the surplice.

But when Blomfield was in the diocese of London, shortly after the Queen came to the throne, we find him using all his influence to get the clergy generally to adopt the surplice in the pulpit; also to introduce the weekly offertory, and to read the Prayer for the Church Militant at Morning Service, even when there was no Communion. The Charge delivered in 1842, in which he made these recommendations,* was warmly welcomed by many Evangelicals, among them by J. W. Cunningham of Harrow, who was then one of their foremost leaders, and who was a far more frequent speaker at C.M.S. Anniversaries than any other individual in the whole century. But two newspapers attacked the Bishop from opposite points of view. One was the *Times*, which was then largely under the influence of the young Tractarian party, and the other was the *Record*, which, although at first it approved the suggestions, afterwards turned round and advised the clergy of Islington and other Evangelicals to refuse compliance. It is curious to find Blomfield's biographer writing in 1863 to the effect that the use of the surplice in the pulpit, which had been widely adopted at the Bishop's request, was "now generally abandoned"! †

But this is carrying us beyond our period. Let us return to the 'thirties.

Exeter Hall built.

The great Societies had now a place of meeting better fitted to accommodate the troops of friends that attended. A large Hall had been built on the site of old Exeter Change in the Strand, the money being raised by the issue of £50 shares, which were taken up by the wealthy philanthropists interested in the provision of such a meeting-place. Some of the Societies took shares, and the C.M.S. for many years held five, as an investment, the interest forming a small item in the Income. It was at first proposed to name the building the Philadelphian Hall, with the corresponding motto, "Let brotherly love [φιλαδελφία] continue"; but before it was opened, the now famous name of Exeter Hall was decided on, "in reference to the site having belonged to the Exeter family." The opening took place on March 29th, 1831, with a large gathering for prayer, when representatives of many societies took part. In May of that year, the Hall was used for the Anniversaries of most of the leading societies; and it has

* *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 47, &c.
† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 63.

been so used ever since. "Midway between the Abbey of Westminster and the Church of the Knights Templars," writes Sir James Stephen in his picturesque style, "twin columns, emulating those of Hercules, fling their long shadows across the strait through which the far-resounding Strand pours the full current of human existence into the deep recesses of Exeter Hall. Borne on that impetuous tide, the mediterranean waters lift up their voice in a ceaseless swell of exulting or pathetic declamation. The changeful strain rises with the civilization of Africa, or becomes plaintive over the wrongs of chimney-boys, or peals anathemas against the successors of St. Peter, or in rich diapason calls on the Protestant Churches to wake and evangelize the world!"

Amendments at Exeter Hall meetings.

It is a curious illustration of the imperfections of all things human, that, in the first year of the occupation of what was intended to be a temple of "brotherly love," several of the meetings were interrupted by the moving of amendments; a circumstance then apparently unprecedented, and which has since then rarely if ever recurred. Both the C.M.S. and the Bible Society underwent this experience. In the former case the amendment, which we shall hear of in another chapter, was at once approved and almost unanimously adopted; but in the latter case it brought a bitter controversy to a climax and led to a painful secession.

Bible Society controversies,

The Bible Society, indeed, though it had attained a position of influence far exceeding that of any other Society, and though it was doing a magnificent work, was not only continually assailed by vigorous High Church pens like those of Bishop Marsh and Archdeacon Daubeney, but also repeatedly troubled by internal dissensions; and these divided the C.M.S. leaders, the Secretaries themselves being on opposite sides in the critical controversy in 1831. Before this, there had been a serious struggle over the

On the Apocrypha

question of printing the Apocrypha. The Society did not include the Apocryphal books in its English Bibles, but, being "the British *and Foreign*," affiliated and subsidized the Continental Societies which did include them in the foreign editions. This was objected to by the Scotch branches, which, after much disputing, ultimately seceded, notwithstanding that the Parent Society at length gave way, and determined to make no grants towards the publication of any editions that included the Apocrypha. But the controversy in 1831 was much more serious.

And on theological tests.

The Society having been originally formed as a mere business organisation for producing and circulating the Scriptures, its membership was quite open, and it was in fact supported by many of the old English Presbyterians who had drifted into Unitarianism, as well as by others whose doctrinal views were very uncertain, if indeed they had any at all to speak of. This gradually became a great offence to the more decided Evangelicals, both Churchmen and Dissenters; and after many preliminary skirmishes,

The great struggle.

the battle was joined at the first Annual Meeting that was held in Exeter Hall. An amendment was moved to the Report, affirming

"that no person rejecting the doctrine of a Triune Jehovah can be considered a member of a Christian Institution," and requiring the Laws to be altered accordingly. Immense uproar ensued, and, says Dr. Stoughton, "it was sad to witness the passionate expressions of feeling which were exhibited." * The chairman, Lord Bexley, could not make himself heard, and Daniel Wilson stepped forward to speak in his name, as a strong opponent of the proposed test. The venerable and eccentric pastor of Surrey Chapel, Rowland Hill, declared that it was "preposterous to refuse to let Socinians distribute the only antidote to their own errors," and that he would be glad if even a Mohammedan were willing to do so. "Nay, he would accept a Bible from the devil himself, only he would take it with a pair of tongs." The graver defenders of the existing open constitution argued that if the Society's Laws were to embody restrictive theological definitions, it would be needful to go further, and insert other words to exclude Romanists, &c.; and they pleaded that, as a matter of fact, all the members of the governing body, and the agents, were orthodox evangelical Christians. The amendment was rejected by a great majority; and a portion of the minority thereupon seceded, and formed the Trinitarian Bible Society, which exists to this day.

Attitude of C.M.S. men.

In this controversy, Josiah Pratt, in common with the majority of C.M.S. leaders, supported the original constitution. Bickersteth was on the other side, and had to encounter a vehement protest by Dandeson Coates in consequence; but he declined to desert the Bible Society, recognizing the blessedness of its work, and that the objection was after all rather a theoretical than a practical one. He, however, subscribed also to the Trinitarian Society as a token of sympathy with the conscientious scruples of its promoters.† Many other good men adopted his line; and at the Anniversary in the following year, the brothers Noel, Gerard and Baptist, who had been in the opposition, made a generous *amende*, and avowed their unfaltering allegiance to the old Bible Society. Pratt, with his never-failing impartiality, reported the proceedings of the new Trinitarian organization year by year in the *Register*, and it can therefore be seen that the speakers at its meetings comprised scarcely any C.M.S. leaders. Dissensions, moreover, arose in its councils from the first; but none the less it did good work in spending upon the work of Bible circulation the money of those who would not support the old Society.

Prayer at public meetings.

There was another controversy mixed up with this one. In earlier days, none of the religious Societies opened their public

* *Religion in England*, 1800 to 1850, vol. ii. p. 90. The *Record* of the period gives a *verbatim* report of the proceedings, which lasted six hours, and were of the most painful character. One can scarcely read the report without sympathizing with the supporters of the amendment; and the *Record* evidently did so.

† *Memoir of E. Bickersteth*, vol. ii. pp. 30-35.

meetings with prayer. This, which seems to us almost incredible, was no doubt due to two circumstances. First, the old Conventicle Acts forbad anything of the nature of a religious service except in churches and licensed dissenting chapels; insomuch that even at Simeon's conversational parties for undergraduates, held in his own rooms at King's College, he had no prayer, for fear of transgressing the law.* It is true that a new Act regarding Dissenters in 1812 had repealed the old ones; but its effect was uncertain. Secondly, public meetings were held in the large rooms of hotels and taverns: and there was a feeling of "incongruity of acts of religious worship with places usually occupied for very different purposes."† Gradually, however, the need and importance of public prayer was more and more felt; and apparently the Jews' Society led the way in introducing an opening prayer at Freemasons' Hall. Immediately after the C.M.S. Anniversary in 1828, the Committee passed a resolution that "as the S.P.G. and the Jews' Society opened their meetings with prayer," it was desirable for the Church Missionary Society to do the same for the future. This History has shown several occasions on which C.M.S. helped S.P.G.; but this good example set by S.P.G. may well be held to balance the account. It is true that the S.P.G. annual meetings were wont to be held in the vestry of Bow Church, which was sacred ground; but it can hardly be doubted, in the face of the C.M.S. Committee's resolution, that the two special meetings held by the venerable Society in Freemason's Hall in the two years immediately preceding (1826 and 1827) were also opened with prayer; and this would certainly protect the C.M.S. from any accusation of ecclesiastical irregularity if it proceeded to do the same in the same hall.‡

S.P.G. leads the way.

But when Exeter Hall, a building free from tavern associations, was opened in 1831, there was no longer any room for scruple on the score of incongruity; and from that time the practice became general. But the Bible Society was still an exception. Why was this? Not only because a Socinian would object to the ordinary Christian conclusion of a prayer, "through Jesus Christ our Lord," but because Dissenters objected to a form of prayer, while Churchmen dreaded what wild sentiments might be expressed in extempore prayer, and Quakers, then very influential (it was the period of Joseph John Gurney and Mrs. Fry), objected to any arrangement beforehand as to who should lead in prayer. Bickersteth and others, however, deeply felt that these difficulties

Bible Society refuses.

* Moule's *Simeon*, p. 229.

† Pratt, in *Missionary Register*, 1828, p. 221.

‡ The Liverpool C.M. Association followed the example of the Parent Society, and appointed a clergyman to draw up a prayer for use, taken from the Liturgy. A proposal was also made "to conclude with a psalm or hymn"; "but," say the Minutes of the Liverpool Committee, "further consideration of this important innovation to our proceedings was postponed."

were the sort of difficulties that ought to be surmounted; and many who, like Pratt, had opposed any imposition of doctrinal tests, concurred in the importance of sanctifying Bible Society meetings by the reading of Scripture and prayer. But Mr. Brandram, the able clerical secretary, supported the Dissenters in opposing any such innovation; and no change was effected till 1849, when the reading of "a devotional portion of Scripture" was at last permitted. Prayer was not introduced until 1857.

Divisions among Evangelicals.

Questions like these, however, were but the practical outcome of a general spirit of disunion which, from about 1827 onwards, spread in Evangelical ranks.* For instance, on the great subject of Catholic Emancipation, which was the chief topic of political home controversy before the Reform agitation, leading Evangelical Churchmen were divided. Wilberforce, Buxton, the Grants, young Lord Ashley, Dealtry, Daniel Wilson, favoured the recognition of Roman Catholic claims; but they were a minority. Pratt and Bickersteth earnestly and actively opposed the Bill. The consequence was that the *Record*, then lately started, expressed, strange to say, no strong opinion on the matter. A similar division of opinion prevailed throughout the Church. Most of the High Church and Orthodox Bishops and divines were against the Bill, but not all. Keble led a strenuous opposition at Oxford; and Sir Robert H. Inglis, a strong Churchman, yet associated with the Clapham circle and a warm supporter of the Church Missionary Society, obtained the coveted seat for the University, after a prolonged and strenuous struggle, turning out Peel, who, with the Duke of Wellington, had brought in the dreaded Bill in the teeth of all their previous declarations. It passed, however (1829); and thus one of the causes of disunion was put out of the way. There were similar differences, but less acute, over the Bill for repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, which was practically for the relief of Dissenters; but this also passed, in the preceding year, 1828.

Catholic Emancipation.

Calvinistic disputes.

But internal and esoteric controversies within Evangelical ranks affected the Church Missionary Society more directly. The old Calvinistic disputes had not died out. There was a small and diminishing party of very extreme predestinarian views, whose members constantly charged moderate Calvinists like Scott, Simeon, Pratt, and Bickersteth, with being "enemies to the free, sovereign, and everlasting grace of God"; yet these moderate leaders were the very men who all the while were defending the doctrines of grace against the vehement attacks of Bishops Mant and Marsh and Archdeacon Daubeney, as well as against the Arminianism of the Wesleyans. Bickersteth, in his journeys for the Church Missionary Society, found what was called "high

* There was indeed some disunion before. Ten years earlier had occurred what was called the Western Schism, when some friends at Bristol, Bath, &c., went astray on the subject, *inter alia*, of Infant Baptism, and seceded from the Church.

Calvinism"—reaching almost to Antinomianism—a great obstacle. Men who would not say to their own congregations at home, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ," because no one could believe except by the compulsory power of the Holy Spirit, and who openly repudiated the word "responsibility" as applicable to the elect people of God, were, quite naturally, incapable of missionary zeal for the evangelization of the Heathen; and Bickersteth writes of his attempt to introduce the Society at Plymouth,* where Dr. Hawker's influence was dominant, as his "most formidable affair." "Such," he wrote, "is the effect of his doctrines, that I fear nothing can be done in that large town for extending Christ's Kingdom."

Edward Irving.

Then again, Edward Irving was at the zenith of his great reputation in 1825-33. No such preacher had ever taken London by storm. Crowds from the highest classes of society mobbed the modest Scotch churches in Hatton Garden and Regent Square. Even at 7 a.m. the latter building was crowded. "By many degrees the greatest orator of our times," said De Quincey. "The freest, bravest, brotherliest human soul mine ever came in contact with," said Carlyle. Irving's famous sermon before the London Missionary Society in 1825 startled all missionary circles. He denounced the Societies for their prudential care about money matters, and called upon Christians to go forth into all the world as the apostles went round the familiar villages of their own little Galilee, without scrip or purse, shoes or staves. "He seemed," says Dr. Stoughton, "going back to the days of Francis of Assisi, interpreting Scripture as the Italian saint would have done, and seeking to wrap a friar's mantle round a Protestant preacher." † Although the Directors of the L.M.S. were inclined to think their preacher mad, a good many, both within and without the Church, regarded him as a new prophet arisen in the name of the Lord.‡ Then Irving strayed into strange heresies regarding the nature of Christ's humanity, and set forth novel views of prophecy, and subsequently developed "supernatural manifestations" in the shape of miraculous tongues and cures. Then he was excommunicated by the Church of Scotland, and founded the "Catholic Apostolic Church," now known as Irvingites; and, in Stoughton's words, "the 'religious public,' after making him an idol, pulled him from his pedestal and cast him down into the dust." With much of this our History is not concerned; but Irving's influence undoubtedly fostered the disunion among Evangelical Christians which is one of the features of the environment of the period.

His great missionary sermon.

* But at Devonport (Plymouth Dock it was then called), Mr. Hitchins, Henry Martyn's cousin, had a C.M.S. Association.

† *Religion in England*, 1800-1850, vol. i. p. 379.

‡ In 1889, a series of articles appeared in *The Christian*, which turned out to be in the main a reproduction of Irving's sermon. They had a similar effect on many minds, for a time. It is worth noting that the writer, like Irving, soon afterwards went quite off Evangelical and Scriptural lines.

Plymouth Brethren.

Nearly at the same time, arose what is known as Plymouth Brethrenism, which in the 'thirties and 'forties rapidly became a power, and drew away not a few of the most spiritually-minded members of the Church, particularly in Ireland. It began with that longing after a perfect Church which has always been so attractive a conception among simple-minded Christians with little knowledge of Church History. Its influence grew in consequence of its thorough devotion to the study, verse by verse, and line by line, of the Word of God; not merely the critical study of Hebrew verbs and Greek prepositions—though this was not omitted by the more scholarly of the Brethren,—but the study of the inmost meaning of the narratives and precepts and prophecies as a revelation from God to men. And, in particular, it developed well-marked "Futurist" views of unfulfilled prophecy, which have since been widely adopted, and have led at different times to much controversy. In later years, the influence of the Brethren has declined, owing to their endless divisions; but in the period we are now studying, they had the advantage which belongs to every new movement, and indirectly they caused much doubting and questioning in Evangelical circles. The Church Missionary Society had cause in those days to lament their influence, for it lost through them three missionaries, viz., John Kitto, the printer at Malta, who joined Mr. Anthony Groves (though he did not belong to them in after years); Rhenius, the great Tinnevelly missionary, whose breach with the Church was also due to Mr. Groves's influence; and Mrs. Wilson, of Calcutta and Agarpara.*

Prophetical studies and Missions.

The study of prophecy was not confined to the Brethren and those who came under their influence. Sober and godly divines within the Church were taking up the subject; and several of those best-known among C.M.S. leaders adopted what are known as Pre-Millenarian views. We here touch a question which has a very close connexion with Foreign Missions. The popular idea, prior to this period, had been that the gradual and complete conversion of the world would be effected by their agency. The earlier Annual C.M.S. Sermons generally take this for granted, and draw glowing pictures of the wonderful results to be looked for ere long from missionary effort. Perhaps it was the hard experience gained in Salisbury Square, of the slow progress of God's work, and of the way in which it is marred by human infirmity, that led, together with a closer study of the New

* See pp. 317, 320. Mr. Groves was a remarkable man, and truly devoted. He went to Baghdad as a volunteer "free-lance" missionary at his own charges in 1830, and was there joined by Mr. Parnell (afterwards Lord Congleton), and F. W. Newman (brother of J. H. Newman, and afterwards a Deist); and also by Pfander, afterwards the great C.M.S. missionary to Mohammedans. While they were at Baghdad, a terrible outbreak of the plague occurred, which carried off more than half the population; and Mrs. Groves was one of the victims. Mr. Groves afterwards went to India.

E. Bickersteth's changed views.

Testament, to Edward Bickersteth's avowed change of views. He, and many others like-minded, came to believe that our Lord will return to an unconverted world, though it might be, if He tarried long, to a Christianized world in the sense in which Europe is already Christian; that therefore the "millennium"—whatever the mysterious "thousand years" of Rev. xx. might really mean—could not precede His coming, but must follow it; and that after His return there would be further great events upon the earth, though upon the nature of these it would not be right to dogmatize. The effect of such views upon Missions was not to paralyze but to stimulate prayer and effort. If the Lord might really come at any time, so much the more reason for the utmost energy and self-denial to "prepare and make ready His way"; and Bickersteth, in a letter written (1836) to a clergyman who had asked him for advice as to the best way of awakening missionary interest, urged him to study the Lord's gracious purpose to gather for Himself an elect Church out of the Gentiles before His Coming, which would be the "grand animating spring" of zeal and liberality.* Francis Goode, in the Annual Sermon of 1838, strikingly sets forth the same motive for missionary effort. These views, however, did not win universal assent, even among the inner circles of Evangelical students; and at a later period (1853), Samuel Waldegrave, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, delivered a course of Bampton Lectures against "Millenarianism." Meanwhile, E. B. Elliott of Brighton, shortly after the close of our period (1844), produced his great work, *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, which took the religious world by storm, and by its learned and powerful marshalling of the evidence for the Historical interpretation of the Books of Daniel and Revelation, completely thrust out, for the time, the Futurist views of the Plymouthists. This book—"a work," writes Sir James Stephen,† "of profound learning, singular ingenuity, and almost bewitching interest,"—although comprising four large volumes, ran in a few years through several editions.

Elliott's "Horæ."

But the study of prophecy was not always conducted soberly and reverently, or with due modesty and reserve; and even Bickersteth found "the prophetical spirit" almost as unfavourable to Missions as the ultra-Calvinistic spirit. "Things are most dead and cold here" [the Midland Counties], he wrote in 1831; "the good men are all afloat on prophesying, and the immediate work of the Lord is disregarded for the uncertain future."‡ And Pratt wrote in 1841, the last year of his editorship of the *Register*, "Plain commands and plain promises are, if not almost superseded, yet certainly weakened in their force and energy, by views, sound or unsound, on unfulfilled prophecy. . . . The cause of Missions is safe while it rests on plain and unquestionable commands binding

* *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 93.
† *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 583.
‡ *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 43.

on all Christians, and on promises open to all who endeavour to fulfil these commands; but questions of this nature, rising within Christian Communities, will weaken, so far as they are listened to, the springs and motives of action."

This brief sketch will serve to show how many topics there were upon which the Evangelicals of the period held divergent views, and how imminent was the danger of serious disunion, a danger that was not wholly avoided. The Church Missionary Society seemed to be the one rallying-point where all could unite —as it has been on other occasions since then. A C.M.S. leader, therefore, was the natural counsellor at such a time; and Pratt again and again in the *Register* warned his readers against the danger. He began in 1827 with strong and significant words. After referring to his reminders in previous years (as we have before seen) of the antagonism of the devil when his kingdom was being so vigorously assailed, he goes on, "But it is the Internal Enemy which is chiefly to be dreaded. Christians are not at peace among themselves." He denounces the uncharitable spirit which "highly colours" and "grossly exaggerates" the weaknesses or the mistakes of Committees and secretaries; the spirit of suspicion that looks at reports and statements "rather with the view of detecting some concealed delinquency, or of finding ground of objection, than with the design of rejoicing with the Society in any good which it may have been the means of effecting, and of sympathizing with it in its trials." "Every man," he continues, "will be tempted to set himself up for a critic and a judge: if measures are proposed which do not exactly accord, as he apprehends them, with his own notions, he may scatter, as some have done, crude and erroneous circulars and pamphlets about the country; while others, without asking explanations, will take it for granted that these things are true, and act on them as though they were so." "While Charity will not hide her eyes from what is evil, she suffereth long and is kind—beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things—and never faileth!" Are Pratt's warnings quite out of date?

Pratt's warnings.

A time, however, was now approaching when minor differences had to be sunk in the presence of what, at the time, all Evangelicals, and a good many who would have refused the name, regarded as the common foe. Within the period we have been reviewing began the Tractarian movement.

The history of what is perhaps better termed the Oxford Movement is of course one of the most deeply interesting episodes of the century. An influence which displaced what had promised to be a dominant influence at Oxford and perhaps in the Church—that of Liberal Churchmen like Whately and Arnold (different as the two men were),—which carried captive some of the most brilliant minds in the University,—which survived the tremendous shock of the secession to Rome of its foremost leader and of others

The Oxford Movement.

scarcely less distinguished,—which has developed, despite innumerable obstacles, into one of the most potent influences in the Anglican Church to-day,—is one worthy of the closest and most patient study. In the present History, of course, such a study would be quite out of place. But throughout our narrative, from this time forward, we shall be continually meeting the men, the measures, the tendencies, the effects of the Oxford Movement; and at this point it is necessary to inquire how the C.M.S. leaders viewed it in its early stages.

"What is called the Oxford or Tractarian movement," says Dean Church in the opening lines of his brilliant and, one may say, pathetic work,* "began, without doubt, in a vigorous effort for the immediate defence of the Church against serious dangers, arising from the violent and threatening temper of the days of the Reform Bill. It was one of several and widely differing efforts. Viewed superficially it had its origin in the accident of an urgent necessity. The Church was really at the moment imperilled amid the crude revolutionary projects of the Reform epoch; and something bolder and more effective than the ordinary apologies for the Church was the call of the hour." This view is confirmed by the familiar fact that John Henry Newman always dated the movement from Keble's famous sermon on "National Apostasy" on July 14th, 1833, which, as the title indicates, was inspired by the political perils of the time. But the attacks on the Church as an Establishment were only the occasion, not the cause, of the movement. The cause lay far deeper. Romanticism was rising up against utilitarianism; Sir Walter Scott's works had awakened in thousands of minds a sympathetic interest in what was mediæval and antiquarian; Coleridge and the Lake Poets were exercising an influence on thoughtful minds which, so far as it affected religion, prepared them for the new teaching that was coming; and Keble's *Christian Year*, in addition to its poetic merits, had revealed the possibility of a quiet and reverent devoutness which, without attending a Clapham breakfast or an Exeter Hall meeting, or subscribing to the Bible Society, could realize that

Its occasion.

Its causes.

> "There is a book, who runs may read,
> Which heavenly truth imparts;
> And all the lore its scholars need
> Pure eyes and Christian hearts.
>
> "The works of God above, below,
> Within us and around,
> Are pages in that book to show
> How God Himself is found."

From which conviction the prayer would naturally arise—

> "Thou Who hast given me eyes to see
> And love this sight so fair,
> Give me a heart to find out Thee,
> And read Thee everywhere."

* *The Oxford Movement*; Macmillan, 1891. It was published after his death.

Then it must be admitted that Evangelicalism had by this time become—shall we say?—*too comfortable* to attract the ardent and romantic minds of brilliant Oxford men bursting with new and half-formed ideas about the grandeur of an ancient historic Church, the beauty of submission to Authority, and the contemptible character of anything that could be branded as "popular religionism." Dean Church is of course scarcely an impartial judge of Evangelicalism—though no man was ever more impartial in intent,—but there is truth and force in his remark* that "the austere spirit of Newton and Scott had, between 1820 and 1830, given way a good deal to the influence of increasing popularity"; that "the profession of Evangelical religion had been made more than respectable by the adhesion of men of position and weight"; that, "preached in the pulpits of fashionable chapels, this religion proved to be no more exacting than its 'High and Dry' rival"; that, "claiming to be exclusively spiritual, fervent, unworldly, the sole announcer of the free grace of God amid self-righteousness and sin, it had come, in fact, to be on very easy terms with the world." In other words, it was no longer a kind of martyrdom to be counted an Evangelical; and the young Oriel men had undoubtedly in them something of the martyr-spirit. To be persecuted for what they regarded as the One Catholic Apostolic Church was an honour to be coveted. Their ideal of life was really high. They thought the "ordinary religious morality," as the same writer expresses it, loose and unreal—as indeed it might well seem to those who knew not personally the bright and holy life of a Bickersteth or a William Marsh; and the movement really sprang, not from a political or theological cry, but from a deep moral conviction and purpose. The old English Church with its Apostolical Succession was in danger: let them live for the Church, or die in its defence!

Evangelicalism and the Oxford men.

Probably it was the fact that the movement seemed to be a Church Defence movement that prevented the Evangelical leaders from noticing it at first; besides which there were at Oxford almost no Evangelicals to observe it. Two town churches were in their hands; but while Natt, at St. Giles's, was an excellent man, Bulteel, at St. Ebbe's, was an antinomian, and ultimately left the Church. In the University, St. Edmund Hall was the "Low Church" preserve, but it was a good deal looked down upon. Wadham, under Dr. Symons, was considered fairly safe by Evangelical parents, and for this reason John Henry Newman was sent there. His Oriel Fellowship was later. He had been brought up upon the writings of Romaine, Newton, Milner, and Scott. He and his brother F. W. Newman were subscribers to the Oxford Church Missionary Association, and for one year, 1830, he was Secretary of it; † and he actually

John Henry Newman.

* *The Oxford Movement*, p. 12.

† Of Newman's attempt, mentioned by Venn, to get men to come up

contributed both money and articles to the *Record*. But Keble influenced Hurrell Froude, and Hurrell Froude influenced Newman. "He made me look," says Newman himself, "with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence." * These influences brought him where at first he did not mean to go. "I do not ask," he afterwards said in his pathetic "Lead, kindly light,"—

> "to see
> The distant scene; one step enough for me"—

a mistaken prayer as regards saving truth, though a good one for providential guidance.

But very soon the Evangelical leaders plainly saw "the distant scene." Indeed Pratt, who, as we have seen, was no suspicious and narrow-minded partizan, perceived the doubtful tendency of Keble's poetry, beautiful as it was, from the first. The Tracts for the Times, which gave the Oxford movement its more familiar name, began to appear in 1833; but it was not till 1836 that there was anything in them to excite much alarm. Then the Evangelicals saw whither the new school was drifting; and the *Remains* of Hurrell Froude, published a year or two later, revealed something of its inner history. Gradually the full sacerdotal and sacramental system of Tractarianism stood revealed, and proved to be, in its essence, what not Evangelicals only, but all moderate Anglican Churchmen, had always understood as "popery"—to use the old word which in those days was habitually used by all alike. The truths which the great Revival of the preceding century had restored to the Church—the supremacy of Holy Scripture, the sinner's direct access to God by faith, salvation by grace alone, true regeneration the work only of the Holy Ghost—were discredited; and for them was virtually substituted a religion which made salvation to consist, practically, in membership in a Church possessing the apostolical succession, and served by a priestly caste that alone could administer effectual sacraments.

The Oxford Tracts.

In the present day we can look back over sixty years and acknowledge to the full the good which the Oxford Movement has effected in the Church of England. To attribute to its influence all that improvement in public worship and parochial work which the Evangelicals had already more than begun, and have since done much to develop, is unjust and absurd; but that it has carried that improvement further is indisputable, and our dislike for the extreme forms of modern Ritualism, as indicative of unscriptural

Influence of the Movement.

and outvote the Executive I have found no trace in the old records. (See H. Venn's Address at Opening of new C.M. House, printed in *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1862, and as Appendix B in his Memoir, p. 405.)

* *Apologia*, p. 87.

teaching, ought not to blind us to the fact. Moreover, the faithful Anglican Christian to whom the old doctrines of grace are dearer than life itself has learned from it to value his great inheritance in an ancient historic Church, and to rejoice in being linked, not only with the Fathers of the blessed Reformation, but also with the Fathers of Primitive Christendom. The continuity of Evangelical religion from that of the early Fathers was shown, it is true, by the Evangelical historian of the Church of Christ, Joseph Milner, from whose great work Newman himself confessed that he derived his enthusiasm for the Fathers; but still it cannot be said that the continuity of the organic Visible Church was realized to any extent till it was taught by the men of Oxford. This continuity the Evangelical Churchman has learned to value, while not for a moment will he "unchurch" those members of other Protestant communions that have not the same advantages as himself. He finds now that he can join in much that is modern in Church life and organization, and that is unquestionably the indirect issue of the Oxford movement, without in the smallest degree compromising or marring his plain Gospel beliefs and teachings. But this development of healthy and helpful Church life has come gradually; and considering the grave errors with which it was at first too closely connected, we are not surprised that our Evangelical fathers dreaded every new advance and suspected every successive step.

Attitude of C.M.S.

But the Church Missionary Society was very slow to enter into even legitimate controversy. It is startling to read Report after Report, and Sermon after Sermon, at this period, and find no allusion to the new teachings that were causing so much alarm. Pratt denounced them in letters to Bishop Daniel Wilson; Bishop Wilson out in Calcutta delivered a powerful charge against them; Bickersteth protested against S.P.C.K. tracts that seemed to have caught the infection, and which were in fact written by Dodsworth, one of the Oxford party, who afterwards seceded to Rome; the *Christian Observer*, in able articles, exposed the fallacies underlying Newman's arguments. But the C.M.S., as a society, held its peace. And it is remarkable to find in the Sermon of 1841, by Francis Close, the *first* public avowal of its being an "Evangelical Institution." And yet in this very Sermon there is the strongest affirmation of the Society's Church character, much more space being given to this than to its Evangelical character. The explanation is very simple. The C.M.S. leaders regarded the Oxford party as "schismatics" (so Pratt calls them), and the Evangelicals as the truest and fullest representatives of the old Anglican and Reformed Church.

CHAPTER XXI.

India: Changes, Reforms, Developments.

The Bishops—Daniel Wilson—Lord W. Bentinck—Social Reforms—Abolition of Suttee—Government Patronage of Idolatry—Charles Grant the Younger and the Company—Resignation of Sir P. Maitland—Work and Influence of R. M. Bird—Steam Communication—New Bishoprics—Bishop Corrie—Bishop Wilson and the Caste Question—Education—Alexander Duff; his Father and C. Simeon—Duff's Plan—Ram Mohun Roy—Duff's College—The Early Converts—Duff and Macaulay—The "Friend of India" and "Calcutta Review"—Duff at home—His C.M.S. Speech.

"*Prepare ye the way of the Lord. . . . Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.*"—Isa. xl. 3, 4.

Part IV. 1824–41. Chap. 21.

Death of Bishop Heber.

BISHOP HEBER—gentle Reginald Heber—was found dead in his bath at Trichinopoly on April 2nd, 1826. It was a young C.M.S. missionary, J. W. Doran, who, with the chaplain, lifted the lifeless body out of the water. During his brief Indian career of two years and a half, Heber had won all hearts by his unfailing courtesy, goodness, and earnestness; and his episcopate had for the first time put Church of England Missions in his vast diocese on a right footing. The sorrow in India was unmistakable. Public meetings in honour of his memory were held in the three Presidency cities, and the testimonies of high officials to his worth are very touching.* Sir Charles Grey, the Chief Justice of Bengal, felicitously applied Heber's own picturesque lines—in his Oxford prize poem, *Palestine*—to the progress which Christianity might have been expected to make in India under Heber's sway:—

> No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung,
> Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung.

The news reached England in September, and caused universal grief. The C.M.S. Committee, at a special meeting, expressed in the strongest terms their sense of the loss sustained by the Church, and their "gratitude to the Giver of all good for the strong faith, ardent zeal, unaffected humility, universal love, and incessant labours of this distinguished Prelate." At the same time they

* Printed in the *Missionary Register* of December, 1826.

BISHOP HEBER.

DR. ALEXANDER DUFF.

BISHOP DANIEL WILSON.

BISHOP COTTON.

REV. J. J. WEITBRECHT.

REV. B. BAILEY.

Reginald Heber, Second Bishop of Calcutta, 1823-1826.
Alexander Duff, D.D., Founder of Educational Missions in India.
Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, 1832-1858.
G. E. L. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta, 1858-1866.
J. J. Weitbrecht, Missionary in Bengal, 1830-1852.
Benjamin Bailey, Missionary in Travancore, 1816-1850.

adopted a memorial to the Government, urging the establishment of more Bishoprics in India, seeing that no one man could sustain the responsibilities and labours of such a diocese. The S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. did the same. But seven years more were to elapse before any step was taken to supply this urgent need, and nine years before it was actually supplied.

Bishops James and Turner.

And meanwhile, two more episcopal lives were sacrificed. The next Bishop, Dr. James, only lived in India eight months; and the fourth Bishop, Dr. J. M. Turner, only eighteen months. The latter was deeply mourned. He had thrown himself with ardour into missionary labours, in cordial sympathy with both S.P.G. and C.M.S. Corrie wrote that he was "by far the best suited for the appointment of any who had occupied it," and again, when Turner lay on his dying bed, "To the Indian Church the loss will be greater than any yet suffered." The C.M.S. Committee in their minute on hearing the news, spoke of his "combination of literary attainments with great devotedness to the service of his Heavenly Master," of his "judicious counsels," of his "paternal and social intercourse with the missionaries," and of his "bright example of fidelity, zeal, and unwearied labour."

Four Bishops dead: Who would go next?

The death of the fourth Bishop created the utmost consternation in England. The Societies, C.M.S. included, again memorialized the Government to establish more bishoprics; but the Reform agitation absorbed attention, and nothing was done. Meanwhile the vacancy must be filled up; and who would go? In the present day the question would naturally be asked, Are there no suitable men in India itself, already inured to the climate? But an affirmative answer to this question in 1831 would have been of little practical use. There were excellent chaplains, well fitted to be bishops. Thomason was dead; but there were Carr of Bombay, Robinson of Madras, and, above all, Corrie of Calcutta, who as Archdeacon, had three times found himself the acting head of the English Church in India, in the intervals between the successive episcopates. But to appoint one of these meant (1) a letter to India, (2) the voyage of the one chosen to England for consecration, (3) his voyage out again; and thus some eighteen months would be spent before India could have another bishop, or two years since Turner's death. Someone must be sent out ready consecrated from England; but again, who would go?

Daniel Wilson's promise.

Bishop Turner, before sailing for India in 1829, had attended the first annual meeting of the Islington Church Missionary Association, which Daniel Wilson had founded in the previous year.* The Vicar, in the chair, promised the Bishop that "if at any time Islington could give or do anything to benefit India, they were ready." The Bishop said "he would undoubtedly call for the redemption of the pledge at some future time." It was

* See p. 256.

Part IV. 1824–41. Chap. 21.

his death that sounded the summons; it was the Vicar that responded.

The President of the Board of Control in the new Reform Ministry was, as before mentioned, Charles Grant the younger; and to him fell the duty of finding the new bishop. Naturally he looked to the Evangelical leaders; but one after another they declined. Dr. Dealtry, Chancellor Raikes, and Archdeacon C. J. Hoare, were all asked in vain. Daniel Wilson then wrote to Grant, mentioning other suitable names; but having sent off the letter, he suddenly felt, in his own words, "compelled by conscience, and by an indescribable desire, to sacrifice himself, if God should accept the offering, and the emergency arise." And so it came to pass that on April 29th, 1832, Daniel Wilson, at the age of fifty-four, was consecrated fifth Bishop of Calcutta. On that day began an episcopate which, in the good providence of God, was destined to last many years longer than the four previous episcopates combined, with the intervals between them.

Daniel Wilson, Bishop.

The Journals of Bishop Heber will always remain incomparable as a picturesque description of India externally at the period of his residence there. But the Life of Bishop Wilson * gives a much more vivid account of the incessant occupations of an Indian Bishop, of his ecclesiastical difficulties, and of the great influence for good which he may be privileged to exercise. Daniel Wilson's character was by no means a perfect one. He was naturally both impetuous and imperious. He was a man of decided views on most subjects, and was not afraid to avow them. Hence we are not surprised to find his biographer, who was also his chaplain and son-in-law, Canon Josiah Bateman, telling us that he was "a man much spoken against," and went through "evil report and good report." Rumours used to reach England of his being personally dictatorial, and too stiff as a Churchman; and old friends like J. W. Cunningham and Dean Pearson of Salisbury would write out affectionate warnings and exhortations. But no one was more conscious of his failings, such as they were, than the Bishop himself. His replies to the friendly letters, printed in his Biography, are beautifully humble and grateful; and his journals are full of self-condemnation and of earnest prayers for the sanctifying grace of God. In fact, his faults were the faults of a strong character. He proved a great bishop; and he did a noble work. "His strong devotional spirit," says Sir John Kaye, "his self-forgetfulness in his Master's cause, his unstinting love towards his fellows, his earnestness of speech, his energy of action, had something of an almost apostolic greatness about them. . . . On the banner which he carried, the word 'Thorough' was emblazoned. He did everything in a large way. Although pure Gospel truth was far dearer to him than the dignity of his

His character.

* *Life of Daniel Wilson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.* By the Rev. Josiah Bateman, M.A. London: John Murray, 1860.

Church, he strove mightily for the outward honour of that Church." *

When Wilson arrived in India, the Governor-General was Lord William Bentinck, whose Christian profession—with that of his excellent wife—was more decided than in the case of any of the chief rulers since Lord Teignmouth. He and the Bishop became fast friends, notwithstanding that he was entirely opposed to ecclesiastical establishments and dignities of any kind, bishoprics included. The Bishop wrote of "the noble character of his administration," and said, "I verily believe we shall never see his like again. Had he been educated in Church principles, he would be perfect! But he does not even know what is meant by an Archdeacon!" There was, in fact, a general improvement in the character of Indian officials. Worldliness of course still prevailed; and the Bishop was often shocked, when on his tours, by the openly vicious lives lived by some. Still things were better than they had been. "There was," says Kaye, "a devout spirit abroad in Anglo-Indian Society. The English in India had outlived the old reproach of irreligion and immorality. To be a regular attendant at church, to be strict in family worship, to subscribe to missionary objects and to attend missionary meetings, was in no wise to stand out conspicuously from the crowd. In some regiments, the 'new lights,' as they were profanely called, were so numerous that they ceased to be exceptions, and therefore were no longer objects of derision." To what was this change due? Mainly, under God, to the godly chaplains whom Simeon had engaged and Grant had sent forth.

Lord W. Bentinck, Governor-General.

Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship was signalized by great and important reforms and advances, which had a distinct bearing on the cause of Christianity in India. In effecting these, Lord William was, during part of his time, strongly supported by Charles Grant the younger, when President of the Board of Control. By various enactments it became penal (1) for widows to be burnt alive on their husbands' funeral pyres, (2) to murder parents, by drowning, or exposure, or burial alive, (3) to murder children by leaving them on the river bank to be the prey of crocodiles, (4) to encourage devotees to destroy themselves by throwing themselves under the wheels of idol-cars, (5) to promote voluntary torture by hook-swinging, &c., (6) to offer human sacrifices; although all these crimes were done in the name of religion. Other reforms were initiated to dissociate the British Government from open patronage of idolatry; to admit Native Christians to public offices equally with Hindus and Mohammedans; and to relieve converts from any one religion to another of disabilities touching the holding of property.

His great reforms.

All these reforms were vehemently opposed, not only by leading Hindus, but by influential Anglo-Indians. The cry was again

* *Christianity in India*, p. 445.

raised that it was dangerous to meddle with ancient and beneficent religions; and some of the Europeans defended the old barbarities with greater persistence than the more enlightened Natives themselves. The first reform was the abolition of Suttee, or widow-burning. Shocking accounts of individual recent cases of this terrible custom, taken from official reports presented to Parliament, were published in the *Missionary Register*.* Christian officers who came home described the horrors they had themselves witnessed.† And as regards the prevalence of Suttee, a parliamentary paper stated that, in Bengal alone, 5997 widows had been burnt alive in the preceding ten years.‡ Yet in the very same blue-book, an Anglo-Indian official vindicated the rite as a species of voluntary death, "as when a high-spirited female, in defence of her chastity, prefers loss of life to loss of honour," and deprecated the abolition of what (to use his own words) they considered "a light affliction working for them an exceeding weight of glory"! § And Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury) when in office at the India Board in 1828 was "put down at once as a madman" because he thought Suttee wrong.‖ But Mr. Buxton in Parliament, and Mr. Poynder, a solicitor on the C.M.S. Committee, in the Court of East India Directors, were agitating for the abolition of this "light affliction"; and in 1829 Lord William Bentinck, by a stroke of his pen, put an end to Suttee.¶ Other enactments followed, forbidding the various crimes above enumerated.

Abolition of Suttee.

East India Company's Charter again renewed.

In 1833, twenty years had elapsed since the memorable revision of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, and the time had come for a further revision. Now came Charles Grant's opportunity. He not only completely altered the position of the Company as a commercial body, throwing the Indian trade open to the world, but he threw the country open too, and it was no longer necessary for every missionary or other "interloper" to get the Company's license to settle there. Moreover, he secured, at last, the authority to erect two more bishoprics, and the money to support them. Without him, little would have been done. There was no excitement in the religious world, as in 1813; and the C.M.S. Reports scarcely notice the subject. The Company had conciliated the Christian public by the abolition of Suttee, and also by a despatch to India on the very eve of the Charter Bill coming before Parliament.

This memorable despatch, inspired by Charles Grant, dealt with the great and complicated subject of the connexion of the State with

* See vol. for 1824, pp. 238, 278. Some of these accounts showed that widow-burning was not always voluntary, cases being given of young widows forced, screaming, on to the funeral pile.

† *Ibid.*, 1825, p. 256.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1828, p. 75.

§ *Ibid.*, 1828, p. 75.

‖ *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 82.

¶ The official Regulation is printed in the *Missionary Register* for 1830, p. 185.

idolatry. The theory of the Government of India was absolute religious neutrality and toleration; but the theory broke down in practice. When the British arms conquered and annexed an Indian state, large or small, the British rule of course succeeded to the responsibilities and duties of the dispossessed governments. Now these often included grants to temples and mosques, the collection of taxes and dues for their maintenance, the administration of lands belonging to them, police protection for idolatrous rites, and honours (such as salute-firing) to idol-festivals. The English governors and administrators in a newly-annexed district simply continued the practice of their Native predecessors, generally quite oblivious of the fact that this really involved the patronage, by a professedly Christian nation, of religious systems and customs that were not only false but cruel and degrading; and even when they came to think about it, they justified it on the ground that to withdraw the aid and protection so given would be an interference with the religions of the country, and therefore inconsistent with the neutrality professed. It was Claudius Buchanan who first roused the Christian conscience of England by his account of the horrors of Juggernaut, of which he was an eye-witness in 1806. The temple and its abominable rites were actually supported by what was called the pilgrim-tax, a capitation tax imposed on the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims who resorted to them, collected by government officials, handed to the Brahman priests, and any balance (generally a large one) appropriated for the general revenue of the Company. In other words, as Kaye expresses it, the British Government in India "acted as churchwarden to Juggernaut." The system of which this was typical gradually became more and more offensive in the eyes of Christian men in England; and at the public meetings of the missionary societies the pilgrim-tax became a common object of denunciation. The question, however, was not a simple one. Supposing the tax abolished, would not that encourage more pilgrims to resort to the temples? And as regards temple estates, would not a withdrawal from their administration tempt the Native trustees who might be appointed to peculation and corruption? Charles Grant, however, set himself solemnly, and as in the sight of God, to consider the whole subject; and the result was his deep conviction that England must wash its hands of all association with idolatry, whatever the consequences. Having come to this decision, he persuaded the reluctant Directors to fall in with his view, and the famous despatch of 1833 was sent out, amid a chorus of thanksgiving from all who cared for the evangelization of India.

State patronage of idolatry.

The pilgrim-tax.

Grant's despatch.

But it was one thing to send such a despatch, and quite another thing to get it obeyed. In the Madras Presidency it was openly ignored—the new Bishop of Madras (of whom more presently) being publicly rebuked by the Governor in Council for presenting (in 1835) a respectful memorial from the clergy

The despatch evaded.

and godly laity on the subject. But Lord W. Bentinck was not now at the head of the Supreme Government at Calcutta, nor was Charles Grant (who had become Lord Glenelg) any longer at the Board of Control; and the East India Directors in Leadenhall Street resisted every effort made by Mr. Poynder and others to get the despatch of 1833 carried out. In 1837, the year of Queen Victoria's accession, the Company, inspired by a new President of the Board of Control, Sir John Hobhouse, sent out a discreditable despatch, virtually approving of the delay in carrying out its orders of four years before; whereupon a startling event occurred. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, resigned his post rather than give any further directions to the troops to do honour to the idols.* This grand act of self-sacrifice won the battle. The excitement in Christian circles in England was intense; Parliament was roused,† and Sir J. Hobhouse had to promise to send out peremptory orders that the despatch of 1833 was to be obeyed without further delay. This was done in August, 1838, and left no excuse for the local Indian authorities. Nevertheless, further measures had to be taken; and though the instructions were partially carried out, it was not till 1841 that public honours to idols were finally abolished. All through these years, the Church Missionary Society was strongly exercised on the subject, and repeatedly memorialized the Home Government; and great was the rejoicing when at last the victory had been really won, and the disgrace to Christian England finally wiped out.‡

Sir P. Maitland resigns.

Victory at last.

* His exact act was this. Two Christian privates had refused to fire their muskets to salute an idolatrous procession; and Sir P. Maitland refused to sign the order for their punishment. "He called his family round him, explained to them the poverty into which they would be plunged by his resignation. They united in desiring that he should obey his conscience. All the Army, including the Duke of Wellington, thought him wrong, and the East India Company condemned him; but his manly and straightforward explanation of his conduct won the Duke over to his side, and at length the Government gave him the governorship of the Cape of Good Hope." (From Venn's Private Journals, 1854.) A different and very interesting version was given by the late Rev. J. H. Gray in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1887. Mr. Gray was at Madras at the time, and he states that one of the first papers put before Sir P. Maitland for signature was a document sanctioning the appointment and payment of dancing-girls for a certain Hindu temple. This he refused to sign, and appealed to the Company. The Directors declined to give way, and Maitland thereupon resigned.

† Mr. Gray (see preceding note) further states that he himself subsequently sent home to Maitland an account and sketch of an outrageous act of homage to an idol committed by a high English official; and Bishop Blomfield took them to the House of Lords, exhibited them there, and threatened to send the sketch broadcast over the country; and that this menace settled the question in Parliament.

‡ The whole history can be traced out in the *Missionary Register*, 1832 to 1841. It is summarized in Kaye's *Christianity in India*, pp. 418–430, and, more briefly, in an able paper by Mr. (now Sir) W. Mackworth Young, now Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, read before the Cambridge Church Missionary Union, and printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1885.

This period was one of material as well as moral reform and development. It was one of important services rendered by very eminent civil servants of the Company. For example, Robert Merttins Bird, who, while at the head of the Revenue Department in the North-West Provinces, planned and carried out the survey and land settlement of that immense territory, becoming thereby recognized as the chief authority on a most complicated subject, and saving twenty millions of people from misery and ruin. Dr. G. Smith mentions James Thomason, John Lawrence, and William Muir, as coming "under the spell of Merttins Bird"; * and Sir R. Temple says that Bird, "a born leader of men," and Thomason, "formed the great school of administrators in the North-West Provinces." † "To have been selected by Robert Bird," says Mr. Bosworth Smith, "as a helper in the great work in which he was engaged, was looked upon as a feather in the cap even of those who were destined soon to eclipse the fame of their old patron." ‡ Thomason wrote that he found Bird "so instructive and communicative on subjects which regard another world," and they discussed together "how to carry out their Christian principles into their daily walk as public servants." § His and his sister's work in the C.M.S. Gorakhpur Mission will be mentioned hereafter. On his retirement to England he became a regular and valuable member of the C.M.S. Committee.

R. M. Bird and Jas. Thomason.

One branch of material progress must be noticed, because it has had untold influence upon the practical working of India Missions. This was the establishment of steam communication between England and India. Moreover it was under Lord W. Bentinck's administration that the initiative was taken, and the virtual leader in taking it was Bishop Daniel Wilson.

Steamers between England and India.

It has been mentioned that the news of Heber's death on April 2nd reached England in September. That one fact sufficiently illustrates the position at the time. On December 9th, 1825, four months before Heber died, the first steamer from England reached Calcutta; but she had come round the Cape, and taken five months to accomplish the voyage,—no faster, in fact, than the old East Indiamen; and it was found that even a full complement of passengers in "the cabin" would not pay for the fuel expended. Naturally, nothing more was done. When Daniel Wilson arrived at Calcutta in 1832, he found the question revived, and under discussion. It interested him at once; for no man ever felt more keenly the separation from home friends. "Three points of abstinence," he said, "would promote calmness of mind

* *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, p. 75. Bird's second name is variously spelt in different books. "Merttins" is the correct form.

† *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 49.

‡ *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. i. p. 96.

§ *Rulers of India: Thomason*, by Sir R. Temple. P. 71.

‖ *Missionary Register*, 1825, p. 599; 1826, p. 263.

in India: (1) never to look at a thermometer; (2) never to talk about the arrival or non-arrival of ships; (3) never to reckon up minutely the weeks and months of residence." Good rules, observes his biographer, but never so badly kept as in his case; for he constantly made written notes of all three circumstances! But his keen desire for quicker communication with the home-land led him to throw himself into the new projects. A public meeting to promote them was held, at which he was not present; and it was a failure. No money was subscribed; and without money nothing could be done. The very next morning Lord W. Bentinck and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Trevelyan met him out riding; and the latter said to the Bishop, "My Lord, I wish *you* would step forward." Daniel Wilson that day wrote a letter to the chief magistrate, offering donations from himself and family for so great an object. The letter was published, and received with enthusiasm; another meeting was held, the Bishop himself presiding; and in a few weeks two thousand five hundred subscribers had raised 167,000 rupees, then equal to nearly £20,000. The Bishop continued at the head of the movement. He wrote to influential people in England—thirteen long letters to Charles Grant alone. "To have a certain post," he said, "starting on a given day, arriving at a given day, returning at a given day—and that day one-half earlier than the average arrivals now—would be as life from the dead! Positively it would make India almost a suburb of London!" And he dwelt on the influence of inventions in other ages upon moral progress:—"What an invention the mariner's compass! What an invention the art of printing! By these two discoveries the world became accessible to knowledge and improvement. The Reformation sprang from their bosom." *

Bishop Wilson heads the movement.

His energy was successful. Charles Grant introduced the question in the House of Commons, from the Treasury Bench, on June 3rd, 1834; a Parliamentary Committee reported favourably; Government subsidies were offered; mail steamers were set running between England and Alexandria; other steamers (at first four times a year!) between Suez and Bombay; in 1841 the P. & O. Company organized the latter service systematically, with steamers of the great size (as then thought!) of 1600 tons and 500 horse-power; and India was brought within two months of England. The Suez Canal was not then dreamed of; nor the gigantic and luxurious vessels that now bring us letters in twelve days. But great issues spring from small beginnings; and it will interest all readers of this History to find that the man who really set the ball rolling was the great Evangelical Missionary Bishop of Calcutta.

The P. & O. service.

It has been mentioned that the Charter Act of 1833 provided for

* This narrative is condensed from a long account in the *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. i. chap. 12.

the establishment of two new bishoprics, viz., for Madras and Bombay. This was really in pursuance of a plan laid before Grant and the Government by Bishop Wilson prior to his departure for India; and great was his joy when he heard of its being included in the Bill. Let it be remembered that this was the Reform Ministry, by which the Irish Church was being despoiled of several of its bishoprics, whose chief had told the English Bishops to set their houses in order, and whose doings inspired Keble's memorable sermon at Oxford on National Apostasy; and we see the more clearly what India owed to Charles Grant, the worthy son of his distinguished father. Wilson at once wrote home asking that Archdeacon Corrie might be Bishop of Madras, that Archdeacon Robinson of Madras might be Bishop of Bombay, and that Archdeacon Carr of Bombay might succeed Corrie in the Archdeaconry of Calcutta. Various delays, however, ensued; but at length, in 1835, Corrie, having come home, was consecrated first Bishop of Madras. Carr ultimately became first Bishop of Bombay, but this was not till 1837.

New bishoprics: Madras and Bombay.

Thus, at length, one of the "five chaplains" who had kept the Gospel lamp burning in Bengal in the Dark Period prior to 1813 became a bishop of the Church he had so faithfully served. For nearly thirty years, Corrie, gentle and unobtrusive as he was in character, and chaplain as he was in ecclesiastical status, had been indisputably the chief missionary of the Church of England in India. Almost all the mission stations in North India had been started by him. He had never sought great things for himself. He just "served his own generation by the will of God," with a quiet devotion and unfailing discretion that had made him loved and trusted by all. And now, having passed his years in the North, he entered a new sphere of labour in the South as Bishop of Madras. But it was for a little while only. For rather more than a year he so acted as to win all hearts—except those of the irate governor and officials who resented his gentle protest against their disobedience to the order forbidding honours to idols,—and then God took him, on February 5th, 1837, to the intense grief of all Christians in India, and of the Church Missionary Society at home. He was succeeded by Bishop Spencer; and when Carr was consecrated to the new see of Bombay, there were, at last, three Bishops for India.

Bishop Corrie.

His death.

During Corrie's brief episcopate, there was one matter which much burdened his mind. This was the great Caste Question in the Native Church. It had not troubled him during his long career in the North. Caste difficulties have never been so acute there as in the South. For one thing, the influence of Mohammedanism has tended to minimize the influence of the minute distinctions and restrictions which in the South reign undisturbed. The Brahmans, of course, are strict everywhere; but the numerous lower castes are far more jealously marked off in the South than

The Caste Question.

in the North. In Bengal, for instance, a Sudra is a low-caste man; but in Madras, he is a high-caste man, because there are beneath him endless further ramifications of the system. For another thing, Native Christian communities scarcely existed in the North in Corrie's time; but in the South they were numerous, and there was room within the Church for the development of the caste spirit. In fact, as has been before mentioned, the Danish and German missionaries who had gathered these communities permitted the retention in the Church of many cherished caste customs. A note to one of Bishop Wilson's Charges enumerates fifty distinct usages common among them which he regarded as inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity. The principal were these:—the different castes entered church by different doors, and sat on different sides; they received the Lord's Supper separately, sometimes using separate cups; the missionary himself had to receive last, for fear of defiling the Sudra communicants; a Sudra catechist or minister would not reside in a Pariah village, nor would a Sudra congregation receive a Pariah teacher; a Christian Sudra would give his daughter to a Heathen of the same caste rather than to a fellow-Christian of a lower caste, and several other degrading distinctions affected the relations between the sexes. Moreover, the Christians, in order to retain their positions in the castes they respectively belonged to, "mingled with the Heathen and learned their works": they observed heathen rites, employed heathen dancers and musicians at festivals, wore heathen caste-marks, and so forth.

Caste in the Native Church.

Attitude of missionaries;

The three or four old S.P.C.K. missionaries who still supervised the Tamil congregations in Bishop Heber's time, including the venerable and venerated Kohlhoff, had tolerated these usages, as their predecessors had done, though without liking them. But the younger men who now began to arrive in the country, some sent by the S.P.C.K. itself, some by the C.M.S., and some, a few years later, by the S.P.G., were disposed to adopt a firmer attitude against them; and of these Rhenius, the C.M.S. missionary, was the virtual leader. Heber was appealed to on the subject, and he was about to inquire into it on the spot when he died at Trichinopoly. He had, however, formed a preliminary and tentative opinion, chiefly based on the views of Christian David, the Ceylon Tamil whom he had ordained at Calcutta. David urged, as so many have done before and since, that caste was merely a matter of social distinction; and Heber, mindful of the social distinctions in England itself, which have nothing to do with religion, was inclined to take a lenient view of caste customs. But in India caste is far indeed from being a mere social system. It is, in fact, the strongest religious influence in the country. It is not that a respectable and cleanly man objects to eat with a man of dirty habits. On the contrary, the vilest beggar who is a Sudra by descent would consider himself defiled

of Bishop Heber;

by contact with an educated and respectable Pariah. This was the system that was eating the life out of the Native Church; and it cannot be doubted that Heber would have soon perceived its evil had he lived.

of Bishop Wilson.

Bishop Wilson was face to face with the question as soon as he arrived in India. He took a strong line at once. Basing his decision on the grand New Testament principle that in Christianity "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all," he directed that, as regards Church usages, "caste must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally." But when his letter was read to the principal congregations, at Vepery, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, the Sudra Christians openly revolted. At Tanjore, where Kohlhoff had presided over the Church for many years, not only did the bulk of the congregation at once secede, but the majority of the native ministers or "country priests," catechists, schoolmasters, and other mission employés, refused compliance, despite the entreaties of their senior, the venerable Nyanapragasen, then eighty-three years of age; and all these were thereupon dismissed. In 1835, Bishop Wilson visited the South, and dealt earnestly and lovingly with the disaffected Christians, pleading with them the example of the Good Samaritan, who did not stop to ask who the "certain man" was, nor dreamed of being defiled by touching him. "And what," exclaimed the Bishop, rising from his seat in the crowded church, "did our blessed Master say to this? *Go, and do thou likewise.*" "A long pause," says his biographer, "of motionless and breathless silence followed, broken only when he besought every one present to offer up this prayer,—'Lord, give me a broken heart, to receive the love of Christ and obey His commands.'" Whilst the whole congregation were repeating this in Tamil, he bowed upon the cushion, doubtless entreating help from God, and then dismissed them with his blessing." *

Bishop Wilson at Tanjore.

Nevertheless, all his efforts proved unsuccessful; and at Trichinopoly he began a definitely-arranged plan for the administration of the Holy Communion, to serve as an object-lesson. He quietly directed who should come up to receive: first a Sudra catechist, then two Pariah catechists, then an English gentleman, then a Sudra again; and to assist his design, the highest English lady in rank at the station requested that a Pariah might kneel between her and her husband. In this way, a formal step was taken; and it served to band together those Native Christians who conformed. But the majority held aloof; and for many years great difficulties beset these old Missions, despite the earnest work of the new English missionaries whom the S.P.G.—having ere this entirely taken over the work from the S.P.C.K.—was about this time beginning to send out. In after years the

* *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. i. p. 463.

difficulties rather increased, owing to the action of the new Mission of the Leipsic Lutheran Society, which allowed caste (and does so still), and drew away many members of the S.P.G. congregations. The C.M.S. and S.P.G. Missions in Tinnevelly have from time to time had similar difficulties to meet; and indeed they have never been fully surmounted. A serious crisis in the C.M.S. Krishnagar Mission, in Bengal, forty years later, will meet us in due course. Meanwhile the question has been noticed in this place in connexion with the three Bishops who first dealt with it.

Education in India.

We must now turn to a large and important subject which much occupied the minds of thinking men in India during the period under review—the question of Education.

If the British rule was to be perpetuated in India, it was felt that the people must be educated. Their degrading superstitions were largely due to ignorance; and the enlightenment of their minds would open the way to higher moral influences. Moreover, unless the government was always to remain a pure despotism, preparation must be made for the Natives in due time sharing in the work of administration and legislation. It was not, however, till Lord William Bentinck took up the question, that anything definite was done by the Government. In the meanwhile, in 1818, Carey and his associates had projected a college at Serampore for the higher education of Natives. But that institution, though in time it came to do excellent work, was not in Calcutta. The only attempt made at the capital—where such an attempt was most needed—was what was called the Hindu College, opened in 1817 under the joint auspices of a few Englishmen and Hindus. In this institution English was taught, and English literature and science studied, in the teeth of the opinion then prevailing in Government circles, under the influence of the great Sanscrit scholar, H. H. Wilson, that the right kind of higher education for the Indian people was the study of classical Oriental languages, such as Sanscrit and Persian. But the Hindu College was strictly non-Christian, and virtually anti-Christian. The English text-books read were Hume's Essays and the licentious plays of the age of Charles II.; and even Tom Paine's works were read with avidity out of school-hours. The consequence was such a flood of immorality that the very Heathen parents themselves were alarmed; and the whole cause of English study was discredited.

The Hindu College.

But now there arrived in Calcutta a man whom God had chosen to guide the new ambition to learn English into Christian channels, and to initiate one of the most important of agencies for the evangelization of India. That man was Alexander Duff.

Alexander Duff.

Duff was a young Highlander; and at first sight it seems hard to connect him with Charles Simeon of Cambridge. Yet one of the grand things which, all unconsciously, Simeon was in the Lord's hands the instrument of doing, was the forging of the first

link in the chain of events that led to the great Educational Missions of India. Going back to the year in which Simeon read that paper before the Eclectic Society which originated the Church Missionary Society, 1796, we find that in the summer of that same year he took holiday and went to Scotland. At Moulin, the parish which now contains the familiar Pitlochrie, he visited Mr. Stewart, an able Presbyterian minister of "Moderate" views, who "preached a pure and high morality, and held in a certain sense the doctrines of Christian orthodoxy"; but who "saw no satisfying results of his labour among his people, and was himself restlessly conscious that secrets of spiritual joy and power lay near him undiscovered." * Indeed, one Sunday he told his people so, asking them to pray that he might have more light, and promising that if he got it, he would impart it to them; which led many to go to church week after week from curiosity, wondering what new revelation would come. Then came Simeon, and Mr. Stewart invited him to speak a few words to the congregation. "I expressed," writes Simeon, "my fears respecting the formality which obtains among all the people, and urged them to devote themselves truly to Jesus Christ." But he adds, "I was barren and dull: God, however is the same, and His word is unchangeable." Yes, and God worked. That night Mr. Stewart came to Simeon's bedroom, and opened his heart to him; and from that day forth, with satisfied mind and rejoicing heart he preached Jesus Christ and Him crucified, with the result that, both at Moulin and afterwards in other parishes, numbers of souls were converted to God. Now in that congregation was a lad of seventeen, James Duff. Whether he was present when Simeon preached, and whether he was impressed, we know not; but under Mr. Stewart's now faithful ministry he was led to yield himself to the Lord. Ten years afterwards, his son Alexander was born; and this son always attributed his own decision for Christ to the influence and example of his father. So Dr. George Smith begins his brilliant *Life of Duff* with these words,—"The spiritual ancestry of Alexander Duff it is not difficult to trace to Charles Simeon." †

A retrospect: Simeon in the parish of Duff's father.

In due course Alexander Duff went to St. Andrew's University, and having taken the highest honours in classics, sat down to study theology at the feet of Dr. Chalmers, then at the height of his great reputation. Chalmers was one of the few Scotchmen who then cared for Missions, and during his five years at St. Andrew's six of his most distinguished students dedicated themselves to the foreign field. But the Established Church of Scotland was

Duff and Chalmers.

* Moule's *Simeon*, p. 159.

† The story is partly told in the opening pages of Dr. G. Smith's *Life of Duff*; but in the middle of the first volume (p. 326) one comes upon a fuller and more touching account, *àpropos* of Duff's visit to Cambridge in 1836. Fifty years later, a son of Mr. Stewart's was an elder of the Scotch Church at Calcutta, and held prayer-meetings with Duff's converts. (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 56.)

not yet a missionary Church. It was still largely of the opinion of its Moderator of thirty years before, who in 1796 (the very year of Simeon's visit to Moulin) had said that "to spread the Gospel among heathen nations seems highly preposterous, in so far as it anticipates, nay it even reverses, the order of nature"! The Scotch Missions previously mentioned in this History, in West Africa and in Russia, were the work of a small voluntary society. But a few leading men in the Church, notably Dr. Inglis, were now waking up to see that Scottish Presbyterianism should have representatives in India: not chaplains only—them it had already—but missionaries also; and at length, in 1829, Alexander Duff was ordained to be the first foreign missionary officially sent forth by the Church of Scotland.

Duff to Calcutta.

After suffering shipwreck twice on his voyage out, the young minister, twenty-four years of age, landed at Calcutta in May, 1830. When the Natives who could read the newspapers saw the account of his escape from two shipwrecks, they said, "Surely this man is a favourite of the gods, who must have some notable work for him to do in India." After visiting every missionary and mission station in and round Calcutta, he formed his own plan for an entirely new agency. It was "to lay the foundation of a system of education which might ultimately embrace all the branches ordinarily taught in the higher schools and colleges of Christian Europe, but in inseparable combination with the Christian faith and its doctrines, precepts, and evidences, with a view to the practical regulation of life and conduct. Religion was to be, not merely the foundation upon which the superstructure of all useful knowledge was to be reared, but *the animating spirit which was to pervade and hallow all.*" * The Bible was to be read and expounded daily, "while the teacher prayed, at the same time, that the truth might be brought home, by the grace of the Spirit, for the real conversion to God of at least some of the students." In view of the teachings of Scripture and Church history, Duff "did not expect that all, or the majority, of these Bengali youths would certainly be thus turned; for in nominal Christendom he felt that few have been, or are, so changed, under the most favourable circumstances. That 'many are called but few chosen,' however, only quickened his zeal. But he did expect that, if the Bible were thus faithfully taught or preached, some at least would be turned from their idols to serve the living God." †

Duff's scheme.

Its influence and results.

Such is the system which almost all the principal missionary societies in India have since adopted, which has often been assailed for its paucity of direct results, but the indirect results of which have been incalculable. Even in direct results, it has not failed those who have worked it on Duff's principles as above stated. Let it be granted that the true converts from among the higher and educated classes in India have been few in comparison

* Dr. G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. i. p. 110. † *Ibid.*, p. 109.

with the whole villages of poor cultivators that have come over in the South. But it is as true at home as in India that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called"; and as a matter of historical fact, scarcely one such convert has been made in India except through the agency, direct or indirect, of Missionary Education.

The plan opposed.

But although it is too late to criticize the system now, one is not surprised that it was opposed at first. Dr. Bryce, the senior Presbyterian chaplain, whose chief occupation seems to have been fighting the Anglican bishop (at least in Middleton's time) on points of precedence and the like, and whose great church was empty while the godly Scotch people went elsewhere, gave Duff no sympathy.* Nor did a single missionary in Calcutta approve the young Scotchman's project. "You will deluge the city," they said, "with rogues and villains." But the Hindu College was doing that already. There was no means of stopping the demand for English now. The stream of tendency was rising rapidly, and all that could be done was to direct it into good channels. That was Duff's purpose. He found no fault with the simple preaching and teaching already in vogue, though the results so far had been infinitesimal. There were then less than twenty converts from Hinduism or Mohammedanism in Calcutta, half of them Anglican and half Baptist. But Duff said, "While you engage in directly separating as many precious atoms from the mass as stubborn resistance to ordinary appliances can admit, we shall, with the blessing of God, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine, and the setting up of a train which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths." † And God gave him, too, some "precious atoms," sooner than he or any one else thought possible.

Ram Mohun Roy.

But though Duff got no support from the older missionaries, he was greatly encouraged by one remarkable Hindu—Ram Mohun Roy, the Erasmus of India, as Dr. George Smith calls him. Forty years before, without ever coming across a missionary (for there were none), Ram Mohun Roy had recoiled from the degrading superstitions of Patna and Benares, and had written an attack on "the idolatrous system of the Hindus." The study of English subsequently introduced him to the Bible, and then to the further study of Greek and Hebrew. In 1814 he founded the Brahmo Sabha—the progenitor of the Brahmo Samaj—"to teach and to practise the worship of one supreme, undivided,

* It ought, however, to be stated that Dr. Bryce had, in 1825, written home to the General Assembly, asking that august body to send out one or two Scotch clergymen who could speak, like those of the Church of England, with the sanction of an "Ecclesiastical Establishment," so that their Mission might have the support of "Constituted Ecclesiastical Authority." Our Presbyterian brethren of the Church of Scotland have always laid even more stress on their "Established" position than the old-fashioned High Churchmen of England.

† Dr. G. Smith's *Duff*, p. 108.

and eternal God." The orthodox Hindus thereupon founded the Dharma Sabha, in defence of Brahmanism with all its rites and customs, such as Suttee. "Thus," says Dr. G. Smith, "Hindu society in Calcutta became divided into opposing camps, while the Hindu College youths formed a third entrenchment in support of pure atheism and libertinism. These were the three powers at work, unconnected by any agency save the slow and indirect influence of English literature in the hands of vicious teachers, unopposed by Christianity in any form, denounced at a distance, but not once fairly grappled with, by any Christian man, from the Bishop to the Baptist missionaries."

Ram Mohun Roy had already given important aid to Lord W. Bentinck in the abolition of Suttee. Now he warmly welcomed Duff, entered into his projects, heartily approved of his determination to have Scripture-reading and prayer in the proposed school, and lent him the small hall of the Brahmo Sabha to begin his work in. On July 13th, 1830, only six weeks after landing—having learned some Bengali on his long voyage—Duff opened his new school. Several high-class youths, most of them Brahmans by caste, had been persuaded by Ram Mohun Roy to attend. Let us read Dr. G. Smith's picturesque account of this great and memorable day: *—

Duff begins.

A memorable scene.

"Standing up with Ram Mohun Roy, while all the lads showed the same respect as their own rajah, the Christian missionary prayed the Lord's Prayer slowly in Bengali. A sight, an hour, ever to be remembered! Then came the more critical act. Himself putting a copy of the Bengali Gospels into their hands, the missionary requested some of the older pupils to read. There was murmuring among the Brahmans among them, and this found voice in the Bengali protest of a leader—'This is the Christian Shaster: we are not Christians; how then can we read it? It may make us Christians, and our friends will drive us out of caste.' Now was the time for Ram Mohun Roy, who explained to his young countryman that they were mistaken. 'Christians like Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson have studied the Hindu Shasters, and you know that he has not become a Hindu. I myself have read all the Koran again and again, and has that made me a Mussulman? Nay, I have studied the whole Bible, and you know I am not a Christian. Why then do you fear to read it? Read and judge for yourselves. Not compulsion, but enlightened persuasion, which you may resist if you choose, constitutes you yourselves judges of the contents of the book.' Most of the remonstrants seemed satisfied."

Success of the school.

Twelve months passed away. The school had become famous: three hundred boys were in regular attendance; and the first annual examination astounded the English residents who attended it. Then Duff arranged for a quiet course of evening lectures in his own house on Natural and Revealed Religion, for students of both his own school and the Hindu College. Twenty attended the first; but the second was never delivered. The whole city was alarmed. Students of the Hindu College had attended a

* *Life of Duff*, vol. i. p. 121.

Christian lecture in a missionary's house! Dr. H. H. Wilson and the other anti-Christian Englishmen at the head of the Hindu College forbad their pupils to attend religious discussions; and the Government were accused of letting a "wild Padre" break its boasted neutrality. Duff sought a private interview with Lord William Bentinck, who assured him of his deep sympathy, but advised caution. But the young students of the Hindu College themselves resented the outcry, and boldly claimed liberty to attend Christian lectures if they liked. They started a paper of their own, the *Enquirer*, which was edited by the leading spirit among them, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, a Kulin Brahman.* They ostentatiously met together and broke caste by eating beef, and in their wild and unrestrained assertion of freedom, they grossly insulted a holy Brahman by tossing the remains of their repast into his inner court. Thereupon K. M. Banerjea (who, however, was not present when this was done) was expelled from family and home. "I was perfectly regardless of God," he afterwards wrote, "yet He forgot me not." He and his associates, sobered by the outcry, and convinced now that they wanted some positive truth to fill the "aching void" left by their apostasy from Brahmanism, came and sat at Duff's feet to learn of Christianity as humble seekers after truth.

Students claim liberty, and break caste.

Another twelve months passed; and then, on August 28th, 1832, the first convert, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, was baptized; not, however, by Duff himself, but by the Rev. T. Dealtry, the successor of Thomason, in the Old Church of David Brown and Buchanan and Henry Martyn and Corrie.† "A year ago," exclaimed the young convert after the baptism, "I was an atheist and a materialist; and what am I now? A baptized Christian! A year ago I was the most miserable of the miserable; now, the happiest of the happy! . . . *In spite of myself*, I became a Christian. Surely this must have been what the Bible calls grace, free grace, sovereign grace, and if ever there was an election of grace surely I am one." The next was Krishna Mohun Banerjea himself. Long drawn towards Socinianism, and unwilling to "acknowledge the glory of the Eternal Trinity"—"God," he said, "by the influence of His Holy Spirit, was graciously pleased to open my soul to discern its sinfulness and guilt, and the suitableness of the great salvation which centred in the atoning death of a *Divine Redeemer*." He was baptized on October 17th in Duff's schoolroom, by Duff himself, but soon afterwards joined the Church of England, and both he and Mohesh became teachers

The first converts.

K. M. Banerjea.

* The highest, most exclusive, most sacred section of the Brahman caste.

† "For some unexplained reason," says Dr. G. Smith. But Mohesh Chunder Ghose had been studying at Bishop's College, and the teachers there had no doubt spared no pains to make an Anglican of him. Moreover a certain "Major P." (Major Phipps?), who belonged to the Old Church, had taken him by the hand to lead him to Christ. *S.P.G. Report* for 1832, quoted in the *Missionary Register* for 1833, p. 535; also *C.M.S. Report*, 1833, p. 42.

in C.M.S. schools. Mohesh died in 1837, and his funeral sermon was preached at the Old Church *by Banerjea*, who had just been ordained by Bishop Wilson. Banerjea was afterwards the leading Native clergyman of the Church of England in Bengal, and was attached to the S.P.G. Then on December 14th, 1832, came a third, Gopinath Nundi, well-known in after years for his courageous confession of Christ when captured by the bloodthirsty Mohammedans in the great Mutiny. Once more, on April 21st, 1833, Anundo Chund Mozundar was baptized in the Scotch church.* Four "precious atoms" indeed!—and the precursors of many more in after years.

Ram Mohun Roy's death in England.

Ram Mohun Roy was not present at these baptisms. He had come to England, and in England he died, in 1833. If in earlier years he had known Duff, he might have been the Luther of India. If in this country he had met Dr. Chalmers, to whom Duff gave him a letter of introduction, he might (humanly speaking) have been brought to Christ. But he fell, as so many like him have done, into the hands of the Unitarians; and he died at Bristol, declaring that he was neither Christian, nor Mohammedan, nor Hindu.

Duff's work was by no means confined to his school. He was only four years in India before his health utterly gave way, and he was sent home, and remained at home six years. But during his short period at Calcutta he was a power. In particular he inspired Charles Trevelyan, who in his turn inspired T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, who together inspired Lord William Bentinck,

English language in India.

with the doctrine that the English language must be fostered in India. Not, indeed, to the disparagement or discouragement of the vernaculars. No one knew better, or urged more strongly, than Duff that no acquired language can ever replace the mother tongue. But the Renaissance for India was beginning; and what Greek had been to the European Renaissance of the fifteenth century, *some* great language with a literature behind it must be to India. Should it be Sanscrit, or Persian, or Arabic? Yes, said the Orientalists. No, said Duff, and Trevelyan, and Macaulay; let these be studied by linguistic and philological experts, for their archæological value; but *English* must be the medium for lifting the young Indian mind on to the higher plane of Western culture, Western science, and Christian truth. Fierce and prolonged was the struggle between the Oriento-maniacs and the Anglo-maniacs, as the two parties were colloquially termed; but at last Macaulay's logic and eloquence, backed by the palpable

* Gopinath Nundi became a missionary of the American Presbyterian Church. Anundo joined the London Missionary Society. Duff himself explained that the reason why not one of the four remained in the service of the Church of Scotland was that the Church had then no opening for them. "If the ground of their reasons had not been removed," he wrote, "I should not have expected any talented young man who learned with zeal to be employed in arousing his countrymen, to remain with us—indeed I could not ask any."—*Life of Duff*, vol. i. p. 281.

evidence furnished by Duff's college, won the day; and Lord W. Bentinck closed his seven years' beneficent rule by issuing the order-in-council which decided the supremacy of the English language in the Higher Education of India.

Both evil and good results have followed. But the evil was sure to come, whatever the decision was; while the good belongs to the actual decision itself. To name only one thing. Every cold season now, Christian lecturers and evangelists visit India, and find ready for them eager audiences composed of the cream of India's young manhood, and understanding English. To what do they owe that? They owe it to the foresight and determination of Bentinck, and Macaulay, and Trevelyan, and Duff.

These developments and reforms were greatly assisted by three organs in the press. First, Duff started the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. Secondly, an old quarterly called the *Friend of India*, conducted by the Serampore Baptist missionaries, was in 1835 changed into a weekly paper by Mr. J. C. Marshman, son of Carey's colleague. Under his editorship, 1835 to 1852, it became the leading journal of India; and it continued so under the editorship of Mr. Meredith Townsend (afterwards co-editor with Mr. R. H. Hutton of the *Spectator*), 1852 to 1859, and under that of Dr. George Smith (whose admirable works are frequently referred to in this History), 1859 to 1875—forty years altogether of unique influence always exercised in a high Christian spirit.* Then thirdly, in 1844 Captain (afterwards Sir John) Kaye, the historian of the Mutiny, and of Christianity in India, in conjunction with Marshman and Duff, and assisted by Henry Lawrence and other brilliant officers and civilians, established the *Calcutta Review*. To the weekly *Friend of India* and the quarterly *Calcutta Review* the cause of progress and enlightenment in India owes much.

The press in Calcutta.

As to Duff's policy of Missionary Education, it has been the pattern for the extensive work carried on in many parts of India by the Church Missionary Society; and therefore it is that the foregoing short account of its inception and initiation has found place in the pages of our History.

Duff found that in Scotland he had a work to do almost as difficult, and at first as discouraging, as his work in India—to arouse his Church to care for the evangelization of India. The story of his campaign, first in the General Assembly,† and then in the Presbyteries, as told by Dr. G. Smith, is thrilling indeed; and among the immediate results were the inspiring with missionary zeal of McCheyne and Somerville, and the actual sending

Duff at home.

* It is interesting also that these three successive editors, Marshman, Townsend, and Smith, were likewise successive Calcutta correspondents of the *Times*.

† His wonderful speech in the Assembly is described by Dr. G. Smith, who gives some passages. The whole of it is printed in Pratt's *Missionary Register*, and occupies no less than twenty-four columns in the June, July, August, and September numbers of 1835.

forth of John Anderson, Thomas Smith, and J. Murray Mitchell. Indeed, Scotland has given a far larger proportion of its ablest and most cultured men to Foreign Missions than any other country in the world. But this does not belong to our History. What does belong to it is the magnificent speech which the young Highlander—he was still only just thirty—delivered at the Church Missionary Society's Anniversary in 1836,* to which allusion has before been made. No extracts can give any adequate idea of it, and yet a few passages must be given.

Duff's C.M.S. Speech.

"It is a most affecting thought," he began, "that in searching for the most marvellous proofs of the fall of man, we are not required to go to the outskirts of the terrestrial globe—to the shores of New Zealand, or to the coast of Labrador; but to visit the vast region of the East, which enwraps in its bosom the cradle of the human race, of Religion, of Science, of the Patriarchal Faith, yea, of Christianity itself." This he powerfully illustrated from the actual facts of Indian ignorance, superstition, and degradation. What, then, was to be done? "If it be asked what is the prime instrument in regenerating a fallen world, most assuredly the answer must be—the ever-blessed Gospel, preached, proclaimed, or taught by the living voice, and brought home to the heart by the Spirit of God." "In this," he observed, "all Christians are agreed"; but referring to the Report just read, which spoke of Schools and Institutions, he added, "Here pious minds sometimes demur." Then follows a splendid defence of Education as a missionary agency. How could Englishmen, he asked, be expected to go to India in sufficient numbers to reach 130 millions (as was then estimated) of Heathen? "Not unless, by some catastrophe, we should be compelled to flee in thousands from the land of our nativity, as the Jews fled from the city of their fathers, or as seamen flee from a sinking ship." No, we must look to native evangelists; and to educate, lead to Christ, and train for His service, those who might be so used was the grand purpose of Missionary Education. "If any object to this, let them begin at home: let them go forth with the destroying scythe, to prove the sincerity of their principles, and mow down their Christian Schools of every grade: let them toss their Cambridge and Oxford into the depths of the sea; and then, smiling at the wreck and havoc they have made, declare that we act inconsistently in desiring to erect Christian Schools on the Ganges, as well as on the banks of the Cam or of the Thames." Then Duff enlarged on the intellect of India, which *would* be satisfied somehow. "We have not to do there with vacuity of mind . . . rather, with plenitude of mind." Therefore, let us see to it that, *with* the knowledge India *would* acquire, we gave her also the knowledge of Jesus Christ and Him crucified; otherwise we should be training up "versatile and learned

The object of Educational Missions.

* *Missionary Register*, 1836, p. 398.

infidels." Finally he appealed to his audience. First as to their duty and responsibility, and then—

Duff's fervent appeal.

"But why should I appeal to duty and responsibility alone?—why not to the exquisite enjoyment experienced by those who know and value the privilege of being fellow-workers with the great God Himself in advancing that cause for which the world was originally created, and for the development of which the world is still preserved in being? I appeal to all present who bask in the sunshine of the Redeemer's love, whether the enjoyment felt in promoting the great cause for which He died in agonies on the Cross, that He might see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied, is not ineffable? Oh! it is an enjoyment which those who have once tasted it would not exchange for all the treasures of India. It is a joy rich as heaven and lasting as eternity; and, in the midst of troublous times, when the shaking of the nations and the heaving of the earthquake which may ere long rend asunder the mightiest empires have commenced, what stay—what refuge—what hiding-place can be found like the faith and hope which are the stronghold of the righteous? Those whose faith has been firmly placed on the rock of Jehovah's promises can look across the surges of the tempestuous ocean to the bright regions which lie beyond. . . . Think of the earth, as it now is, rent with noise and burdened with a curse; think of the same earth, in the radiance of Prophetic Vision, converted into gladsome bowers, the abodes of peace and righteousness. View the Empire of Satan, at present fast bound by the iron chains of malignant demons, who feed and riot on the groans and perdition of immortal spirits. Behold, from the same dark empire, in the realization of prophetic imagery, the new-clad myriads rise, chaunting the chorus of a Renovated Creation—the jubilee of a once groaning but now Emancipated Universe! . . . Oh, that the blessed era were greatly hastened! Oh, that the vision of that mitred minstrel who erewhile sung so sweetly of 'Greenland's icy mountains' and 'India's coral strand' were speedily realized! —that glorious vision wherein, rapt into future times, he beheld the stream of Gospel blessings rise, and gush, and roll onward till it embraced every land and circled every shore—

> Till like a sea of glory,
> It spread from pole to pole.

"Even so, Lord Jesus! come quickly: even so. Amen."

Duff sat down amid a tempest of applause. Bishop J. B. Sumner, of Chester (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), was the next speaker. He rose, and paused long, waiting, as he explained, "till the gush of emotion excited had been somewhat assuaged." William Carus, then one of the deans of Trinity College, Cambridge (who, a few months later, succeeded Simeon at Trinity Church), was present, and asked Duff to visit the University; and there the young Scotch missionary met Charles Simeon, to whose blessed influence over his father's pastor his own career in India was indirectly due. It was Simeon's last link with the India for which he had done so much. Six months later, he entered into rest.

Duff and Simeon.

CHAPTER XXII.

India: Progress of the Missions.

The North India Stations—The Awakening in Krishnagar—Bishop Wilson's Hopes—Why they failed—Bishop Wilson declines Ladies—Mrs. Wilson—Bombay—Tinnevelly—Rhenius: his Work, his Disconnexion — Progress under Pettitt — The Tinnevelly Christians: Nominal Christianity; Persecution; C.M.S. and S.P.G. —Travancore: Syrians and Heathen; Changed Policy of the Mission—Madras Seminary—Telugu Mission: Fox and Noble—John Tucker — Controversies with the Corresponding Committees — Bishop's College—Other Missions in India—Ceylon.

"*As he sowed, some fell by the way side . . . and some fell on stony ground . . . and some fell among thorns . . . and other fell on good ground, and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased.*"—St. Mark iv. 4–8.

Part IV. 1824–41. Chap. 22.

IN our Fifteenth Chapter, we took a brief survey of the Society's Missions in India when Bishop Heber landed in 1823. Let us now view them again as they appeared in 1841.* In the whole twenty-seven years, 1814 to 1840 inclusive, the Society had commissioned exactly one hundred missionaries to work in India. The word "sent out" would not be strictly accurate, as a few of them were engaged in India. Fifty-six were labouring at the close of 1840; and among these were such men as Sandys, Long, Weitbrecht, W. Smith, Leupolt, Pfander, Pettitt, Thomas, Bailey, Baker, and Peet.

One hundred C.M.S. missionaries in India.

In North India there was distinct development, although three important cities in which some preliminary work had been done by catechists and schoolmasters had not, owing to the paucity of labourers, been regularly worked, and had dropped out of the list. These were Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow. The two former have since become great centres of S.P.G. work; and Lucknow, after the Mutiny, was permanently occupied by the C.M.S. At this time Oudh was still an independent kingdom; but it had been arranged for Abdul Masih to be stationed at the capital, and after his ordination by Bishop Heber in December, 1825, he proceeded accordingly to Lucknow. But he fell ill soon after his arrival, and died on March 4th, 1827, after fourteen years' faithful service as really the first C.M.S. missionary in India; "during

Death of Abdul Masih.

* But this chapter, at one or two points, looks, for convenience, a little beyond that date.

the whole of which time," wrote the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, "he had uniformly adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour, and greatly endeared himself to many Christians of all classes in society." Nine years elapsed before the second Native clergyman in North India was ordained—Anund Masih, to whom reference was made in Chapter XV.

Basle men at Agra.

Agra, the scene of most of Abdul Masih's labours, was now occupied by four able Europeans, Germans from the Basle Seminary, who had been expelled from the north-west of Persia when the Russians conquered and annexed the province they worked in. These were Schneider, Hoernle, Pfander, and Kreiss. They had made their way to India without returning to Europe; and there they were gladly taken up by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee. They remained in Lutheran orders for several years, but ultimately they (except Kreiss, who died) were ordained as clergymen of the Church of England by Bishop Cotton. In addition to the ordinary work of preaching and teaching, the missionaries had now the care of a large number of famine orphans, thrown upon the Society's hands after the terrible famine of 1837-8. For their accommodation, the Government gave the Society the tomb of Miriam Zamani (the traditional Christian wife of Akbar, the great Mogul Emperor), just opposite Akbar's own grand mausoleum at Secundra, six miles from Agra. The Secundra Orphanage was for some years worked by Hoernle, who also started a mission press, at which the orphan boys, as they grew up, were employed.

Famine orphans at Secundra.

Benares: Smith and Leupolt.

At Benares, W. Smith and Leupolt were now in the full tide of the noble work which for forty years they carried on together, to the admiration of all India. Smith was the itinerant preacher, in the city and in the surrounding country; Leupolt was the organizer of schools, orphanages (here also famine orphans were taken charge of in 1837-8), industrial institutions. Under his superintendence, the little Christian village at Sigra, a suburb of Benares, became a happy centre of industry and good influence.

Gorakhpur.

A new Mission had been begun in 1824 at Gorakhpur, north-west of Benares, near the frontier of Nepaul. It was, like so many other Indian mission stations, started at the request, and at the expense, of a Government official. This was Mr. R. M. Bird, the Commissioner of the district, who, like other civil officers, did all in his power for Missions while in India, and joined the C.M.S. Committee when he returned to England.* His sister, a weak and delicate lady, laboured most devotedly by his side at Gorakhpur, teaching the women and girls, and translating books and tracts into Urdu, until her death from cholera in 1834. Lord William Bentinck took much interest in this Mission, and allotted to it a large tract of waste land, to be cultivated by the Native

* See p. 297.

Christians, and upon it was built a village for them to dwell in, named Basharatpur, "Town of the Gospel." The first missionary, the Rev. M. Wilkinson, baptized some notable converts, particularly Sheikh Raji-ud-din, a Mohammedan of rank and influence, who, after some years of consistent Christian life, died at a great age, faithful to the last, though plied with every inducement to recant on his death-bed.

Sandys and Weitbrecht.

Coming to Lower Bengal, Timothy Sandys had begun the work which, for as lengthened a period as Smith and Leupolt at Benares, and with equal faithfulness, he carried on in the capital of India. Weitbrecht, another of the Basle men, but trained further at Islington and in English orders, was at Burdwan with his devoted wife, whose work in England in her old age is one of the happiest memories of the present generation. But at the period of this survey, the eyes of the Society rested with the most eager interest and hope upon the Krishnagar or Nuddea (more properly Nadiya) district, fifty miles north of Calcutta. In this district there had just been reaped the largest harvest of converts yet gathered by any Mission in North India.

In 1831, one of the German missionaries at Burdwan, W. J. Deerr, visited Nadiya, a sacred Hindu town, and the birthplace of Chaitanya, the Vaishnava reformer of the sixteenth century. Thence he crossed the river Hooghly and made his way to another

Krishnagar.

important town, Krishnagar, where he started a vernacular school. This district is in the heart of Lower Bengal, and densely populated, there being at the last census more than two millions of souls on an area of 3400 square miles, or 590 to the square mile. Deerr came across some members of a curious community called Karta Bhoja, "Worshippers of the Creator," one of the numerous sects, half Hindu and half Moslem, which have from time to time risen up to protest against the tyranny of the Brahmans. In 1833, thirty persons of this sect were baptized in the face of much

Movement towards Christianity.

persecution. The movement went on without much being said or thought about it, until 1838, when suddenly the leading men in ten villages, including with their families some five hundred souls, simultaneously embraced the Gospel of Christ, and, after some months' instruction, were baptized. The Society at home heard of it early in 1839; but the Committee only put a brief and cautious paragraph in the Annual Report of that year. "A spirit of inquiry," they said, "to a considerable extent, has lately been manifested in the Krishnagar branch of the Burdwan Mission, of a very hopeful kind. Time is necessary to ascertain its real character. Experience has taught the Committee to rejoice with trembling, even under the most satisfactory indications of a work of grace among a Heathen population." That was all: not another word. But shortly afterwards such accounts came from the Bishop of Calcutta himself as filled all hearts with joyful anticipation.

"One day," writes Daniel Wilson's biographer, "at the close

of the year 1838, a Native of courteous address and fine bearing stood at the gate of the Bishop's palace, the bearer of a message to him from the missionaries of Krishnagar, similar to the one spoken to St. Paul in vision, when the man of Macedonia stood by his bedside, saying, Come over and help us. It conveyed tidings of a great and general movement amongst the Natives towards Christianity. Advice and help were urgently required." The Bishop immediately commissioned Archdeacon Dealtry (who had been appointed to that office when Corrie became Bishop of Madras), and Krishna Mohun Banerjea, who was now a clergyman, to go to Krishnagar and report. They found that the whole population of fifty-five villages were desirous to become Christians. The movement had been fostered by the unselfish kindness of Mr. Deerr and his helpers when an inundation destroyed the crops, and to that extent temporal motives were at work; but the *gurus* of the sect themselves, who would be losers and not gainers by becoming Christians, were also among the seeking crowd. Dealtry and Banerjea, together with Sandys and Weitbrecht, who had also hastened to the district, baptized at once five hundred persons who had already been some time under instruction; and they returned to Calcutta to beg the Corresponding Committee to send more missionaries and native catechists as quickly as possible. Eight months later the Bishop went himself, accompanied by his chaplain, J. H. Pratt (son of Josiah Pratt); when five hundred more candidates were baptized, and two hundred of the former company confirmed. And at a second visit in March, 1840, nearly similar numbers were received. The adherents numbered more than three thousand.

Appeal to Bishop Wilson.

The Bishop addressed two long and deeply-interesting letters to Lord Chichester, as President of the Society, detailing the whole story, and his own visit.* It is not surprising that he viewed the movement as the prelude to a much wider one, that would sweep hundreds of thousands of souls into the Christian Church. Not that he forgot the dangers of such a sudden accession of poor half-taught cultivators. "The human heart," he wrote, "is deceitful: appearances are treacherous. Popular movements of any kind draw in numbers of ill-informed followers. The habits of heathen society soon steal behind the Christian inquirer, and entangle him in the old ambush. The result of real conversions, even at home, and in our largest parishes, and where crowded congregations in every quarter promise abundant fruit, is comparatively small—what then are the allowances to be made for our feeble flocks in Pagan India?" Still he did believe that the Holy Spirit was at work; and who should set limits to the power of His grace?

Bishop Wilson's Report.

It is well known that the early promise of Krishnagar was not fulfilled; and blame has often been cast upon the Bishop and the missionaries for being deceived. But one cannot read the letters

Krishnagar a disappointment: why?

* Printed in the Appendix to the Report of 1840.

written at the time without noting the care and caution exercised, the steadfastness of the converts under persecution, and many other signs of the reality of the movement. If Krishnagar was afterwards a disappointment—as no doubt it was—are not other reasons sufficient? Certainly there are three which amply account for it. First, there were not Native teachers enough, and of good quality enough, to go in at once and lead the converted on to a higher life. Secondly, it is clear that the German missionaries who took charge, such as Deerr, Kruckeberg, Lincké, Blumhardt, &c.—there were ten in the district in 1848—had not learned the importance of teaching the Native Church its first lessons in self-support, self-administration, and self-extension. Not that they are to be blamed for this more than others. Scarcely any one at that time, at home or abroad, had really grasped that great principle; and in North India especially, the patriarchal system that suited the genius of the German brethren, making each missionary the *ma-bap* (mother and father) of his people, was, kind as it seemed, a real obstacle to the healthy independent growth of the Church. Then thirdly, when the Society at home, inspired by Henry Venn, adopted the principle just indicated as its definite policy, the missionaries were withdrawn (or vacancies not supplied) too quickly; and the community that might in its infancy have been taught to walk alone, when suddenly let go, stumbled and fell. How it was again revived in later years, we shall see hereafter.

Bishop Wilson wants no ladies.

One request of Bishop Wilson for Krishnagar reminds us of another department of work in Bengal. He appealed for money to provide instruction for the women and girls. But in what way? By taking them into the households of married missionaries, and clothing and feeding them. Unmarried lady missionaries were not then thought of. If they had been, and if they could have been provided, would not such an agency have been at least one preservative against declension in the Krishnagar Mission? But the Bishop was not prepared to welcome them at all. Archdeacon C. J. Hoare wrote to him from England about a lady who wished to go out and work in India. "No," replied the Bishop, "the lady will not do. I object on principle, and from the experience of Indian life, to single ladies coming out to so distant a place, with the almost certainty of their marrying within a month of their arrival. . . . I imagine the beloved Persis, and Tryphena and Tryphosa, remained in their own neighbourhoods and families." * It will be observed that he conveniently omits Phebe of Cenchrea, who certainly did not stay at home! And ladies did go to India even then in the name of the Lord, and did not get married at once, but did work at some few of the stations of both C.M.S. and other societies. These were sent out by a new organization founded in 1834, which afterwards adopted the title of the Society

But ladies come.

* *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 255.

for Promoting Female Education in the East—a society whose agents have done noble work, not only in India, but in other parts of Asia, both West and East.

There was a Ladies' Female Education Society in Calcutta before this, founded in 1824, which, with the assistance of a grant of £500 from the C.M.S., had established a Central School, with Mrs. Wilson (whose original girls' school when she was Miss Cooke was noticed in our Fifteenth Chapter) at the head of it. The coming of these ladies released Mrs. Wilson from the Central School, and enabled her to carry out the desire of her heart by establishing a Female Orphanage. This she did at Agarpara, a few miles north of Calcutta, in 1836. Bishop Wilson, after a visit to her there, wrote of her, "This holy woman, and 'widow indeed,' with a spiritual, sweet, consistent carriage—Henry Martyn or Corrie in female form—meek, silent, patient, laborious, with extraordinary tact for her peculiar work—is carrying on the greatest undertaking yet witnessed in India." * For six years she continued this blessed work, and then, to the Bishop's dismay and grief, she joined the Plymouth Brethren, who had spread even then to India. She had ceased to be connected with the Church Missionary Society at her husband's death in 1828; and the Bishop thought that her isolated position had made her more open to the persuasions of the new-comers. She had indeed asked the Society to occupy Agarpara as one of its stations, but the paucity of men had led the Committee to decline; which, the Bishop thought, "was the spark that fired the train." † When, however, she openly seceded from the Church, he persuaded her to transfer her institution to the Society, and then Agarpara became a C.M.S. station.

Mrs. Wilson at Agarpara.

Crossing India now to the Bombay Presidency, we find some little development, though the work was still on a very small scale. The two principal missionaries during our present period were C. P. Farrar and J. Dixon, both Islington men. The former was the father of F. W. Farrar, afterwards successively Head Master of Marlborough, Canon and Archdeacon of Westminster, and Dean of Canterbury. A new station had been opened in 1832 at Nasik, an important centre of Brahman influence in the Deccan—indeed the Benares of Western India. At Bombay a High School, established in memory of a godly and much-respected civilian, Robert Money, had been put under the Society's charge, and a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, G. M. Valentine, had come out as its Principal. A remarkable Parsee convert had been one fruit of his work in the School, who afterwards became well known as the Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji. The Society viewed with great satisfaction the appointment of Archdeacon Carr, who had long been its correspondent, to be the first Bishop of Bombay.

Bombay: Farrar and Valentine.

Money School.

* *Missionary Register*, 1838, p. 328.
† *Life of Bishop Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 187.

South India: Progress in Tinnevelly under Rhenius.

Passing on to the South, we find that the ten or twelve years prior to the establishment of the Bishopric of Madras had been a time of great progress in Tinnevelly. Rhenius proved himself a most devoted and untiring missionary. Year by year the converts increased in number. The people who put themselves under instruction, indeed, were far more numerous than could be satisfactorily dealt with. Many native catechists and teachers were employed, but they needed more instruction themselves, and more supervision than the three or four missionaries in the province could give them. It was really a good thing that the opposition of the Heathen was incessant, and that persecution ever and anon broke out. This constantly *weeded* the catechumens, those who were double-minded or half-hearted falling back; while the baptized Christians, not having been admitted to the Church till they had been well tested, for the most part remained steadfast. The pastoral care of the Christians, scattered as they were over the country in more than two hundred towns and villages, was a heavy burden upon the missionaries; but in 1830 an important step was taken towards the development of an indigenous Native Church by the ordination of the first Tamil pastor, John Devasagayam. He had been for some years working as an Inspecting Schoolmaster in the Tranquebar district, of which the Society was for a time in charge when the old Danish Mission had come to an end; and he had emphatically earned for himself a good degree. It was Bishop Turner, the fourth Bishop of Calcutta, who, while on a visit to Madras, had the privilege of ordaining the first Native clergyman in South India. Devasagayam, on his ordination, was sent to Tinnevelly, and there, in 1836, he received priest's orders from Bishop Corrie, in Trinity Church, Palamcotta. This church, opened in June, 1826, was the first of several substantial churches, with towers or spires, that were erected in the province, and became the outward and visible sign of the growth of Christianity. Many services of deep interest have been held in it in the past seventy years.

Rev. John Devasagayam.

Rhenius founded several useful societies among the people, especially the *Dharma Sangam*, or Native Philanthropic Society, for the purchase of land and houses as a refuge for converts who were persecuted. Several Christian villages sprang up under the auspices of this organization, such as Kadachapuram (Grace Village), Suvisêshapuram (Gospel Village), and Nallur (Good Town). There were also a Poor Fund, a Widows' Fund, and Tract and Bible Societies. In connexion with these last, Rhenius did excellent translational and literary work.

Christian villages.

The old S.P.C.K. Missions.

For some years Rhenius also supervised the congregations belonging to the old S.P.C.K. Mission, comprising in 1825 about 4200 Christians. Catechists for the old stations and districts were supplied from Tanjore and Trichinopoly; but the four or five Germans at those centres were unable to spare from among them-

selves a resident missionary for Tinnevelly.* Bishop Heber, indeed, much desired men in English orders for Tanjore and the other older Missions. In writing to the S.P.C.K., while acknowledging the excellence of old Kohlhoff and others, he "trusted he was not illiberal in expressing a hope that the Venerable Society would supply him with episcopally-ordained clergymen." Unfortunately none were forthcoming; nor was the S.P.G., when it took over the administration from the S.P.C.K. in 1825, able to do more. Not till 1829 could one be spared, Mr. Rosen, and he only stayed a few months. At last, in 1836, the S.P.G. was able to send an English missionary to its districts in Tinnevelly, the Rev. C. Hubbard, together with two Germans in English orders. In 1841 came the Rev. R. Caldwell, who became one of the greatest of Indian missionaries, and *facile princeps* among Tamil scholars. Shortly after this, the districts of the two societies were carefully marked out. Hitherto the congregations had been much intermingled; and though this had promoted the unity of the Church, and facilitated the supervision of all alike in Rhenius's time, it was found awkward for native catechists and schoolmasters in the same group of villages to be in different connexions and looking to different superiors. The able compiler of the S.P.G. *Digest* thus sums up what was done:—"Notwithstanding the difficulties involved—such as exchanges of schools, congregations, and lay agents—a division of districts was effected in a spirit worthy of the common cause. As a consequence of the long neglect of the earlier Mission, the C.M.S. has obtained possession of the greater part of the Tinnevelly field, the S.P.G. operations being confined to the south-east of the province." †

S.P.G. men: Caldwell.

In reading the old C.M.S. Reports at the time of the rapid development of the Native Christian community under Rhenius, one is struck with the extreme caution and candour of the Committee. They knew well how ready friends at home are to overestimate the results of Missions, and to imagine or expect perfection in native converts; and year after year, while thankfully reporting the progress effected through the goodness and grace of God, they carefully set forth the unfavourable side, willing rather to run the risk of putting weapons into the hands of unfair and unscrupulous opponents—which proved to be the case—than to ignore or conceal facts. Nay, they not only did this; they also, even when a specially favourable report came, warned their

Views of C.M.S. Committ on Tinnevelly progress.

* "Nominally the Mission was under the Tanjore Missionaries, but the only real superintendence continued to be supplied by the agents of the C.M.S., until 1829."—S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 533. The Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the S.P.C.K., at the time of the transfer to S.P.G., referred to the Tinnevelly Christians as having been "kindly taken up by . . . the Church Missionary Society: thus verifying, in a double sense, the text that saith, 'One soweth, and another reapeth.' . . . [The] Committee rejoice, for their object is equally attained, that these Gentiles were not suffered to remain in their idolatry, and that this timely assistance has been afforded by a Sister Society." C.M.S. Report, 1828, p. 96.

† *Digest*, p. 534.

readers against thinking too much of it. In one Report they call on them "to rejoice in what the Lord had done, but with trembling, and to be much in prayer for the as yet tender flocks, that He who breaks not the bruised reed may strengthen, invigorate, and confirm the work of grace." Again, "The Committee would guard their statements from being misunderstood, as if they represented a state of advancement and purity beyond the truth of the case. The description of a change from a state of Heathenism to that of a profession of Christianity is always liable to such misrepresentations by superficial readers." And again, after quoting some instances of exemplary Christian conduct in the Christians, they said, "Let us not be mistaken, as if these instances were produced as samples of the general state of Native Christians. Far otherwise: they are given only as special instances of divine grace, which prove that the work is of the Lord"—for, it is justly added, "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles."

Difficulties with Rhenius.

In 1835, a grave crisis occurred in Tinnevelly. Three or four years before this, Rhenius had proposed that he and the other Germans with him should ordain, according to the Lutheran use, four or five of the chief native catechists, and so make them "country priests" like those of the S.P.C.K. Missions. To this proposal the Society replied that the S.P.C.K. "country priests" had received Lutheran orders at a time when there was no English bishop in India; but that as English orders were now procurable, a Church society could seek no others for *new candidates*, though it gladly still recognized Rhenius's own orders just as the S.P.G. still recognized Kohlhoff's. Much correspondence ensued; and at length Rhenius proposed either (1) to give up his Tinnevelly post and engage only in translational work, or (2) to join another society, or (3) to go to England and confer with the Committee. The Committee chose the third alternative; but in the meanwhile Mr. Anthony Groves, the well-known and very devoted Plymouth Brother,* had visited Tinnevelly, and so influenced Rhenius that, instead of going to England, he issued two pamphlets attacking the Prayer Book and the whole constitution of the Church of England, and sent them all over South India. The Committee received these pamphlets with "deepest regret and distress," and while expressing their "strong sense of his piety, zeal, devotedness, and unwearied labours," yet felt "bound in consistency, as attached members of the Church of England," to dissolve connexion with him.

Rhenius disconnected.

Rhenius thereupon, in what appeared an excellent spirit, handed over the charge of the Mission to the Rev. George Pettitt, who was sent to Tinnevelly by the Madras Committee, and left the district; but the difficulties of the position were much enhanced when the other three German brethren, Schaffter, Müller, and Lechler, elected to secede with him, leaving only John Devasa-

* See p. 283.

gayam clinging to the Church. Naturally there was much grief, and not a little discontent, among the Native Christians; but all seemed to be quieting down, when a leading catechist, who was discovered misappropriating funds, resigned, and at once set to work to incite the people to invite Mr. Rhenius and the others back. Unhappily, encouraged by English friends at Madras who resented the Society's assertion of its Church principles, they thereupon returned; and a great and distressing schism ensued. For three years the Committee had to report on Tinnevelly in terms expressive of deep sorrow; for although three-fourths of the converts remained staunch, the district was now filled with "envying and strife, confusion and every evil work." Good Bishop Corrie went down to Tinnevelly, and endeavoured to make peace, but in vain; but his venerable and gracious presence made a deep impression on the faithful members of the Church, and it was on this occasion that Devasagayam received priest's orders —the first of many ordinations held at Palamcotta.

Distressing schism.

In June, 1838, however, Rhenius died, lamented, for his zeal and earnestness, by all parties. The Society at once approached his widow with a proposal that she and her family should be treated just as they would have been if Rhenius had been on the roll at the time of his death. The good feeling thus established was signally manifested when the eldest son offered his services as a missionary, came to England to be trained at Islington, and ultimately returned to Tinnevelly as a member of the C.M.S. staff. In the meanwhile, the singular patience and gentleness which Mr. Pettitt, in his most trying position, had manifested during the three years, had borne speedy fruit. Most of the Christians who had seceded came back to the Church, with Schaffter at their head. Lechler joined the London Missionary Society in another part of South India. Müller proposed to the L.M.S. to receive him and his people where they were, thus extending into Tinnevelly the Tamil Mission which that society was carrying on upon the other side of the mountains, in South Travancore. The L.M.S. Directors, however, loyal, as ever, to the great principle of missionary comity, declined to encroach upon Church of England ground; and ultimately Müller also, and the remaining seceders, rejoined the Church and the C.M.S.

Death of Rhenius.

The schism healed.

All traces of the schism now quickly disappeared. "Then," wrote Pettitt afterwards, quoting the Acts, "had the Churches rest, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." In 1841, Bishop Spencer visited the Mission, and held the first confirmations in the district, laying hands on some fifteen hundred candidates. Just before the crisis of 1835, the Christian adherents, including catechumens, numbered about 10,000; now, after six years, they numbered 20,000; after another six years, 30,000. This total, however, continually varied as persecution raged and waned; but the number of baptized Christians rose steadily year by year, from

Further progress.

about 3000 in 1835 to 6000 in 1841, and 12,000 in 1848. Among these there were a good many Vellalars and Maravars, highly respectable and respected divisions of the Sudra caste, and therefore ranking high in South India. At the other end of the scale there were Pariah congregations. But the bulk of the converts were from the Shanar caste, the palmyra-climbers of the province,* though many, having become fairly well off, merely owned the trees and let them out to their poorer brethren. The Shanars, and some other Tamil castes, are counted as Hindus, but really are devil-worshippers; and the religion of Tinnevelly is a combination of that strange and degrading system—if system it can be called—and the more elaborate Brahmanism.

Pettitt on the accessions in Tinnevelly.

In his interesting book on the Tinnevelly Mission,† Mr. Pettitt discusses the causes of the considerable accessions to Christianity in this province. He explains that temporal motives had large influence, but believes that these motives were used by the Holy Spirit to lead on to true conversion of heart in many cases. "The temporal condition of our people," he writes, "has been decidedly improved, not by any pecuniary advantages received from the Mission, *for there are none*, but from Christian knowledge, education, deliverance from spiritual slavery, protection, and the cultivation of industrious habits." "Is it to be wondered at," he asks, "if many have derived, from seeing the advantage of connecting themselves with a united and protected body like this, an impulse which their faint perceptions of the truth of Christianity would not of itself produce?" He further explains that by "protection" he means that the lower castes, by joining a homogeneous body, found remedy and redress against the oppression of the higher castes, particularly through having men of some education and influence, as the leading catechists were, both to advise them and to get justice done them. Mr. Pettitt also discusses the question, How far is a missionary justified in receiving persons whom he knows or suspects of being impelled by earthly motives to come to him? Certainly, he replies, he must never set before the Heathen "the promise of the life that now is" as a reason why he should come to Christ. But, he asks, if a Heathen, merely seeing that Christianity is a system of justice and peace, comes forward as an inquirer, is he to repel or refuse him? Is he not rather to receive him and instruct him and show him what Christianity really is? "It may be," he goes on, "that in the Gospel net we enclose both good and bad; but the sorting process soon takes place. Some we decline at once; some are cast off for open sin,

How treat inquirers with mixed motives?

* The sandy plains of Tinnevelly are covered with groves of palmyra-trees. This tree constitutes an important part of the wealth of the district. A Shanar climbs thirty or forty trees, to a height of sixty or eighty feet, twice daily, to collect the sap, which in one form is the staple food of the people, and in another gives consistency to their mortar for building. The trunk, the roots, the fibres, the leaves, of the tree are also used in various ways.

† *The Tinnevelly Mission of the C.M.S.* London, 1851.

or irregular attendance, or relapses into heathenish acts; others are driven away by persecution, or withdraw from dislike of the restraints and requirements of the Gospel. Many, however, are retained, and after long and careful instruction are admitted by baptism into the Christian Church"—and he felicitously illustrates the difference between these "adherents" in the early stages of their adhesion and the surrounding Heathen by comparing the former to land just enclosed for cultivation, and the latter to the waste land outside the fence. His further account in detail of the methods adopted for the "shepherding" and "feeding"—to vary the figure—of these still "silly sheep" is exceedingly instructive, but must not detain us here.

It will be borne in mind that these remarks do not apply to the converts from the higher castes. Their case was quite different. "What things were gain" to them they had to "count loss for Christ." Of the reality of their convictions there could rarely be any doubt. Even the Shanars and the lower castes or out-castes frequently had to endure grievous persecution. Crops were often destroyed, cattle maimed or stolen, houses and huts pulled down, and the people themselves maltreated. False accusations, backed by the unblushing perjury which is so common in India, were brought against them in the local courts; and the local judges, who were generally Brahmans, were naturally prejudiced against them, and not always fair in their decisions. The Heathen of the lower castes, indeed, often suffered oppression of this kind; but the Christians, in addition, were persecuted for their neglect of idol feasts and other observances. An association was formed called the *Vibuthi Sangam*, or Sacred Ashes Society, in allusion to the heathen marks on the forehead or breast or arms, denoting allegiance to this or that god, that are made with the ashes of sandal-wood; and this society took the leading part in the persecution. One great cause of offence was a family, or small village community, transforming its little devil-temple into a Christian prayer-house—which was frequently done; and the transformed huts were often pulled down in the night. In one gross case Mr. Pettitt appealed to the magistrate at Palamcotta. The members of the Sacred Ashes Society who had destroyed the prayer-house pleaded that no such building had existed. The magistrate despatched a police-officer to see the place and report. The Heathen party instantly sent men to run all night and reach the village first, thirty miles off.* When the policeman arrived, he was shown a bit of ploughed land, with grain growing. A Christian bystander, however, quietly said, "Please, sir, take up one or two of those blades of grain by the roots." The ground had been ploughed, watered, and planted in the night, to remove all traces of the ruined building!

Persecution of the converts.

* There is nothing unusual in this. When I was at Palamcotta, a man brought me a letter from Mengnanapuram, twenty-eight miles off, which he had run all night to deliver early in the morning.—E. S.

Anglo-Indians attack the Mission.

S.P.G. and C.M.S. men combine to defend it.

One case, in 1846 (to go forward a little), was carried to the highest court in Madras. As usual, the anti-missionary party among the Europeans warmly espoused the cause of the persecutors; but a prolonged trial resulted in the disgrace and dismissal of the local Brahman judges. On this occasion the C.M.S. and S.P.G. missionaries united in a public statement, to counteract the evil influence of certain Madras newspapers. This masterly document, while refuting the calumnies that had been circulated, fearlessly avowed that such calumnies were only what was to be expected whenever success was vouchsafed to missionary labours. The very same critics who at one time would taunt the missionaries with their lack of results would, when results were achieved, complain of the inevitable consequent disturbance of the Heathen mind. "Our success, however," said the missionaries, with admirable point, "is no fault: we labour with the view of succeeding, and if our labours are tolerated at all, any measure of success which may follow must be tolerated also. Hindus must either be prevented from embracing Christianity, or protected in the profession of it."

The signatures to this document show what excellent men there now were in the Tinnevelly Mission. Among the four S.P.G. names are Caldwell and Pope.* Among the fourteen C.M.S. names are Pettitt, Sargent, Thomas, J. T. Tucker, and the brothers Hobbs. The great work of Tucker, Thomas, and Sargent will come before us hereafter. The leading missionaries of the two societies had at this time been unitedly engaged in making a new translation of the Prayer-book. "We had met," writes Pettitt, "nearly every month for three years: our intercourse had been delightful and profitable; and we were all sorry that the meetings were now to cease. Indeed the regret was so sincere and deep that we resolved in future to meet together twice a year for mutual intercourse, and for the consideration of matters connected with our common work; and the Rev. R. Caldwell was appointed secretary to see this arrangement carried into effect."†

Another labourer at this time was Miss C. C. Giberne, who had been in Ceylon as an agent of the Female Education Society, but in 1844 joined the C.M.S., and began, on a small scale, the work among girls and women which in later years has been carried on with such signal blessing by the ladies of the Church of England Zenana Society. Yet another labourer was a highly-esteemed blind Eurasian, W. Cruickshanks, who in 1844 opened what became the Palamcotta High School. Under him this School produced important converts, some of whom became catechists and clergymen; notably W. T. Satthianadhan, afterwards the honoured pastor of Zion Church, Madras.

Mr. Cruickshanks.

Turning now westward, and crossing the Ghauts, we come to

* Dr. G. U. Pope, now so well known at Oxford, is the sole survivor.

† Pettitt's *Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 453.

Travancore. The commencement of this Mission was related in the chapter on Efforts to Revive the Eastern Churches, as for its first twenty years it was entirely confined to an honest and patient endeavour to arouse the ancient Syrian Church to self-reformation. So particular were the missionaries not to endanger the success of the mission they were sent to fulfil by any action that could offend the most sensitive ecclesiastical propriety, that, when Archdeacon Robinson of Madras paid them a visit in 1830, they asked his counsel about building a small chapel for occasional worship according to Anglican use. For fourteen years they had worked on without that privilege, worshipping always in the Syrian churches, despite much in the ritual which they disliked. Now, although they had not in any systematic way preached to the Heathen, they had a few converts from Heathenism, and they shrank from subjecting these to the teaching of the ignorant and immoral Syrian priests. The now hostile Metran, not satisfied with the better-educated priests produced by the Syrian College which the missionaries were still carrying on, had ordained lads of twelve and fourteen years of age to the diaconate, literally tempted thereto by the ordination fee! and he encouraged both priests and deacons in every superstitious usage, especially in masses for the dead, these being a profitable source of revenue. Altogether, there was less evidence than ever of any desire after reform and the purifying of the Church.

Travancore: the Syrian Church.

In 1835, Bishop Wilson visited Travancore, and, showing the utmost sympathy for so venerable a Christian community, bent all his energies to influence the Metran and other leaders. He preached by invitation in the principal Syrian church at Cottayam before an immense concourse of people. The service was very elaborate: forty priests and deacons appeared in gorgeous vestments, and mass was performed, with a loud shout of joy at the end from the whole congregation, and the "kiss of peace" given all round from one to the other. The Bishop preached on the Epistle to the Church of Philadelphia—a generously-chosen subject, when undoubtedly Ephesus or Thyatira or Sardis would have better represented the actual state of the Church of Malabar. "I dwelt," he wrote, "on what the Spirit saith, first as respects Christ who addressed the Church; secondly, as respects the Church itself; thirdly, as to the promise made to it. On this last head I showed them that Christ had set before them an open door by the protection and friendship of the English Church and people. In application I called on each one to keep Christ's word, and not deny His name, as to their own salvation."* "We wish," he exclaimed at another gathering, "that the Syrian Church should shine as a bright star in the right hand of the Son of Man, holding forth the faithful word."

Bishop Wilson in Travancore.

But it was all in vain. In the very next year, the Metran

* *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 63.

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convened a Synod, at which it was finally resolved to reject all the suggestions that had been made by the English Bishop, and to put an end then and there to the influence of the English missionaries in the Syrian Church. They accordingly retired from the College, and with sorrow abandoned an enterprise that had been faithfully and with much self-denial prosecuted for twenty years.*

Final failure of the old C.M.S. plan.

New plans for the Heathen.

Now, however, they were free; and they turned to the Heathen. Bailey continued his translations into Malayalam of the Bible and Prayer-book, and his printing-press, and built a large church for Anglican services at Cottayam—"Mr. Bailey's fine, noble church, the glory of Travancore," wrote Bishop Wilson on his second visit; Baker extended his evangelistic work and vernacular village schools in the central districts of Cottayam and Pallam; two younger men of great energy and zeal, Joseph Peet and John Hawksworth, set to work among the Heathen in the Mavelicara and Tiruwella districts to the south; and another new man, H. Harley, opened a Mission at Trichur, in the kingdom of Cochin, to the north. Of all these labours we shall hear more hereafter. But meanwhile, there were devout and pure-minded men among the Syrians who deplored the loss of so much holy influence in their Church, and these could not be entirely deserted. A large part of the old endowment of the Syrian College raised by Colonel Munro being awarded to the Mission by a Court of Arbitration, a new College on the lines of the English Church was established at Cottayam, and the money so awarded applied to the education of Syrian youths. The Rev. John Chapman, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was sent out to take charge of this new College, and for ten years did splendid service. The result of its influence, and of the pattern of simpler worship and purer life now set by the liberated Mission, was a spontaneous reforming movement within the Syrian Church, which in later years has proved a great blessing. And although, from the first, proselytism was anxiously avoided, many Syrians, sick of the corruptions and superstitions of their own community, openly joined the Church of England; and several of those trained in the College were ultimately ordained to be pastors of the Native Church gradually being built up out of Heathendom.

Good effects on the Syrian Church.

Madras Theological Seminary.

The need of a superior Theological Seminary for South India was more and more felt as the Tinnevelly Mission developed and the Travancore Mission got on to right lines; a Seminary to which the best educated of the catechists could be sent, for an English divinity course. In 1838, the Rev. Joseph Henry Gray,

* Canon Bateman says, "One unworthy clergyman, a chaplain of the Company, had travelled through the country telling the people that crucifixes and prayers for the dead, and all the superstitions learned from Rome, were right, and that the missionaries and doctrines were all wrong" (*Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 223). "This," adds Whitehouse, "was not the only case of the kind" (*Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, p. 264).

who had gained high honours at Trinity College, Dublin, was sent to Madras to set such an institution on foot. It proved conspicuously successful. From among its *alumni* came some of the ablest of the Tamil and Malayalam clergy and chief catechists, such as George Matthan, of Travancore, who translated Butler's *Analogy* into Malayalam; Devasagayam Gnanamuttu and Jesudasen John, of Tinnevelly, the latter the son of old John Devasagayam; Joseph Cornelius and W. T. Satthianadhan, also of Tinnevelly. Subsequently this Seminary was superseded for some years by other institutions established in the two Missions themselves; and only in comparatively recent years has it been revived in the present Madras Divinity School.

The Telugu people:

Towards the end of our period, the Society's attention was drawn to an important section of the population of South India which, so far, had been almost entirely neglected. North of Madras for five hundred miles, and inland for some three hundred miles, stretches a country inhabited by the Telugu-speaking people,* numbering at that time about ten millions.† In 1805, in the very midst of the "Dark Period," the London Missionary Society had sent two men to Vizagapatam, on the coast; but they and their successors were mainly occupied in translational and educational work, and for thirty years had no convert. In 1822, the same Society had occupied Cuddapah, an important inland centre; but there also progress had been slow. In 1835, the American Baptist Missionary Union had begun a Mission in the Nellore district, which in later years has become famous. All the other Missions in the Telugu country, S.P.G., American and German Lutherans, and Canadian Baptists, are of later date.

Appeal to C.M.S. on their behalf.

At various posts in this territory there were, at the period of Queen Victoria's Accession, a little band of godly Christian Englishmen, in the civil and military services, who encouraged one another in good works. One of them, Mr. John Goldingham,‡ in 1838, addressed an earnest letter to the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee at Madras, pleading the cause of the Telugu people, and proposing to raise a fund to start a Church of England Mission among them. This letter may be regarded as an answer to the prayers of good Bishop Corrie, who on his death-bed had laid their case before the Lord. The Madras Committee sent on the letter to England; but the Home Committee, though receiving it with "the most lively interest," were constrained, in view of the financial position of the Society, to decline, "though with most painful feelings," undertaking the Mission. Thereupon some leading members who were connected with South India, among them Mr. Hough, the former Tinnevelly chaplain, Mr. Joseph Fenn, the former Travancore missionary, and Mr. J. M. Strachan,

* "Telugu" is not a geographical but a linguistic name.

† Now twenty millions.

‡ Twenty years later, Mr. Goldingham became a member of the Committee at home.

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the former Madras treasurer, resolved to try and organize a Mission themselves. The appeal, by a remarkable providence, came, nearly at the same time, into the hands of two young men, graduates respectively of Oxford and Cambridge, who were unknown to each other; and they responded to it, separately and independently, with offers of personal service. Meanwhile a fund of nearly £2000 had been raised by Mr. Goldingham and his friends in India; and both men and means being thus provided, the C.M.S. Committee at length consented to undertake the enterprise.

Fox and Noble.

The two men proved to be two of the most devoted and honoured missionaries whose names appear on the Society's roll, Robert Turlington Noble and Henry Watson Fox. Of them personally a future chapter will speak. On March 8th, 1841, they sailed for India, and proceeded to Masulipatam, the chief seaport on the coast of the Telugu country. It was arranged from the first that they should work in quite different ways. Noble was to open a school on the lines of Duff's College at Calcutta. Fox was to be an itinerant preaching missionary. With unusual self-denial, however, they attempted nothing for two years, but gave themselves wholly to the study of the language. At length, on November 21st, 1843, the English School, as it was called, was opened by Noble, in conjunction with an excellent Eurasian, J. E. Sharkey, to whom the Telugu language was a vernacular. The fruits it gathered will appear hereafter. Fox's health was weak from the first, and his period of actual evangelistic work was brief; but he laid the foundations of the Village Mission which in later years has gathered thousands of souls into the Visible Church.

Their diverse work.

John Tucker at Madras.

Another very important development in South India during the period now under review was the appointment of the Rev. John Tucker as Secretary at Madras. Mr. Tucker was a Fellow of Corpus, Oxford, as far back as 1817, and was an intimate friend of Thomas Arnold and John Keble.* He had had some years' ministerial experience, and he proved one of the best gifts God ever gave to the Church Missionary Society. He went out in 1833, and for fourteen years (with a short interval) he exercised an influence which has never been surpassed. It was he who advised Pettitt throughout the difficulties with Rhenius; it was he who directed the changes in the Travancore Mission; it was he who organized the new Telugu Mission. But above all, his influence over the English in Madras was unique. The cream of the civil and military circles crowded to his ministry, and he was privileged to lead to Christ, and to confirm in the faith, high officers in both services who became from that time the staunch friends of the missionary cause; several of whom in after years were prominent men in the C.M.S. Committee-room in Salisbury Square—as Tucker himself did for a short time as Secretary. It is a grievous pity that there

* "The single-hearted and devout." Lock's *Life of Keble*, p. 5.

is no memoir of John Tucker; but he left such a positive prohibition against it that not even an obituary notice could appear in the Society's publications. His sister became well known by her excellent little books on Missions, *The Rainbow in the North* (Rupert's Land), *The Southern Cross and Southern Crown* (New Zealand), and *Sunrise Within the Tropics* (Abeokuta); and in her memory was founded the Sarah Tucker Institution at Palamcotta.

Mr. Tucker's name introduces an important subject, the administration of the Society's Missions in India. In a previous chapter* reference was made to the Corresponding Committees formed in earlier days by Evangelical chaplains like David Brown at Calcutta and Marmaduke Thompson at Madras. In 1824, when Bishop Heber had given in his adhesion to Missions, the Calcutta Committee enlarged itself into an Auxiliary Society, with a constitution broad and inclusive like the Parent Society, giving all subscribing clergymen seats and votes on the Committee; and Madras soon after followed this example. At first this development seems to have been approved at home; but in time it led to serious difficulties, as the Auxiliary Committees, strong in numbers and influence, were not willing to be directed by the Parent Committee, and increased the expenditure more rapidly than the funds could bear, not being fettered by the strict system of estimates that has prevailed in later years; and this was one principal cause of the financial perplexities that presently arose, as we shall see in a future chapter. Moreover, some of the chaplains proved to be not at one with the Society in matters of missionary policy, and friction within the Auxiliary Committees themselves resulted from this. It does not appear that party differences in Church matters actually arose; but Edward Bickersteth foresaw that these would certainly ensue some day, and he urged the Committee to dissolve the Auxiliary Committees, and form new ones, consisting only of members appointed by name from home.† The inclusive principle has always worked well in the Parent Society; but obviously the circumstances of Indian Presidency cities are different. Men would assert their right to seats there who would not dream of asserting it here; and nothing but hopeless disunion could be the result. Naturally, however, the Home Committee shrank from so extreme a step as disbanding existing bodies, which had raised considerable local funds, and were doing good work. The solution of the difficulty, in the case of Madras, came through the dissensions within the local body itself. Some of the best members at last resigned, including the lay secretary and treasurer; and then the Home Committee intervened, dissolved the Auxiliary Committee, and appointed a

The Corresponding Committees.

Madras Committee dissolved.

* See p. 191.

† See Letter from Henry Venn, in Appendix to second edition of the *Memoir of E. Bickersteth*, p. 452. Venn mentions the fact as an illustration of Bickersteth's influence for good in guarding the Society's spiritual principles.

new Corresponding Committee, chiefly from the old members, but limited in number, and at the same time resolved to seek for a clergyman of some standing to go out as Secretary. Hence the appointment of John Tucker, who quickly allayed feeling and won general respect. While holding firmly the Society's Evangelical principles, he understood Church principles also better than some of his lay colleagues; and but for him, the difficulty with Rhenius might not have been so resolutely dealt with.

A controversy subsequently ensued with Bishop Daniel Wilson, on the question of the degree of episcopal control involved in the acceptance of an episcopal licence; and even Corrie was obliged to express his disapproval of the line taken by the Madras Committee. But the Madras Committee were backed by Dandeson Coates at home,* and so the Parent Society became involved in a prolonged and serious controversy with the Bishop who had once been its most prominent clerical member, to the distress of both sides. This controversy will be further noticed hereafter.† Its effect on the Corresponding Committees is all that is before us now. The Calcutta Committee, which comprised Government officials of high-standing like Sir Charles Trevelyan, resented the concordat ultimately come to between the Parent Society and the Bishop, and in their action to some extent disregarded it; and good Archdeacon Dealtry, one of the Society's best friends, ceased to attend.‡ Presently they took a step, touching the location of a young missionary, contrary to the wishes of both the Home Committee and the Bishop; and on the Home Committee expressing disapproval of this, they resigned in a body. Thus at Calcutta also came the opportunity for substituting a nominated Corresponding Committee for an open one; and this was immediately done.

Calcutta Committee dissolved.

It is noteworthy that the two open Committees, at Madras and Calcutta, were ultimately dissolved from exactly opposite causes. The Madras Committee were not sufficiently to be relied upon in regard to Evangelical principles. The Calcutta Committee were too reluctant to recognize the due authority of Bishops. The two cases well illustrate the difficulty the Home Committee have continually had to encounter in steering, carefully and prayerfully, between Scylla and Charybdis. It would be too much to affirm that they have invariably steered precisely the right course; but the blame again and again cast upon them by both sides in turn is a strong evidence of their honest desire not to be guided by human applause one way or the other.

For opposite causes.

There was another matter in which Bishop Wilson was displeased with the Calcutta Committee. They obtained the consent of the Home Committee to the starting of a "Head Seminary,"

* See p. 252. † See p. 423.

‡ *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 19. Canon Bateman is not quite impartial in his narrative, though generally accurate as to facts. The account in the text corrects him in one or two statements, where the Society's Minutes are decisive the other way.

similar to the one begun about the same time at Madras. But at Calcutta there was Bishop's College, and Wilson regarded the new Seminary as virtually projected in opposition to it. The Home Committee disclaimed any such intention, and passed a resolution recognizing the Bishop's right to make what conditions he pleased for ordination, so that if he liked to require that any candidate for orders from the Seminary should first go for further study to Bishop's College, they could make no objection. But it must be confessed that the Society had scarcely ever reaped any benefit from its large grants to Bishop's College; and there had been so much murmuring in England about those grants that the Committee had been obliged, years before, in 1827, to issue a circular to their friends descanting on the great advantages to be gained from them—which advantages certainly never were gained. The College, in fact, was not a success, as the S.P.G. Reports repeatedly and frankly acknowledged; and the great work of the Principal, Dr. Mill, was his *Christa Sangita*, a Life of Christ in Sanscrit verse, which made a profound sensation among the Brahmans. But Bishop Wilson gave, one might almost say, his whole heart to the College. From the first, he did all that man could do to support and foster it. When sickness drove professors away, he would go and take the lectures himself; and he constantly wrote to the S.P.G. Committee to cheer them up about it. "Your noble College is scarcely ever out of my thoughts," he said in 1834. ". . . The College is my delight. I am labouring with my whole soul to secure its efficiency."* One thing is certain: the C.M.S. Head Seminary never did it any damage. The Seminary was not successful enough itself, and did not last very long. Like many other plans, it fell through for lack of an adequate succession of qualified men.

Calcutta Seminary and Bishop's College.

During the period we have been reviewing there was considerable extension of missionary work by various societies in many parts. The S.P.G. Missions, both in Bengal and in the South, shared in the progress already indicated in connexion with Krishnagar and Tinnevelly; and in Tanjore its congregations were increased by large accessions from Romanism.† At Cawnpore, that excellent missionary, the Rev. W. H. Perkins, was at work; and at Bombay the Rev. G. Candy, "our beloved brother," wrote J. S. S. Robertson, the C.M.S. missionary. A devoted young man, the Rev. T. Christian, had in 1824-7, from Bhagalpur, tried to reach the Rajmahal Pahari tribes; but his early death caused the further prosecution of this effort to wait for the C.M.S. Mission begun in 1850. The London Missionary Society was progressing both in Bengal and in its extensive Southern Missions.

Other Societies working in India.

* S.P.G. Report, 1835.

† Caldwell wrote in 1850, "In intellect, habits, and morals, the Romanist Hindus do not differ from the Heathen in the smallest degree."—S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 541.

In Mr. Lacroix it had probably the best Bengali preacher ever known. The Baptists had extended in the North, and the Wesleyans in the South. The Scotch Educational Missions passed to the Free Church at the great Disruption of 1843. Duff, Mackay, and Ewart at Calcutta, John Wilson and Murray Mitchell at Bombay, and John Anderson at Madras, were all doing splendid work with their colleges; and Stephen Hislop had begun at Nagpore. The Basle Mission in Malabar, and the American Board Mission in Madura, began in 1834; the American Baptist Telugu Mission in 1835; the American Presbyterian Mission in the North-West Provinces in 1836; the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujerat, the Leipsic Lutheran Mission in the Carnatic, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist in Bengal, the Berlin Mission in Behar, all in 1841; Gossner's Mission to the Kols in 1846.

Deaths of Carey and Marshman.

In the midst of this extension, death closed the careers of two of the earliest and greatest of English missionaries. In 1834 died William Carey, and in 1837 his colleague, Joshua Marshman, in each case after about forty years' untiring labours, Carey having never once come home. They had "expected great things from God"; they had "attempted great things for God"; and "great things" indeed had God done for them, and, by them, for the extension of His Kingdom.

Ceylon.

Ceylon in this period.

A brief note must be appended to this chapter, to prevent Ceylon dropping out of our History at this time. There is, however, little to say about the Mission in that Island until a later period. Patient and prayerful work was going on at Cotta, Baddegama, and Kandy, among the Singhalese, and in the Jaffna Peninsula among the Tamils; but the stagnation produced by the old Dutch policy still continued, although small congregations were gathered here and there. Some excellent missionaries were at work, in addition to the four who in 1818 had started the Mission; among them T. Browning, 1820-38; J. Bailey, 1821-44; W. Adley, 1824-46; G. C. Trimnell, 1826-47; H. Powell (afterwards Vicar of Bolton and Hon. Canon of Manchester), 1838-45; J. F. Haslam (St. John's, Camb., 9th Wrangler), 1838-50; J. T. Johnston, 1841-49; C. Greenwood, 1841-50 (when he was drowned while bathing); while within this period W. Oakley and R. Pargiter began their lengthened careers, the former in 1835, and the latter in 1845. The first two Native clergymen, Cornelius Jayesinha and Abraham Gunasekara, were ordained by Bishop Spencer of Madras in 1839, and the third, Cornelius Sennanayaka, by the first Bishop of Colombo, Dr. Chapman, in 1846.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Negro on Both Sides the Atlantic: Enslaved and Free.

Continued Slave Trade in West Africa—Sickness and Sorrow at Sierra Leone—Progress notwithstanding—Can the Negro be elevated?—West Indian Slavery — Wilberforce and Buxton — The Parliamentary Campaign—West Indian Cruelties—Persecution of Missionaries—Trial and Death of John Smith—Oppression of Negroes in Jamaica—An Amendment at Exeter Hall—Abolition of Slavery—Death of Wilberforce—"Compensation for the Slave"—The Day of Emancipation—Missionary Plans for the Negroes—C.M.S. in Jamaica—British Guiana Mission—Zachary Macaulay.

"*Their cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage.*"—Exod. ii. 23.

"*Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?*"—Isa. lviii. 6.

I. *In West Africa.*

THE Act of 1807 neither stopped the West African Slave Trade nor interfered with West Indian Slavery. What it did do was to render illegal the kidnapping of Africans by British subjects. The Treaties of Paris and Vienna affected to a large extent the traffic by ships under foreign flags, permitting British cruisers to board vessels suspected to be slavers and to liberate any slaves found in them. It was this provision that added so largely to the population of Sierra Leone, the cargoes of slaves rescued from the slave-ships being taken thither, as before described.* But French, Portuguese, and American vessels continued to engage actively in the trade, notwithstanding the profession by France and the United States of sincerity in attempts to stop it. The most horrible details are given year by year in the *Missionary Register*, taken from official reports published in the *London Gazette*. For instance, a French captain, having completed his cargo of slaves in the Old Calabar River, thrust them all into a space between decks only three feet high, and closed the hatches over them. In the morning fifty were dead. The fifty bodies were thrown into the sea, and the captain went ashore to buy fresh slaves to take their places. Other facts given are too sickening for these pages. And the number of slaves kidnapped was larger than ever. It

African Slave Trade still going on in foreign vessels.

* See p. 94.

was estimated that within a few months, in 1821, nearly forty thousand slaves were shipped from the Guinea Coast and what we now know as the Niger Delta. Both in that year and the following, at Wilberforce's instance, the House of Commons unanimously adopted addresses to the Crown, calling attention to these facts and encouraging the Government to exert more pressure on foreign powers. But little came of this; and twelve years later, in 1835, we find the House again addressing the Crown and urging that the Powers be called upon to unite in a Solemn League, declaring the Slave Trade to be Piracy, and taking effectual measures to put an end to it. But all was in vain. The year 1838 was worse than any previous one. *More than one thousand a day* were either killed on the African coast, or died on the voyage, or were landed in Cuba, Brazil, &c. No wonder the hateful traffic flourished, seeing that the American or Portuguese trader realized a profit of from 150 to 200 per cent.!

Victims 1000 a day.

The end was not yet. How it was at last brought about will appear in a future chapter. But all through these years many thousands—though only a small minority of the whole—of rescued slaves were landed at Sierra Leone, and taxed to the utmost the material and moral resources of the Colony.

Sierra Leone still the white man's grave.

Meanwhile, the "White Man's Grave" continued to sustain its reputation. We have already seen how both Government officials and missionaries were cut off in 1823.* In 1824 occurred one death which was a blow of especial severity to the Colony. Sir Charles McCarthy, the Governor, fell in one of England's "little wars" with the Ashantis. The British force was overwhelmed by a multitude of Ashanti warriors, and most of the officers were killed. Sir Charles, severely wounded, was taken prisoner, and immediately put to death. Africa never had a truer friend. At the C.M.S. Anniversary in 1821 he said a few words in response to a vote of thanks for his great services to the Colony:—"Witnessing as I have done the sufferings of our black brethren, and feeling that it is the influence of Christianity alone which can make them civilized and happy in this life and happy in a future, with these impressions I shall shortly return to Africa; and my own exertions in this cause, such as they are, shall be continued to the end of my days." And continued they were, faithfully, to the last.

The next four years saw the deaths of *four more Governors*, one after the other, viz., Sir C. Turner, Sir H. Campbell, Colonel Denham, and Colonel Lumley.† The missionaries, too, continued to fall victims to the climate. As late as 1840, there was a distressing diminution of their number. In January of that year,

* See p. 169.

† One of the Governors, a little later, was Major Octavius Temple, father of the present Archbishop of Canterbury. He also died at Sierra Leone in 1834.

thirteen (new or returning, and including wives) arrived at Sierra Leone. Before the end of July five of them were dead, and five others had had to return to England. But before that, a much worse thing had occurred. In 1831, one of the most trusted of the missionaries, Mr. Davey, fell into grievous sin, and brought the whole Mission into disgrace; and, shortly after, there was a rumour that he had been upset on a river and been drowned. It is piteous indeed to read the letters of the brethren at this time. They were crushed down with sorrow; and as to the Committee, their hearts for the moment sank within them. Then, in 1834, died the last representative of the early bands, J. G. Wilhelm, after twenty-three years' unbroken and faithful service. "Our very dear, aged, and venerable brother," Mr. Kissling called him in sending the news home. "Aged and venerable" in relation to the average span of life in West Africa—for he was only fifty-six!

A worse trial than death.

The result of all this was that the Mission could with the greatest difficulty be carried on at all. Stations were without heads, schools without teachers, congregations without pastors; and the attenuated band were worn out in the vain attempt to cope with the ever-growing work involved in the continual arrival of fresh cargoes of rescued slaves, ignorant, diseased, vicious, intractable. The marvel is that any good work was effected at all. But the Lord did not forsake His servants. He did not suffer those whom He had taken to Himself to die in vain. Notwithstanding all difficulties and disappointments, the fruits of the working of His Spirit were always manifest. Externally the Colony improved year by year; and though there was sad declension at the very stations, like Regent, which had received so much blessing, yet true conversions were reported, and there were many tokens of the steadfastness and consistency of not a few among the people. When Henry Townsend, afterwards the honoured missionary of Abeokuta, went out to Sierra Leone as a schoolmaster in 1836, he wrote home enthusiastically of what he saw. Of his first Sunday there he said:—

Yet the work progresses.

"No one arriving here would imagine that he was in a country the inhabitants of which have been accustomed to idolatry, but in one where God had for many years been worshipped in spirit and in truth. The solemn stillness of the day of rest reigns around, and numbers of both sexes are seen hastening to school to learn to read and be instructed in the Christian religion. . . . If every Lord's Day is kept as this one has been, it shows that they honour God's laws, and that the Spirit of God has been with them, teaching and guiding them in the path of holiness to the praise and glory of that grace which has called them from darkness to light."*

And in 1842 a Parliamentary Committee on the Colony gave this testimony:—

"To the invaluable exertions of the Church Missionary Society more especially—as also, to a considerable extent, as in all our African settle-

* Seddall's *Sierra Leone*, p. 130.

ments, to the Wesleyan body—the highest praise is due. By their efforts, nearly one-fifth of the whole population—a most unusually high proportion in any country—are at school; and the effects are visible in considerable intellectual, moral, and religious improvement,—very considerable under the peculiar circumstances of such a colony."

The Church Missionary Society had then some 7000 regular attendants at public worship, of whom some 1500 were communicants. There were fifty schools, with 6000 pupils. The Wesleyans at the same time had over 2000 members, and 1500 children at school.

Much earlier than this, the great European mortality had led the Society to a deep conviction of the paramount importance of Native Agency. The old "Christian Institution" had not been a success. The infant Church had not then the material for a Seminary of picked African youths. But in 1827, it was superseded by a new institution established at Fourah Bay, under the direction of the Rev. C. L. F. Hänsel, a very superior Basle man ordained by the Bishop of London. He started with six youths, and the first name on the roll is the now honoured name of Samuel Crowther. The Fourah Bay College, during its seventy years' career, has from time to time suffered from the same cause as all the other departments of the Mission, the sickness and removal of labourers, and sometimes it has had to be closed for a time. The Principal who succeeded in carrying it on longest without interruption was the Rev. Edward Jones, an American coloured clergyman of the Episcopal Church of the United States, who took up the work in 1840, and continued in it more than twenty years. And notwithstanding all disadvantages, the Fourah Bay College has, as a matter of fact, educated the majority of the African clergy and many of the leading laity. In 1845 was founded the Grammar School, which, also under native management, flourished and became self-supporting; and a Girls' Boarding School, afterwards known as the Annie Walsh Female Institution, which likewise has proved a blessing to the Colony.

Fourah Bay College.

Much discussion went on in England from time to time as to whether the African was capable of being raised perceptibly in the scale of civilization, and in particular, whether he had intellect for anything more than very elementary study. In 1829, two speakers, at different Anniversaries, used the same striking illustration in dealing with this question. Fowell Buxton said:—

Briton slaves and African slaves.

"Some centuries ago, a Roman army, headed by their most illustrious Chief, visited a small and obscure Island in the Atlantic, where the people were brutal and degraded, and as wild as the wildest beasts; and the then Chief Orator of Rome, writing to a friend, said, 'There is a slave-ship arrived in the Tiber, laden with slaves from that Island; but,' he adds, 'don't take one of them: they are not fit for use.' That Island was Britain! Yet Rome has found her rival in Britain; and the descendants of those British slaves have far surpassed the sons of the haughty Romans! May not a day arrive when the sons of these

degraded Africans will run with you the race of religion and morality, and even outstrip you in the glorious career?"

And Dr. Philip, the distinguished L.M.S. missionary in South Africa, referred to the very same incident:—

"Calling one morning on a gentleman, I was shown into his library; and while waiting I took up Cicero's letters to Atticus. One of the first letters which caught my eye was that in which the Roman orator complains of the stupidity of slaves from Britain. Just as I had finished reading it, my eye lighted on two busts placed on opposite sides of the room—Cicero and Isaac Newton,—and I could not help exclaiming, 'See what *that* Man says of *that* Man's country!'"*

Fourah Bay College, and the other two institutions, did much to prove that the African was quite able, if only he had equal advantages, to hold his own with the European.

Sierra Leone C.M. Association.

In 1840, the Sierra Leone congregations combined to form a Church Missionary Association, which remitted to the Society £87 in its first year, and in the next thirty years raised no less than £7000 for the Evangelization of the World. But the further development of the African Church does not belong to our present period, and here we must stop for the present.

II. *In the West Indies.*

Slavery in the British West Indies.

While the French, Spanish, and American slave-traders were still robbing West Africa of thousands of its people, the minds of Christian men in England were turning to the condition of the Negro slaves themselves in the British West Indian Colonies. The Act of 1807 had abolished the British Slave Trade, but it had left intact the property of the West Indian planters in human flesh and blood. There were nearly a million of black slaves in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Trinidad, and the other islands belonging to England, and in Demerara and other parts of what is now British Guiana on the mainland of South America. Every slave's child born into the world in this population was apparently doomed to interminable bondage; but that word "interminable" the Committee of the Church Missionary Society began, in 1823, to hope might not prove to be applicable. "They begin," said the Report of that year, "to conceive hopes that ere long they shall be enabled to blot it out of the Society's records. They cannot but anticipate with joy that day when the Illustrious Advocate of the African Race shall witness that great consummation of his toil—a public and solemn provision for securing the personal freedom of every African throughout the British dominions. The Committee invoke most earnestly the aid of the whole body of members in this cause."

The "Illustrious Advocate of the African Race" had, two years before this, in May, 1821, finding age and infirmity increasing, appealed to a young member of Parliament to take up the mantle

* *Missionary Register*, 1829, p. 252.

Part IV. 1824–41. Chap. 23.

Wilberforce commits the cause to Buxton.

that was falling from him—token though it be, like Elijah's, of isolation and reproach,—and to follow up the Abolition of the Slave Trade by the Abolition of Slavery. That young member was Thomas Fowell Buxton. Brought into the full light of the Gospel, and to unreserved dedication of himself to the service of Christ, under the ministry of Josiah Pratt at Wheler Chapel, Spitalfields, Buxton had determined to use his parliamentary position for the benefit of the oppressed at home and abroad. His marriage to Hannah Gurney, of Earlham, a younger sister of Elizabeth Fry, had brought him into the philanthropic circle that was then doing so much to reform the Criminal Law and improve the prisons; and it was a speech of his on Sir James Mackintosh's Bill for reducing the number of crimes punishable with death (then 230!) that led William Wilberforce to make him his "parliamentary executor." * "After what passed last night," wrote Wilberforce the very next day, "I can no longer forbear resorting to you, and conjuring you to take most seriously into consideration the expediency of your devoting yourself to this blessed service. . . . Let me then entreat you to form an alliance with me, that may be truly termed *holy;* † and if I should be unable to commence the war, and still more if, when commenced, I should (as certainly would, I fear, be the case) be unable to finish it, I entreat that you would continue to prosecute it." ‡

Only two months before this, Buxton's sister-in-law, Priscilla Gurney, had died in his house. On her death-bed she called him to her side and seemed anxious to say something very important; but she was too far gone, and could only press his hand and murmur, "The poor dear slaves!" § Wilberforce's letter, therefore, came to one whose heart was already touched; and after long and prayerful consideration the "holy alliance" was entered into.

Anti-Slavery Society formed.

At the beginning of 1823 was formed the Anti-Slavery Society, with the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King, as President. Wilberforce immediately issued a powerful pamphlet, *An Appeal on behalf of the Slaves*, which made a profound impression. The Quakers sent a petition to Parliament, the first on the subject; and Wilberforce, in presenting it on March 19th, reminded the House that it was they who had, nearly thirty years before, given him for presentation the first petition against the Slave Trade. "Was it," asked Canning, then Secretary for the Colonies, "his intention to found any motion on the petition?" "No," replied Wilberforce, "but such is the intention of an esteemed friend of mine"; whereupon Buxton, thus publicly introduced as his successor, immediately rose and gave notice

* *Life of Sir T. F. Buxton*, p. 141.

† In obvious allusion to the "Holy Alliance" then lately formed by certain of the European Powers.

‡ *Life of Sir T. F. Buxton*, p. 103.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

of a resolution, which, on May 15th, he formally moved, as follows :—

Buxton's first motion in Parliament.

"That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian Religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British Colonies with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

His plan was that existing slaves should be better treated, be allowed lawful marriage, have provision for their religious instruction, and opportunity to work out their own freedom; and that all Negro children born after a certain day should be free—so that in the course of a few years slavery would automatically die out. No proposal could be more moderate, or less revolutionary. The Abolitionists were accused of seeking to demoralize the slaves by freeing them before they were fit for freedom; but, as Buxton's biographer well observes, "it was they who desired to approach emancipation by a long series of preparatory measures; it was the planters who rejected these preparatory measures, because they would lead to ultimate emancipation." But Buxton, in his speech, was plain enough as to where the *right* lay to the bodies of the slaves :—

Who owns the slave's body?

"We have been so long accustomed to talk of '*my* slave' and '*your* slave,' and what he will fetch if sold, that we are apt to imagine that he is really yours or mine, and that we have a substantial right to keep or sell him. Here is a certain valuable commodity, and here are two claimants for it, a white man and a black man. What is the commodity in dispute? The body of the black man. The white man says, 'It is mine,' and the black man, 'It is mine.' The claim of the black man is just this—Nature gave it him. Will any man say he came by his body in an illegal manner? Does any man suspect he played the knave and purloined his own limbs? I do not mean to say the Negro is not a thief; but he must be a very subtle thief indeed if he stole even so much as his own little finger!

"Then we come to the claim of the white man. You received him from your father—very good. Your father bought him from a neighbouring planter—very good. That planter bought him of a trader in the Kingston slave-market, and that trader bought him of a man-merchant in Africa. So far you are quite safe. But how did the man-merchant acquire him? *He stole him!*"*

This inimitable argument—as witty as it was seriously irrefragable—seems very much a matter of course now. It is hard to remember that within the lifetime of Queen Victoria there were thousands of honourable and respectable Englishmen who declined to admit it, and who were strongly represented in Parliament. The Government, however, proposed to meet Buxton half-way, by recommending, though not requiring, the local Legislatures to adopt measures for ameliorating the condition of the slaves with a view to their future emancipation; and Canning's amendment to this effect being carried, circulars in accordance with it were

* *Life of Buxton*, p. 114.

addressed to the different Colonies. But the uselessness of such gentle measures was soon apparent. The news of the debate created the most violent excitement in the West Indies. The indignation of the planters knew no bounds, and the rancour of their language is almost inconceivable. It was openly proposed to throw off the yoke of England and join the United States. On the other hand, the slaves imagined that the great King of England had ordered their freedom, and that the masters were keeping them out of their rights. Some refused to work, and resisted compulsion, and some committed outrages on the white men. The disturbances were soon suppressed, however, by the troops; and "pressed down and running over was the measure of vengeance dealt to the unhappy Negroes." Moreover the news of the outbreaks produced a revulsion of feeling in England; the half-hearted supporters of abolition at once fell away; and Buxton was for a time the most unpopular man in Parliament, and perhaps in England.

Indignation of the West Indian planters.

Persecution of missionaries.

The wrath of the West Indians did not stop at their slaves. For many years, faithful and patient missionary work had been done among them by missionaries of the London, Baptist, Wesleyan, and Moravian Societies;* and upon them fell the bitterest reproaches. Because, so far as their little influence went, they had pleaded the cause of their suffering flocks, they were supposed to have fostered the insurrection. In reality it was their teachings that prevented the revolt being more general, and led even the slaves who did rise to spare the lives of the whites that fell into their hands. "We will take no life," said some of the rioters, "for our pastors have taught us not to take that which we cannot give." But in Demerara, in 1823, a missionary of the L.M.S., John Smith, was tried by court-martial for aiding and abetting them, and although the evidence showed that he had been especially earnest in counselling patient obedience, and had offended the slave-leaders by so doing, he was sentenced to death. The Home Government remitted the capital sentence, but meanwhile Smith had died of the hardships he endured in prison. Great excitement ensued in England. Again public opinion veered round. Henry (afterwards Lord) Brougham brought forward (June 2nd, 1824) a vote of censure in the House of Commons, showing that the trial had been illegally conducted, and that the officers who conducted it were influenced by the violent anti-negro prejudices of the slave-proprietors. Dr. Lushington and Sir James Mackintosh supported him in speeches that moved the whole country. Canning, naturally unwilling to condemn British officers, but seeing direct opposition hopeless, moved the "previous question," which enabled the Government to evade the motion. But in his speech, he pointedly separated

Case of John Smith.

Debate in Parliament.

* The small C.M.S. and S.P.G. work has been previously mentioned; see p. 218. Their enlarged Missions were later.

himself from the pro-slavery party. He actually thanked Brougham for his exertions; he disclaimed any "indifference to the religious instruction of the slaves" on the part of the Government; he protested against the "monstrous doctrines propagated by some of the colonists with a view of putting out the light of natural and revealed religion"; and he warned them against "any attempt in future to discourage religion or molest its teachers." It was in these debates that Wilberforce spoke for the last time in Parliament.

Wilberforce's la speech.

Nevertheless, the Anti-slavery leaders were compelled by Canning's policy of "recommendations" to rest on their oars for a while; and meantime they set to work to inform the English people of the real condition of the Negroes, which was little understood. No doubt many of those who had property in the West Indies really desired that their slaves should be well treated, and believed that they actually were well treated; and it was natural that they should resent the imputations cast upon all slaveholders alike. But they were sadly ignorant of the facts. They knew not what their agents and overseers were doing. They did know, however, quite enough. They knew, or might have known, that their slaves worked on the sugar-plantations nineteen hours a day in crop time, and fourteen hours and a half at other times; that they were kept at work, the weak and sickly equally with the strong and healthy, by the threat of the whip; that the slave's "scanty supply of food and clothing was a source of constant and bitter suffering; that his domestic ties were utterly dissolved; that every hindrance was thrown in the way of his education; that his religious teachers were persecuted; that his day of rest was encroached on;* that every prospect of civil rights was taken away; that however grievous an injury was inflicted on him, to obtain redress was almost impossible; and that the slightest offences subjected him to the severest punishments, to the stocks, to the prison, to the lash." † These things were general, and not seriously denied; but the charge of cruel flogging was denied. The returns of punishments, however, given in by the planters themselves for the two years 1828-9 showed a total of 68,921 floggings, of which 25,094 were duly registered as inflicted on females; and the law allowed twenty-five stripes to each ordinary "punishment." At this very time the Jamaica House of Assembly re-affirmed by a large majority the right to flog women publicly and indecently. Another new law forbad Negroes "teaching or preaching as Anabaptists or otherwise," under pain of "whipping, or imprisonment with hard labour"; and also prohibited all religious meetings or services between sunset and sunrise, which was equivalent to forbidding them altogether. Upon this enactment of a "Christian" legislature

Ill-treatment of t Negroes.

New law in Jamaic vetoed by the King.

* In one case, a manager put all his Negroes in the stocks on Sundays, to prevent their attending chapel. C. S. Horne, *Story of the L.M.S.*, p. 161.

† *Life of Buxton*, p. 213.

the Home Government imposed the royal veto; whereupon the Jamaica Assembly *re-enacted* it, with severer penalties. The King's veto had to be put in exercise a second time. What George IV. had done, William IV. now repeated.

But in the meanwhile, not unnaturally, another insurrection broke out, and was suppressed with more terrible severity than ever. Moreover the missionaries who sought to minister to the Negroes were bitterly opposed and persecuted; one Wesleyan who had disobeyed the law thus twice disallowed by the King of England died in a horrible dungeon; and many chapels were destroyed by white mobs, while the magistrates looked on. Two or three of the missionaries, notably Knibb, a Baptist, came to England, and horrified many public meetings by a recital of what they and their flocks had endured. Of course their accounts were received in official circles with scepticism; but Lord Sligo, Governor of Jamaica, wrote afterwards (in 1835) to Buxton,—

Lord Sligo confirms Buxton's statements.

"When I went out to Jamaica I thought that the stories of the cruelty of the slave-owners disseminated by your society were merely the emanations of enthusiastic persons,—rather a caricature than a faithful representation of what did actually take place. Before I had been long in Jamaica, I had reason to think that the real state of the case had been far understated; and this, I am quite convinced, was the fact." *

C.M.S. agents suffer.

The opposition was not confined to Methodists and "Anabaptists." There were C.M.S. catechists and schoolmasters who met with similar treatment. For when the Bishoprics of Jamaica and Barbadoes were established in 1824, the Church Missionary Society enlarged the operations it had been carrying on upon a small scale on three or four of the West India Islands,† though even then the scale was very small compared with that of the Nonconformist Missions. The work really consisted of supporting schools, and providing schoolmasters and catechists. This was chiefly upon estates whose owners did not join in the general hostility to the religious instruction of the Negroes; ‡ though in some cases, especially in Demerara, the Society's agents suffered almost as much as those who were called "sectarian teachers."

An Amendment at Exeter Hall.

It was in this connexion that the Amendment to the Annual Report was moved on the first occasion of the Anniversary Meeting being held in Exeter Hall, as before mentioned.§ The Report, as read, said, "There are honourable and bright exceptions. There are among the West-Indian Proprietors some Christian Men, who have come forward, in the face of much opposition and reproach, for the benefit of the Slaves on their

* *Life of Buxton*, p. 317.

† See p. 218.

‡ The S.P.G., as trustee of the Codrington estates in Barbadoes, was a slave-owner, but acted with so much wisdom and kindness that its Negroes were virtually enfranchised before the Abolition Act, and formed an industrious, peaceful, and religious community. See S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 202.

§ See p. 278.

Estates, and who, by imparting to them the benefits of Christian Instruction, are materially promoting their spiritual welfare, as well as efficiently preparing them for the right use and enjoyment of liberty." This sentence, literally true as it was, was objected to by the Rev. S. C. Wilks, Editor of the *Christian Observer*, for fear advantage should be taken of it to discount the statements made regarding the general oppression of the slaves. He moved that these words be added:—"But still, such is the power of the System, that the very Friends of the Slaves cannot carry their wishes into full effect, but are cramped and crippled in their exertions." This Amendment, or rather rider, did not lead to the uproarious scenes that were witnessed the following day at the Bible Society's meeting;* for Daniel Wilson (not yet Bishop of Calcutta) at once rose and seconded it, and his influence was so great that no further discussion ensued, but it was put to the meeting and carried almost unanimously.

Meanwhile the serious proceedings of the white population in Jamaica elicited from Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary in Lord Grey's Ministry, a remarkable despatch,† in which he said:— Lord Goderich's despatch.

> "Nothing can justify the systematically withholding from any men or class of men a Revelation given for the common benefit of all. I could not therefore acknowledge that the Slaves in Jamaica could be permitted to live and die amidst the darkness of Heathen Idolatry, whatever effect the advancing light of Christianity might ultimately have on the relation of Master and Slave. Nor am I anxious to conceal my opinion that a change in this relation is the natural tendency, and must be the ultimate result of the diffusion of religious knowledge among them. . . . So long as the Islands were peopled by importations of Native Africans who lived and died in Heathenism, the relation of Master and Slave might be expected to be permanent; but now that an indigenous race of men has grown up, speaking our own language and instructed in our religion, all the more harsh rights of the Owner, and the blind submission of the Slave, will inevitably, at some period, more or less remote, come to an end."

"More or less remote"—that was a cautious way of still appealing even to the self-interest of the planters. But it was their obstinacy that turned the "more" into "less." The Anti-Slavery leaders had ere this come to the conclusion that the gradual measures of amelioration which they had advocated in 1823 would be of little avail even if adopted. They now saw the fallacy of their own admission that "no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom." "This maxim," said Macaulay, "is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim."‡ And in May, 1830, a great meeting was held in Freemasons' Hall to proclaim that the object now to be fought for was immediate and

* See p. 279. † Printed in the *Missionary Register*, 1832, p. 274.
‡ Essay on Milton. *Essays*, vol. i. p. 42.

unconditional Abolition. William Wilberforce, who had for five years retired from public life, came forth from his retirement to take the chair, and with enfeebled frame and weakened voice delivered a most impressive address.* Brougham, Lushington, T. B. Macaulay, Buxton, Lords Calthorpe and Milton, Daniel Wilson, and others spoke; and the gist of the string of resolutions was that every effort was to be made to ensure "the early and universal Extinction of Slavery in all the Possessions of the British Crown."

Wilberforce's last speech in public.

Three more years, however, elapsed; and it is needless here to detail Buxton's exertions in Parliament in the face of both open opposition and half-hearted support. The thrilling story of them is given in full in his Life. At length, on May 14th, 1833, Mr. Stanley,† who had succeeded Lord Goderich as Colonial Secretary in the Whig Ministry, introduced the Government Bill, proposing the abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions, but a temporary apprenticeship of the slaves to their existing masters, as a transition measure, and a vote of twenty millions sterling as compensation for the loss of property. The Bill passed on August 28th. Wilberforce did not see that day; but he lived to know the Bill was safe. "The Moses of the African Israelites," as Colquhoun observes, was spared to witness the children of his watchful oversight just stepping into their promised land.‡ He entered into rest on July 29th, exclaiming with fervour on his dying bed, "Thank God that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the Abolition of Slavery!"

The Abolition Bill.

Death of Wilberforce.

"The past year," said the C.M.S. Committee in their next Annual Report, "will be ever memorable, in the history of this Country, for the termination of an arduous and painful conflict which, in various forms, has agitated the Councils of the Nation during half a century. That Veteran Philanthropist of whose death the Committee feel it is almost impossible for them to speak, since all hearts feel toward his memory more than words can utter, was permitted by Divine Providence to live just long enough to witness the crowning of his labours, and, after a noble warfare of fifty years, to close his eyes with peaceful triumph and adoring wonder at the thought that he had lived to see the day."

The speeches at the May Meetings that year, 1834, are stirring to read, even now; especially Buxton's at the Wesleyan Anniversary. At the C.M.S. Meeting, Hugh Stowell dwelt on the twenty millions Compensation. "But where," he exclaimed, "is the Compensation for the Slave?" His eloquent periods were

Compensation for the slave-owner, but what for the slave?

* Printed in the *Missionary Register*, July, 1830, p. 292; see also p. 216.

† Afterwards the Earl of Derby, Leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister. He was then a Whig.

‡ *Wilberforce and his Friends*, p. 416.

afterwards put, says the *Missionary Register*, by "a delighted hearer," into the following stanzas:—

Yes! wisely and well has our Senate decided,
And the deed shall a gem in its diadem stand!
By Mercy and Justice its counsels were guided,
And Slavery's moanings have ceased in the land.

But though Providence thus has your fiat directed,
One proof of additional zeal I would crave,
Your care has the rights of the Master protected,
Oh, let Compensation extend to the Slave!

Yet what for his ills can afford reparation,
His spirits restore, or his vigour renew?
Golconda's vast wealth were a poor compensation,
Too trivial a boon were the mines of Peru.

Oh! give him the Records of Light and of Gladness,
The "Pearl of great price" for his portion decree,
There show him, we all were in bondage and sadness,
Till by Christ's precious blood we were ransom'd and free.

Ye have wronged him—ye think on those wrongs with contrition—
Like Zacchæus a four-fold requital bestow;
Send the faithful and good on a merciful mission,
And lead him the way of Salvation to know.

This, this shall be lasting and true Compensation,
More pure than the ransom that lately ye gave;
For the Saviour shall speak, through His blest Revelation,
Glad tidings of Freedom and Peace to the Slave.

The day of emancipation.

The day of emancipation had been fixed for August 1st, 1834. It was observed with gratitude to God by many friends in England.* And with much prayer; for they hardly dared to whisper to one another their secret apprehensions of what might be going on that day in the West Indies. "Would not," writes Buxton's son and biographer, "the gloomy predictions of the West Indians be now fulfilled? The bloodshed, the rioting, the drunkenness, the confusion, they had so often foretold—would not these tarnish the lustre of this glorious deed of the British people?"

"It was therefore," he goes on, "with feelings of deep solicitude that Mr. Buxton and his friends awaited the news from the Colonies. He was at Northrepps Hall, when, on the 10th of September, a large pile of letters came in with the colonial stamps upon them. He took them, still sealed, in his hand, and walked out into the wood; desiring no witness but One of the emotion and anxiety he experienced. He opened them; and deep indeed was his joy and gratitude to God when he found that one letter after another was filled with accounts of the admirable conduct of the Negroes on the great day of freedom. Throughout the Colonies the churches and chapels had been thrown open, and the slaves had crowded into them, on the evening of the 31st of July. As the hour of midnight approached, they fell upon their knees, and awaited the solemn moment. When twelve sounded from the chapel bells, they sprang upon their feet, and through every island

* On August 1st, 1884, the Jubilee of the day was celebrated by a great meeting in the Guildhall, the Prince of Wales presiding.

rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of all; for the chains were broken, and the slaves were free."*

In the *Missionary Register*† many touching narratives of the observance of the day are recorded. It is mentioned that one of the hymns sung as the Negroes rose to their feet at midnight, free men, was Charles Wesley's "Blow ye the trumpet, blow"—"which," says a missionary correspondent, "had we ever given it out before, would have subjected us to a charge of treason." The prayers of some of the people are given; here is one:—

"Blessed Lord! We want tongue, we want word, we want heart, to praise Dee. Debil don't do de good to us, but Dou do de good to us; for Dou put it into the heart of blessed European to grant us dis great privilege. O derefore may none of we poor sinner praise de debil by makin all de carouze about de street, but fock like dove to deir window to praise and glorify Dy Great Name!"

New Missions to the Negroes.

But the Compensation for the Slave of which Hugh Stowell had spoken—what of that? It was not forgotten. All the societies set to work to extend their Missions in the West Indies, and the Government voted large sums in aid of Christian education for the Negroes. The S.P.G., aided by a Royal Letter and the Government Grants, expended in the next fifteen years £171,000 upon that object.‡ The Church Missionary Society took counsel with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and the former forwarded memorials from the Committee to the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes. The Society had for some years been at work in Jamaica, in Antigua, in some of the smaller islands, and in Demerara on the mainland; and a Church Missionary Association had been formed in Jamaica in 1827, with Sir G. H. Rose as President. But now the Committee proposed more extended work; and in doing so, they not only thought of the immediate benefit to the liberated Negroes, but fully expected that the result would, in course of time, be the provision of West Indian coloured missionaries for Africa. With a view to this especially, the Rev. C. L. F. Hänsel, one of the ablest missionaries at Sierra Leone,§ was commissioned to go to Jamaica and start a Normal Institution for Negro teachers. The vigour with which the new plans were carried out will be gathered from the fact that in 1838 the Society had in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Demerara, thirteen ordained missionaries, twenty-three English catechists and schoolmasters, seventy schools, 6000 scholars, and 8000 persons at public worship. Government gave the Society large sums to build and maintain schools; and in 1840 a meeting of "planters, merchants, and others interested in Jamaica" was held at Willis's Rooms with a view to getting substantial help for them, the result of which, "not much exceeding £1000," actually disappointed the Committee.

Large work of C.M.S.

* *Life of Buxton*, p. 296.
† 1834, pp. 464—470.
‡ S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 195.
§ See p. 336.

The results of the work were certainly not disappointing. In 1840, the Committee reported of Jamaica, "Large congregations have been gathered; numbers of the Negroes have been baptized; classes for Confirmation have been formed; a considerable number have been confirmed by the Bishop; and of these, many have become communicants. Week-day lectures, Missionary Meetings, Sunday Schools, Day and Evening Schools, Infant Schools, &c., are carried on." In Barbadoes the Society had intended to work, but was prevented by difficulties arising through the Bishop requiring missionaries to the Negroes to be under the authority of the rectors of the parishes into which the Island was divided.* The parochial system, indeed, was perhaps more complete in the West Indies than in any other Colony, owing to the liberality of the State provision of funds; and this subsequently facilitated the withdrawal of the Society from the Islands altogether. The immediate cause of this step was the alarming condition of the Society's finances in 1839-41, of which more hereafter. The withdrawal was gradual: some of the missionaries were taken on to the colonial establishments; when others died, their places were not filled up; the Normal School in Jamaica was transferred to the Trustees of the Lady Mico Charity, which has been a great benefit to that island; and by 1848 the last link had been severed. The Society naturally incurred much blame for having thus put its hand to the plough and then looked back; but when we come to the financial position, we shall see that drastic measures somewhere were inevitable, and it seemed to the Committee that the West Indian work, interesting and important as it was, was of a less definitely missionary character than the work in Africa, India, and other great Heathen fields. Meanwhile the S.P.G. and the Nonconformist Missions continued their operations, and were the instruments of great good among the Negro population.

Results.

C.M.S. withdraws.

To one branch of the West Indies Mission the Society clung longer. This was the Mission to the Indians of British Guiana, which had been commenced as an offshoot from Demerara. With this work one honoured name is connected, that of the Rev. J. H. Bernau, a Basle man who received further training at Islington, and, having been ordained by the Bishop of London, went out in 1835. For eighteen years he laboured zealously, and gathered a small congregation of Indians of three or four different tribes; and his work at Bartica Grove was watched with prayerful interest by many friends in England. In 1855 this Mission was closed, and afterwards came under the charge of the S.P.G., which still labours in the country. One of its missionaries, Mr. Brett, did a remarkable work for more than forty years. Mr. Bernau, in later years, was Incumbent of Belvedere in Kent. He

British Guiana Mission.

* This was a long controversy, into which it would be unprofitable to enter now, as the West Indies Mission did not continue many years. The Committee were at one time troubled by strong articles in the *Record* against the Bishop, which they seriously disapproved and publicly repudiated.

died in 1890, aged eighty-five. He was the father of Mrs. A. E. Moule.

One more friend of the Negro, Zachary Macaulay.

We must not bid farewell to the West Indian Negro without a tribute to the memory of one man who has not been mentioned in this chapter, and only casually in former chapters as one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society. Zachary Macaulay was not in Parliament; he was not a platform speaker; he was not in the public eye a representative of the Anti-Slavery cause like Wilberforce or Buxton. But it was he who toiled unceasingly behind the scenes, wading through blue-books, collating and grouping evidence, preparing memorials, writing pamphlets, and ready at all times, like a walking handbook or dictionary, to be referred to touching any and every detail of the subject; so that Wilberforce once said, when information was wanted, "Let us look it out in Macaulay." No man knew the Negro as he did. He had passed his youth in Jamaica, as overseer of an estate. He had been Governor of Sierra Leone in the earliest days of the Colony. The result was, that, as Colquhoun says,—"One object filled his eye and engrossed his soul:—

> "He had heard the bay of the bloodhound
> On the track of the hunted slave;
> The lash and the curse of the master,
> And the groan that the captive gave.

"He had seen in the cane-fields of Jamaica the Negro's weary step and sunken condition; he had watched him toiling under tropical suns, and engaged through long nights in the intolerable pressure of sugar-straining. He had tracked him to his African home by the steaming rivers of reeds and mangroves; and from the reedy banks he had seen him torn—bound, manacled, and driven like a beast on shipboard—to be squeezed into a stifling hold, to die worse than the death of a dog, and to be flung like carrion into the waves. The memory of these horrors haunted him, and he never rested till they were put down." * Outliving Wilberforce by four years, he died in 1838. He is chiefly known now as Lord Macaulay's father; but if Thomas Babington Macaulay had never been born, the name of Zachary Macaulay would, on its own account, be worthy of everlasting remembrance.

* *Wilberforce and his Friends*, p. 251.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Greek, Copt, Abyssinian, Zulu, Maori, Australian, Cree.

Malta, Syra, Smyrna—Egypt and Abyssinia: S. Gobat; Lieder; Isenberg and Krapf—The Zulu Mission: Francis Owen—New Zealand: First Baptisms; New Missionaries; Extension; Charles Darwin; Bishop Broughton; Marsden's Last Visit and Death—New Holland Mission: the Australian Blacks—Rupert's Land: the Cree and the Soto; Cockran and Cowley; Bishop Mountain's Visit.

"*And gathered them out of the lands, from the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the south.*"—Ps. cvii. 3.

"*Whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear you, . . . depart thence.*"—St. Mark vi. 11.

I. *The Greek, the Copt, and the Abyssinian.*

THE earlier history of what was for many years known as the Mediterranean Mission has been told in connexion with the efforts to revive the Oriental Churches. Those efforts were continued and developed during the period now under review. Malta was still the base, so to speak, of the enterprise. Jowett continued there (with intervals) till 1832;* but the leading mind in the very important literary work carried on was Christopher F. Schlienz, one of the Basle men, and an accomplished scholar, who in sixteen years sent out from the Malta Press hundreds of thousands of portions of Scripture, books, and tracts, in Italian, Maltese, Modern Greek, Turkish, Arabic, and Amharic. Purchasers appeared from all parts of the Turkish Empire—which was then much larger than it is now—and North Africa. Perhaps Schlienz's most important work was his Arabic Bible and Prayer-book, and Turkish and Amharic Prayer-books. In producing the three latter the S.P.C.K. gave pecuniary aid. One of his assistants was a remarkable man whose name became well known in after years, George Percy Badger. He was a printer by trade, and an Islington student. He was afterwards ordained by Bishop Blomfield and sent by the S.P.G. to Persia; then for some years he was chaplain at Aden; and in his later years, which were

Work for Eastern Churches.

Malta Press.

* He went out for the third time in 1829. The Instructions then delivered to him are a masterly and comprehensive review of the whole position and outlook in the East; presumably by Bickersteth, though they read more like Pratt's—who, however, was not then Secretary.

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spent in the Cape Colony, he was one of the most celebrated of Arabic scholars, and received the Lambeth degree of D.C.L. from Archbishop Tait. He died in 1888.

Efforts in Greece,

The establishment of the Kingdom of Greece led to high anticipations of a general revival of Greek influence in the East, and the Society, encouraged by the reception given by Greek bishops to Mr. Hartley, the Oxford man * who was continuing the travels and researches among the Oriental Churches begun by Jowett, formed plans for educational work in the interest of those Churches. Athens was occupied by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America; and the Church Missionary Society chose the Island of Syra, and also Smyrna—which, though in the Turkish dominions, was one of the most important Greek centres in the East. In 1829, a Prussian who had been sent by the Basle Society to Corfu, F. A. Hildner, was taken over by the Society, and stationed at Syra; and there he lived and worked for fifty-four years. He carried on a school called the Pædagogion, and gave a sound Scriptural education to hundreds of Greeks. In 1831, J. A.

and Asia Minor,

Jetter, who had been invalided from Bengal, was sent to Smyrna; and in 1835 he was joined by Peter Fjellstedt, a Swede, who also had been invalided from India, having been with Rhenius in Tinnevelly. These two travelled all over Asia Minor, and the latter afterwards in Bulgaria, distributing Scriptures and tracts, and preaching the simple Gospel of Christ as opportunity offered In times of plague and cholera, which then alternately ravaged the Levant, they gave themselves assiduously to the care of the poor and sick. For a time they had both Greek and Turkish schools at Smyrna; but the hostility of Greek priests and Turkish mullahs was successful in getting them closed, and in 1840 both brethren were recalled to England, and retired.† In 1842 the Smyrna Mission was reopened by J. T. Wolters, one of the Basle men who, like Pfander, Hoernle, and others, had been driven out of Persia by the Russians,‡ and had joined the Church Missionary Society.

and Egypt.

Two of the Oriental Churches, the Coptic and the Abyssinian, the Society was now making special efforts to influence. In 1825, five Basle men, Samuel Gobat, Christian Kugler, J. R. T. Lieder, Theodor Müller, and W. Krusé, were sent to Egypt; the first two

S. Gobat.

with an eye to Abyssinia whenever the way opened. Gobat (afterwards Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem) was a remarkable man. His fascinating autobiography gives a delightful and ingenuous account of his earlier years.§ He came from Basle to Islington, just when the College was opened,‖ and though he was only in

* See p. 227. His journals are printed at great length in the *Register*, and are deeply interesting.

† Jetter was the father of Mrs. Greaves of the C.E.Z.M.S.

‡ See p. 313.

§ *Samuel Gobat: His Life and Work.* London: Nisbet, 1884.

‖ "I enjoyed," says Gobat, "the society of several of the missionary students, especially Cockran, afterwards Archdeacon of Rupert's Land, and

England a few months, the Committee acquired a high idea of both his ability and his devotion. Coming from the Jura, his vernacular was French, but he knew German and English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and he was studying Arabic and Ethiopic. Going to Egypt, and thence to Palestine, is a very simple thing now, but it was not so then. The party were forty-nine days getting from Marseilles to Malta; and when Gobat and Kugler visited Jerusalem to consult with some Abyssinians there (who all died of the plague shortly after), they had to return from Jaffa to Damietta in an open boat.

Lieder in Egypt.

The work in Egypt was carried on for more than thirty years, chiefly by Lieder, who died at Cairo in 1865. He and his brethren itinerated all over the Delta, into the Fayum, and up the Nile into Nubia, selling and distributing Scriptures and tracts, among both Christians and Mussulmans, but more especially the former. The Coptic Patriarch and priests were generally friendly, though those of the Greek Church were not. Schools also were set on foot; and, in particular, a Boys' Boarding School at Cairo, which in 1842 was changed into a Theological Seminary for the training of the Coptic clergy. Many of them received in it from Lieder pure and Scriptural teaching which they could have had in no other way; and one of the students afterwards became Abuna (Archbishop) of the Abyssinian Church. Linguistic work was also done at Cairo as well as at Malta. Lieder revised the Coptic and the Arabic New Testament for the S.P.C.K.; and he translated into Arabic the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, "and some useful works by Macarius, whose authority is much respected by the Coptic Church, but from whose principles that Church has grievously declined." *

The Abyssinian Church.

Abyssinia had been long in the thoughts of the Church Missionary Society. The acquisition by the Society of a valuable MS. of part of the Old Testament in Ethiopic, the ecclesiastical language of the Abyssinian Church, in 1817, led to the Committee's requesting Samuel Lee † to prepare a brief history of that Church; which historical sketch is printed in the Appendix to the Report of 1818. Then the purchase, by Jowett in 1820, of Abu Rumi's MS. version of the Bible in Amharic,‡ the vernacular of the country, increased the interest. Not till 1830, however, did Gobat succeed in getting to Abyssinia. The account of his voyages down and across the Red Sea, in open Arab vessels crowded with pilgrims, with only polluted water to drink, and sometimes none at all, and he himself suffering, now with ophthalmia, and now

Gobat to Abyssinia.

W. Williams, afterwards Archdeacon [and Bishop] in New Zealand. But my chief associate was the gifted and deeply pious Mr. C. Friend, who died in India on the very threshold of his career." *Ibid.*, p. 60.

* Annual Report, 1845, p. 48.

† The Society's learned *protéjé*, who was afterwards Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. See p. 120.

‡ See p. 227.

with dysentery, is very interesting but very painful reading.* But still more interesting, and still more painful, are the accounts, by himself and his companions and successors, of the Abyssinian Church. How low a nominally Christian Church, still holding the ancient Creeds, can descend in corruption of both doctrine and practice, would scarcely be believed, except on the united testimony of intelligent and trustworthy men; men, moreover, who were actuated by no mere iconoclastic zeal, who remembered the significant cautions of the Committee not to rail against unaccustomed usages and ritual,† and who, as a matter of fact, constantly tried to find common ground between themselves and the priests and monks they conversed with. Yet they did find a few "pious, conscientious, upright, and self-denying priests, notwithstanding their ignorance of the way of salvation"; and some who were "well acquainted with the Bible, and with the writings of the Eastern Fathers of the first four centuries," but "subtle and acute reasoners who delighted in metaphysical niceties rather than in practical investigations."‡ In fact, they were often encouraged by their intercourse with the people. "Many Abyssinians changed many of their views for the better; and I observed," says Gobat, "numerous individuals on whom the truths of the Gospel had made a deep impression, though I only knew four or five whom I could consider as truly converted."§ Gobat himself became so widely respected, that the Abyssinians seriously thought of electing him Bishop.

Gobat in England.

But his health failed, and he was compelled to leave, after burying his companion Kugler, who died of wounds caused by the bursting of his gun. Gobat returned to Europe, and when his health was restored, started again for Abyssinia. Here is his account of the "valedictory dismissal" by the Committee in 1833:—

"I went to Salisbury Square, where many friends were assembled. After a short prayer, the too humble Edward Bickersteth, who had been appointed to deliver the instruction, rose. 'My dear friends,' he simply said, 'I feel altogether unfit and unworthy to give an instruction to our brother Gobat, and am conscious that we all need his instruction. I will now request him to impart it to us before he takes his leave.' I was thunderstruck; but crying to God for help, I began to address my superiors, the Committee and the meeting, scarcely knowing what I was to say. I never knew, in fact, what I did say; I only remember thanking God afterwards for not permitting me to be confounded."‖

* One voyage, a little later, is thus described:—"We found the boat laden with ghee or butter in large jars, and a large number of Negro and Abyssinian pilgrims. Each passenger had his place measured, about five feet and a half long by two feet broad, over the tops of the jars, or rather between them; and *in this disagreeable position we had to abide twenty-one days*, exposed to the burning sun. The excessive crowding, contact with our neighbours, and the invasions of their minute and all too numerous attendants, effectually banished rest."—*S. Gobat*, p. 154.

† See p. 226.

‡ *S. Gobat*, pp. 118, 120

§ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

This time Gobat took a wife out with him, a Swiss. The narrative of their travels and sufferings is touching in the extreme. Gobat was almost continuously ill, and at last he was forced to retire altogether.

Isenberg, Blumhardt, Krapf.

The next missionaries in Abyssinia were C. Isenberg and C. H. Blumhardt, and they were joined in 1837 by J. L. Krapf; and subsequently J. J. Mühleisen also was sent out. All four were Basle men. Isenberg and Blumhardt afterwards laboured many years in India. Mühleisen retired, and took the name of Arnold; and "Mühleisen-Arnold" became in after years a well-known clergyman in Cape Colony, and a recognized authority on Mohammedan questions. Krapf's labours and sufferings in Abyssinia and the adjoining kingdom of Shoa form one of the most thrilling chapters of missionary history. The people of Shoa professed the Christian faith like Abyssinians, but the state of the Church was worse than ever there. Polygamy prevailed, and the grossest immorality; and the "Christian" king had five hundred wives.

It was Romanist intrigues that ultimately put an end to the Mission. French priests and travellers on three separate occasions procured the expulsion of the missionaries. To one of these Krapf had showed much kindness; which kindness was rewarded, not only by one of these hostile intrigues, but also by the publication of a book in which the Frenchman embodied many results of Krapf's researches without a word of acknowledgment. The book, indeed, contained some items of information which were certainly more original as to their source. "Monsieur Krapf," one day said the intending author, "we must assert that we have seen the sources of the Hawash." "When I replied," writes Krapf, "that this would not be true, as we had not seen them, he rejoined with a smile, 'Oh, we must be *philosophes!*'" An account of the river sources in question accordingly appeared in the "philosopher's" veracious narrative.

In one sense the Abyssinia Mission did not die. It developed into another and greater enterprise. In Shoa Krapf met with the Galla tribes, who were Heathen; and in view of his desire to work amongst them, the Committee, in 1841, separated Abyssinia from the "Mediterranean Mission," and headed it in the Annual Report "Abyssinia or East Africa Mission." In the following year, the name of Abyssinia was dropped, and his last attempt in Shoa was called the "East Africa Mission," two years before what we understand by the term commenced at Mombasa.

"East Africa."

II. *The Zulu.*

South African Missions.

South Africa was one of the earliest fields to which European missionaries carried the Gospel. First, the Moravians, in the middle of the eighteenth century. Then, at the beginning of this century, the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyans, the

Glasgow Society (afterwards Free Church of Scotland), the French Protestant Mission, the Berlin and Rhenish Societies.* All these were at work at the date of Queen Victoria's accession, among Hottentots, Fingoes, Griquas, Kafirs (then written Caffres), Bosjesmans (or Bushmen), Bechuanas, Basutos, &c., and at many stations considerable results had been achieved; but the troublesome wars between the colonists and the Kafirs had much interfered with the work in some parts.† The famous Lovedale Industrial Institution had been started by the Scotch Mission. Robert Moffat was just then in England, after twenty years' labours, delighting the Christian public with his thrilling narratives. Among the Zulus (then written Zoolahs), two Missions were just being established; one by the American Board of Missions, the other by the Church Missionary Society.

Allen Gardiner appeals to C.M.S.

It was Captain Allen Gardiner, R.N., afterwards so well known for his heroic enterprise and tragic death at Tierra del Fuego, who called attention to the Zulus. In 1834 he visited Dingarn, the great chief of the nation, the predecessor of Cetewayo, and obtained leave from him for missionaries to go to his people; and then came to England, and earnestly begged the Society to start a Mission there. He was one of the speakers at the Anniversary of 1836; and in many other ways his zeal and fervour were exercised to arouse sympathy with the fierce Heathen of Zululand. The result was an offer of service from the Rev. Francis Owen, Curate of Normanton, a Cambridge graduate in honours; and he, with his wife and sister, sailed on Christmas Eve in that year. The Instructions of the Committee to him ‡ are very interesting, and exhibit strikingly the beautiful spirit that actuated William Jowett, then the Clerical Secretary. The Mission was to be on what may be called New Zealand lines. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were to be undertaken along with preaching and teaching; but the over-secularity that had marked the earlier efforts among the Maoris was to be avoided. In choosing the locality for a station, three things were to be sought for,—*salubrity*, for health's sake; *security* for life and property; *scope* for ready and frequent intercourse with the people.

F. Owen to Zululand.

Mr. Owen and his party went out with Captain Gardiner. On

* The S.P.G. had supplied a few clergymen to minister to the colonists, but in 1837 had only one on its roll. *Digest*, p. 272.

† The outrages committed on the Caffres by the white colonists—chiefly Dutch, but some English also—aroused the indignation of Fowell Buxton and the other friends of Africa who had lately won their great victory in the abolition of West Indian Slavery (see p. 344). The result was a despatch by Charles Grant (the younger; afterwards Lord Glenelg; the excellent head of the India Office in 1831-33, see p. 273), now Colonial Secretary,—which Buxton characterized as "most noble" and "most admirable," and as "about the first instance of a strong nation acting towards the weak on the principles of justice and Christianity" (*Life of Buxton*, pp. 310, 322). In these South African matters, Buxton was much guided by Dr. Philip, the very able and experienced head of the L.M.S. Missions at the Cape.

‡ Printed in Appendix to Report of 1837.

their arrival at Cape Town, a Church Missionary Association for the Colony was formed, the Governor, Sir B. D'Urban, presiding at the inaugural meeting. Then they went on to Port Natal, and Mr. Owen, after a trying journey across country, arrived at Dingarn's town on August 19th, 1837, and on the next day, Sunday, addressed the chief and his people at length, proclaiming the true God and His laws, with an outline of the Gospel. The mission station was fixed on a hill near the capital, Unkunkinglove, and there Mr. Owen and his family settled in October. The American Mission, which was there before him, was settled in another part of the country. Owen's journals are very curious and interesting; and Dingarn reminds one much of King Mtesa of Uganda. On one occasion, Owen asked for certain things to be done quickly. "Why such a hurry?" said the chief. "Because life is short." "How can that be, since you say we are all to wake up again?"—referring to the general resurrection.

Perils and trials.

But within four months all was at an end. A large party of Boers came to Dingarn to treat with him for settling in the country. Without a moment's warning, the whole of that party, sixty Dutchmen and their native followers, were massacred. Then the native girls who had been given to Mrs. Owen as servants charged her and her husband with speaking against the chief—though their conversations were in English, which the girls did not understand. This put their lives in imminent peril; but ultimately they were sent out of the country. They retired, as did also the American missionaries, to Port Natal; and finding a vessel about to proceed to Algoa Bay, they all sailed in her. Captain Gardiner and his family, who had settled near the coast at a place he had named Berea, left at the same time. Terrible fighting ensued between the Boers and the Zulus; and the feud continued for many years.

In the meanwhile, the Society, ignorant of the break-up of the Mission, had sent out a lay agent, W. Hewetson, and a surgeon, R. Philips, to join Owen. Unwilling to return to England, the party resolved to try and get to Mozika, in Bechuanaland, eight hundred miles inland from Grahamstown, a station that had been occupied, and abandoned, in succession, by the French Protestant Mission, and by another band from the American Board; and they actually reached the place. But the Society at home had been informed that the French Mission intended re-occupying it; and instructions were therefore sent to Mr. Owen to return with his party to England. And thus ended the first and only enterprise of the Church Missionary Society in South Africa. In 1859, the S.P.G. began work in Zululand, and it still supports the Mission there under the Bishop.

End of the Mission

III. *The Maori.*

We left New Zealand at the point where, after years of patient labour and distressing trials, the dawn of a brighter day was

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New Zealand: the brothers Williams.

beginning to appear. William Williams joined his brother Henry in 1826, and then began the forty years' united work of the two leading evangelists—*par nobile fratrum*—of the Maori race. But heavy clouds came with the dawn. In 1827 the Wesleyan station at Whangaroa was destroyed by hostile Natives, and the members of that Mission were obliged to leave the island. In the following year, the great chief Hongi died. Cruel savage as he was, he had always befriended the missionaries, and when dying he exhorted his people to protect them. Indeed he never would take the life of a white man, despite the shocking outrages perpetrated on his race by escaped convicts and other reckless adventurers who landed from time to time. But his illness and death and the confusion that ensued, put the Mission in imminent peril; and they sent away all books, stores, &c., that could possibly be spared, by a vessel just sailing for Sydney. As for themselves, and their wives and children, they resolved to cling to their posts to the last. "When the natives," wrote William Williams, "are in our houses, carrying away our things, it will be time for us to take to our boats." Nay, hearing of two leading tribes preparing for war, Henry Williams hastened to the place where the two bands of warriors were encamped and awaiting the signal for battle, hoisted a white flag between them, persuaded them to remain quiet till after the Ra-tapu (Sunday), held a service for them all on that day, and on the Monday succeeded in making peace between them. In all missionary history there is no more thrilling incident than this, which led to what was called the Peace of Hokianga, March 24th, 1828.*

Fruits at last.

Meanwhile, many signs appeared that the patient teaching of the Word of God was not fruitless. It will be remembered that the first baptism, of the dying chief Rangi, had taken place in 1825. Another man, Ruri-ruri,† showed unmistakable tokens of the working of divine grace in his heart; but he fell sick and died without baptism. Many of the Natives had learned to read; and in 1827, the arrival from Sydney of some books in their own tongue (containing Gen. i.-iii., Exod. xx., Matt. v., John i., the Lord's Prayer, and some hymns) caused the utmost excitement and delight. "We have had," wrote one of the missionaries, "dying testimonies; now we can bless God for living witnesses." Some of the people began to ask that their children might be baptized, though hesitating, or not sufficiently instructed, to take the decisive step themselves; and in August, 1829, four children

Baptisms.

of a ferocious chief named Taiwhanga were publicly admitted to the Church, together with the infant son of William Williams. The missionaries little dreamed that that infant son, sixty-six years after, would be consecrated third Bishop of Waiapu! But six months after, on February 7th, 1830, the first public baptismal

* The whole narrative is given in Carleton's *Life of Henry Williams* (Auckland, 1874), p. 69.

† Written at the time "Dudi-dudi."

service for adults was held in New Zealand; and one of the candidates received into the Church that day was Taiwhanga himself, to whom was given the name of Rawiri (the native form of David). An outpouring of the Spirit upon the people followed: many came to the missionaries in deep conviction of sin; classes and prayer-meetings were arranged; more books came from Sydney, containing portions of the Gospels and 1st Corinthians, and of the Prayer-book and Catechism, and were eagerly devoured; and in the midst of it all came Samuel Marsden, on his sixth visit. Who can describe the old man's joy! At the very time, on Sunday, March 14th, when a Maori congregation, in his presence, joined in the Church service, savage fighting was going on only two miles off. "At one glance," he wrote, "might be seen the miseries of Heathenism and the blessings of the Gospel!"

Marsden's joy.

During this time the missionaries at work, besides the brothers Williams, had all, except one (Yate*), been lay agents, though some of these had been under training for a time at Islington. There were, in 1830, John King, one of the two original settlers (Hall had lately retired to New South Wales, after several years' good work), J. Kemp, G. Clarke, R. Davis, J. Hamlin (the first Islington student), C. Baker, from England; and J. Shepherd, W. Fairburn, and W. Puckey, from New South Wales. But the Rev. Alfred N. Brown (also one of the first batch of Islington students, but ordained by the Bishop of London), had just arrived. In the next twelve years the following were (among others) sent out: T. Chapman, J. Matthews, J. A. Wilson, J. Morgan, B. Y. Ashwell, Rev. R. Maunsell (B.A., Trin. Coll., Dublin), Rev. R. Taylor (M.A., Queens', Camb.), O. Hadfield (Pemb. Coll., Oxford), Rev. R. Burrows, and S. M. Spencer; and G. A. Kissling, the Basle man whose health had failed in West Africa, was transferred to New Zealand in 1841, after ordination by the Bishop of London. All these did good service—some of them, it may be truly said, splendid service—for many years; and several of the laymen were afterwards ordained. Most of them never once returned to England. It is a fact worth noting that a surgeon, who may be called the Society's first medical missionary, Mr. S. H. Ford, went out in 1836; and the Committee's Instructions to him are very interesting. But he withdrew after four years. Here it may be mentioned that the first death in the New Zealand Mission in twenty-seven years occurred on February 1st, 1837, when Mrs. R. Davis entered into rest, deeply lamented.

A goodly band of missionaries.

The first medical missionary.

* Mr. Yate was an able man, and much valued; and when he visited England in 1834-5 he became popular throughout the country. On his way back, some charge was brought against him at Sydney, and as he declined investigation, he was inhibited by Bishop Broughton. The Society then disconnected him; whereupon he returned to England, and published his grievances. So popular a man had a large following; and the Committee have never in any matter had greater trouble than in this. Pressure was brought to bear on them from all parts of the country; but Yate was not reinstated.

The second was a very sad one. The Rev. J. Mason was drowned in crossing a river, in January, 1843.

Extension.

Hitherto the Mission had not gone far from the shores of the Bay of Islands; but Henry Williams now planned extension, and in the next few years new stations were planted at Waimate and Kaitaia, in the north; then in the Hot Lakes district; then on the Waikato River; then on the Bay of Plenty. In 1839 two still more important steps were taken. William Williams moved to the East Coast, into the country which afterwards formed the diocese of Waiapu, and took up his abode at Turanga, on Poverty Bay, where the town of Gisborne now stands; and Octavius Hadfield settled at Otaki, in the south, now in the diocese of Wellington. Both these good men, long afterwards, became Bishops in the very territories in which they had been the pioneers of the Gospel. Some of these extensions were due to the zeal of Maori converts, many of whom showed real earnestness in spreading the faith to distant tribes. The detailed narratives, of travel, of the preaching of Christ, of the true conversion of soul after soul, of the examples of Christian life shown by the Natives, are of exceeding interest. Nothing in the modern history of the Uganda Mission,—which in so many ways resembles that of the New Zealand Mission—is more thrilling, or affords more signal illustrations of the power of the Holy Ghost. W. Williams had completed and revised the Maori New Testament and Prayer-book, and many thousands of copies had been printed and sold. In 1840, the year when New Zealand became a British Colony, there were thirty thousand Maori attendants on public worship.

A type of Uganda.

Three visitors:

Before this, however, the Mission had received three important and interesting visits. In 1835, H.M.S. *Beagle*, then on its famous scientific voyage round the world, appeared off the coast,

Charles Darwin,

and Charles Darwin, then a young naturalist, visited the mission station at Waimate, where William Williams, Davis, and Clarke were at work. Viewing with admiration the external scene presented, the gardens, farmyard, cornfields, &c., he wrote, "Native workmanship, taught by the missionaries, has effected the change. The lesson of the missionary is the enchanter's wand. I thought the whole scene admirable. . . . And to think that this was in the centre of cannibalism, murder, and all atrocious crimes! . . . I took leave of the missionaries with thankfulness for their kind welcome, and with feelings of high respect for their gentlemanlike, useful, and upright characters. It would be difficult to find a body of men better adapted for the high office which they fulfil." *

Bishop Broughton,

A second visit was from Bishop Broughton. Australia was separated from the diocese of Calcutta in 1836, and Archdeacon

* *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle" round the World.* By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S.

Broughton, of Sydney, was appointed Bishop of the new diocese. He was the first and only "Bishop of Australia," the title being altered to "Sydney" when other dioceses were formed out of his. At the request of the C.M.S. Committee* he visited New Zealand in 1838, "though at much personal inconvenience," ordained Mr. Hadfield, and confirmed several candidates, but fewer than there would have been but for an outbreak of influenza among the Natives, and the Bishop's inability, for want of time, to visit more than three stations. On Christmas Day he preached at Paihia, not far from the spot where Marsden had preached the first Christian sermon in New Zealand exactly twenty-four years before.† His report to the Society bore high testimony to the reality of the work and the character of the agents, while faithfully pointing out features susceptible of improvement, and begging for a large increase of the staff.‡

In the same year another bishop appeared, a French Romanist, with two priests. This was not one of our "three interesting visits," for they stayed; and stayed, it need scarcely be added, not in the still Heathen districts, but close to the existing Mission. Here is another feature in which New Zealand is like Uganda—and with still more unhappy results, as will appear hereafter.

Samuel Marsden: his last visit.

The third of the three visits—but the second in order of time, 1837—was from Samuel Marsden. The old veteran, for the fourteenth time, sailed across the twelve hundred miles between Sydney and the Bay of Islands, to pay his seventh and last visit to the land and the people for whom he had done so much. At the age of seventy-two, bowed down by bodily infirmities, he was carried in a litter from station to station in the north by Maori bearers who loved him, and then went on by sea to the east and the south. Wherever he went, he was met by crowds of Natives, who journeyed long distances to see the benefactor of their race. With humble, lowly thankfulness the aged saint gazed on the results of his labours and his prayers; and "with paternal authority and affection, and with the solemnity of one who felt himself to be standing on the verge of eternity, he gave his parting benedictions to the missionaries and the converts."§ One night on deck, wrote Mr. A. N. Brown (June 8th, 1837),—

"He spoke of almost all his old friends having preceded him to the Eternal World—Romaine, Newton, the Milners, Scott, Robinson, Buchanan, Goode, Thomason, Legh Richmond, Simeon. He then alluded in a very touching manner to his late wife. They had passed, he observed, more than forty years of their pilgrimage in company; and he felt their separation more severely as the months rolled on. I remarked that their separation would be but for a short period longer. 'God grant it,' was his reply; and then, lifting his

* See p. 411. † See p. 209.

‡ Printed in the Appendix to the Report of 1840.

§ Minute of C.M.S. Committee on death of S. Marsden.

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eyes toward the moon, which was peacefully shedding her beams on the sails of our gallant bark, he exclaimed, with intense feeling—

'Prepare me, Lord, for Thy right hand;
Then, come the joyful day!'"

His death.

It was indeed "but for a short period." He returned to Sydney in August, after six months' absence, and on May 12th, 1838, at Paramatta, he entered into rest.

Two of his descendants.

Fifty-five years after, in 1893, his grand-daughter, Miss Hassall, opened her own house near Sydney as the "Marsden Training Home" for lady missionaries in connexion with the New South Wales Church Missionary Association; and the first student admitted to the Home was her own niece, Samuel Marsden's great-granddaughter, Amy Isabel Oxley, who in 1896 went to China as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. "The children of Thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before Thee."

IV. *The Australian Black.*

The Australian Aborigines

"I have seen the miserable Africans first come from the holds of slave-ships; but they do not equal, in wretchedness and misery, the New Hollanders. They are the poorest objects on the habitable globe." So wrote Mr. George Clarke, afterwards so well known in New Zealand, and father of Archdeacon E. B. Clarke, in 1823. He had been sent out by the Society to join the New Zealand Mission, but on his way thither he was detained at Sydney by Samuel Marsden, and commissioned to take charge of an institution projected by the New South Wales Government for the instruction of Australian Aborigines, or (as they were then called) New Hollanders. This had been a scheme of Governor Macquarie's as far back as 1814, but it was only now about to be carried out. There was to be a farm, workshops, schools, and a church; though how far these designs were fulfilled does not appear. The place, about twelve miles from Paramatta, was called Black Town. The exigencies of New Zealand, however, compelled Marsden, after a few months, to send Clarke on thither; but a year or two later, W. Hall, who, it will be remembered, was one of the first two settlers sent out, returned to Sydney, and took charge of the institution for a time.

C.M.S. applied to, from Sydney,

In 1825 an Auxiliary Church Missionary Society was established at Sydney, with Samuel Marsden as President, and Sir Thomas Brisbane, the Governor, as Patron. Its primary object was to undertake work among the Aborigines or Blacks. An urgent appeal was sent to the Parent Society in England for missionaries; and Sir T. Brisbane promised ten thousand acres for a mission station and farm.* Two places were fixed on, Bon Bon and Limestone Plains, near each other, and both about 120 miles

* Similar grants were made to the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. Both began work, but both relinquished it soon after.

from Sydney. A clergyman, J. Norman, and a schoolmaster, J. Lisk, were sent out by the Society, both of whom had been at Sierra Leone, but had failed to stand the African climate. Neither of them, however, actually got into the work. Norman was sent by the Governor to Tasmania as a chaplain for convicts, and Lisk was obliged to return home on account of his wife's health. In 1830, the Home Government, by Sir George Murray and Lord Goderich, successive Colonial Secretaries, approached the Society, offering a grant of £500 a year for the support of two missionaries; and in the following year two clergymen, J. C. S. Handt and W. Watson, were sent out, and subsequently another clergyman, J. Günther,* and a farmer, W. Porter. Handt and Watson were appointed to a Government station for the Aborigines at Wellington Valley, two hundred miles inland from Sydney. In 1836, Handt was sent to Moreton Bay, on the coast four hundred miles north of Sydney, where there was a penal settlement, and whence other Aborigines could be reached; and Günther succeeded him at Wellington Valley. For several years regular reports were presented by the missionaries to the New South Wales Government, and printed at Sydney. The extracts from these and from the journals of the brethren, printed in the C.M.S. Reports, give a vivid account of the terrible degradation of the Aborigines—bad enough by nature, but rendered far worse by the shocking wickedness of the white men. Nevertheless, in the teeth of almost unparalleled difficulties, good work was done. Black children were taken into the mission-houses and taught to read and write, proving really intelligent; and hundreds of adults, notwithstanding their nomadic habits, gathered under Christian instruction, joined in Christian worship, and gave many signs of great improvement. It is not, however, recorded that any were actually baptized. A good beginning was made in linguistic and translational work. A vocabulary and grammar were prepared, and translations of three Gospels, portions of Genesis and the Acts, and a large part of the Prayer-book.

and by the Government.

The Mission.

Its results.

Some differences ensued, however, between the Society and the New South Wales Government; and at length, in the Annual Report of 1842, the following paragraph is found:—"No prospect being left of surmounting the difficulties from different sources in which this Mission has for some time past been involved, consistently with the terms on which, at the instance of Her Majesty's Government, the Mission was undertaken by the Society, the Committee have been reluctantly compelled to relinquish it." And relinquished it was, accordingly, by the Society, though one or more of the missionaries still carried on work among the Natives, the Government continuing its care of them. Few persons, either in England or in Australia, are now

Its end.

* Father of the present Archdeacon Günther, of Paramatta.

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aware of the fact that the first attempt to preach the Gospel to the Australian Aborigines was made by the Church Missionary Society; and it would be with no little surprise that they would read the more than one hundred and fifty columns of small type in which the proceedings of the Mission are detailed in the *C.M. Record* of 1834-39.

V. *The Cree and the Soto.*

Rupert's Land Mission.

The foundation of what was long known as the North-West America Mission, in 1820-22, has been already mentioned. The return home of Mr. West in 1823 left Mr. David Jones alone at

Cockran.

the Red River; but in 1825, William Cockran, a sturdy Northumbrian from Chillingham, went out, having first received both deacon's and priest's orders from the Bishop of London. Thus began what has been well called "a finished course of forty years," broken only by a few months in Canada; for Cockran never returned to England.

Red River.

The work on the Red River was among the Cree Indians; not, however, neglecting the whites and half-breeds in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. The latter were mostly at Fort Garry, at the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, where the flourishing city of Winnipeg, capital of the entire North-West, now stands. Here was what was called the Upper Settlement. The Middle Settlement was a little lower down the united river, as it flows northward towards Lake Winnipeg; then the Grand Rapids, a little further; and, a few miles still lower down,

Indian Settlement.

Cockran founded, in 1833, what is still known as the Indian Settlement, with a view to inducing the wandering Crees to settle down and cultivate the ground, and thus remain under regular Christian instruction.

It is difficult now to conceive the isolation and hardships then endured by the little missionary band. Their communication with England was *viâ* Hudson's Bay, by the one ship which each summer sailed to York Fort with a year's provision, and at once returned before the ice blocked her in. In 1836, she arrived off York too late to land her cargo, and, after contriving to get the mail-bags ashore, had to sail back to England, leaving no supplies to be sent up the Nelson River by the canoes waiting for them. The missionaries (and the other Europeans too) got their letters, but nothing else, and were reduced to great straits; "but," wrote Cockran, "we have our Bibles left!" But their long and

Fruits.

patient labours had borne spiritual fruit, and in 1837 there was a community at the Red River stations of six hundred baptized Christians. The Indians had learned to value their "praying-masters," and when Jones was returning to England in 1838, they wrote the following letter to the Society:—

"*August* 1, 1838.

An Indian Appeal.

"Servants of the Great God,

"We once more call to you for help, and hope our cry will avail. You sent us what you called the Word of God; we left our

hunting-grounds and came to hear it. But we did not altogether like it, for it told us to leave off drunkenness and adultery, to keep only one wife, to cast away our idols and all our bad heathen ways; but as it still repeated to us that, if we did not, the great God would send us to the great devil's fire; by the goodness of God we saw at last it was true. We now like the Word of God, and we have left off our sins; we have cast away our rattles, our drums, and our idols, and all our bad heathen ways. But what are we to do, our friends? Mr. Jones is going to leave us; Mr. Cockran talks of it. Must we turn to our idols and gods again? or must we turn to the French praying-masters? We see three French praying-masters have come to the river, and not one for us! What is this, our friends? The Word of God says that one soul is worth more than all the world; surely then, our friends, three hundred souls are worth one praying-master! It is not once or twice a week teaching that is enough to make us wise; we have a bad heart, and we hate our bad hearts and all our evil ways, and we wish to cast them all away, and we hope in time, by the help of God, to be able to do it. But have patience, our friends; we hope our children will do better, and will learn to read God's book, so as to go forth to their country people to tell them the way of life, and that many may be saved from the great devil's fire."

This touching appeal was at once responded to by the going forth of J. Smithurst in 1839; but, for lack of men, not again until 1841, when Abraham Cowley, a *protégé* of the Rev. Lord Dynevor's at Fairford in Gloucestershire, was appointed to the Mission. He was not ordained; but he was sent *viâ* Canada, and received deacon's orders *en route* from the Bishop of Montreal, Dr. G. J. Mountain.* To get from Canada, however, by Lake Superior, to Red River, proved impracticable. The dismal plains and forests of Algoma, through which the luxurious Canadian Pacific Express now speeds its way, could only then be traversed with extreme difficulty; and the young clergyman, finding that he could get no further, returned as quickly as possible to England, and was just in time to sail hence by the annual ship direct to York Fort.

Abraham Cowley.

Extension had already begun. When John West first went out in 1820, he picked up, during his canoe voyage from York to Red River, two young Indian boys, and took them with him. They were the first of their nation to be baptized, by the names of Henry Budd and John Hope. Both became excellent assistants; and in 1840, Budd was sent five hundred miles off, up the great Saskatchewan River, to open a new station in the Cumberland district, which he did at a place called the Pas, afterwards

Henry Budd.

* There were then only two bishoprics for all British North America, Nova Scotia and Quebec. But during the lifetime of Bishop Stewart of Quebec, the Rev. G. J. Mountain, son of a previous Bishop Mountain of Quebec, had been appointed a Coadjutor-Bishop of Montreal. When Bishop Stewart died, in 1836, Bishop G. J. Mountain succeeded to his jurisdiction, but retained the title of Bishop of Montreal. When the separate Bishopric of Montreal was founded in 1850, Bishop G. J. Mountain assumed the title of his predecessor, Bishop of Quebec. Unless these facts are carefully borne in mind, the Church history of Canada is rather confusing.

Devon. Cowley, on his arrival, was sent to Manitoba Lake, and there he founded a station among the Soto or Saulteaux Indians, calling it Fairford after his birthplace. The Sotos proved a far harder race to influence than the Crees. While Cowley was sorrowing over his ill-success, Budd was experiencing manifest blessing; and when a new missionary, James Hunter (afterwards Archdeacon), came out, and proceeded to the Pas, he found so many Crees under instruction that four years later there were more than four hundred baptized. Another Indian, James Settee, who had also been a boy under West, was sent still further afield in 1846, as far as Lac la Ronge, on the "height of land" or watershed between the rivers that fall into Hudson's Bay and those that flow northwards and join the great Mackenzie.

Bishop of Montreal's visit.

In 1844, the Mission had the advantage of an episcopal visitation. Bishop Mountain of Montreal, at the request of the Society, succeeded in performing the long land journey which Cowley had been unable to take. Canada is so much better known now, that the particulars of his journey, as summarized by Dr. Langtry of Toronto,* will interest not a few :—

"The whole distance involved a journey from Montreal of about 2000 miles, and it was all accomplished either in birch-bark canoes, or on foot. They paddled up the Ottawa about 320 miles, then made their way by numerous portages into Lake Nipissing, which they crossed. Then down the French River into the Georgian Bay (Lake Huron); then for 300 miles they threaded their way through that wonderful Archipelago, containing, it is said, 39,000 islands, to the Sault Ste. Marie. Thence, after a long portage round the Sault, they rowed across the entire length of Lake Superior to Fort William; thence up to Kemenistiquoia; through the Rainy and Wood Lakes; down the Winnipeg River; thence along the shores of the stormy Lake Winnipeg to the mouth of the Red River."

The Bishop was astonished and delighted with what he found at the Red River stations, and wrote most warmly to the Society. He confirmed 846 candidates, including a large proportion of Indians, gave Cowley priest's orders, delivered sixteen addresses in seventeen days, and then started on his long journey back to Montreal.

The Red River is now the seat of an Archbishopric; and there are eleven dioceses in the North-West Territories. In this expansion the Society has taken a large share, as will appear by-and-by.

* *Colonial Church Histories: Eastern Canada.* By J. Langtry, M.A., D.C.L., Prolocutor of the Provincial Synod of Canada. S.P.C.K., 1892.

Part V.

FROM VENN'S ACCESSION TO THE JUBILEE: 1841–1848.

NOTE ON PART V.

This is the shortest of our Parts in regard to the length of time covered, comprising barely eight years, from the spring of 1841 to the Jubilee Commemoration, November, 1848, though in one or two chapters the narrative is necessarily continued a little beyond that epoch. The first chapter, XXV., combines the *Personnel* and the Environment, introducing us to the new Secretary, Henry Venn, and his fellow-workers, and also noticing various controversies at home, and Missions, Protestant and Roman, abroad. It is supplemented by two chapters which take up definite subjects, and in doing so show us more of both the *Personnel* and the Environment. Chap. XXVI. describes the relations at the time of the C.M.S. and the Church, and relates the adhesion to the Society of the Archbishops and Bishops, the attitude towards it of men like Blomfield and S. Wilberforce, and its attitude towards the rising Tractarianism. Chap. XXVII. tells the story of the Colonial and Missionary Episcopate, and, in particular, of the establishment of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, of the New Zealand Bishopric, and of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem; also of the Society's controversy with Bishop D. Wilson.

Then follow three chapters on the Missions. India is omitted in this Part, the history of the work there in the 'forties having been practically covered in the preceding Part. Chap. XXVIII. gives a full narrative of the events and controversies of the period in New Zealand, with special reference to Bishop Selwyn and Sir G. Grey. Chap. XXIX. comprises several interesting episodes in the history of Missions in Africa, the story of Crowther, the first Niger Expedition, the origin of the Yoruba Mission, and Krapf's commencement on the East Coast. Chap. XXX. takes us for the first time to China, and summarizes the events before and after the first Chinese War.

The last two chapters of the Part are special ones. Chap. XXXI. reviews the finances of the Society, the contributions and the expenditure, during the half-century. Chap. XXXII. describes the Jubilee Commemoration.

CHAPTER XXV.

Henry Venn—and Survey of Men and Things.

The Year 1841 an Epoch in Church, in State, in C.M.S.—Henry Venn — Deaths of Pratt and Coates — The Committee, Vice-Presidents, Preachers and Speakers—C.M.S. Missions and Missionaries—Missions of Other Societies—Roman Missions—Controversies at Home: Maynooth, Irish Church Missions, Evangelical Alliance — Scotch Disruption — C.M.S. and Scotch Episcopal Church.

"*Lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart.*"—1 Kings iii. 12.
"*Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?*"—Gen. xli. 38.

THE year 1841 was an epoch in the history of the State, an epoch in the history of the Church, and an epoch in the history of the Church Missionary Society. Few years have had more fateful issues. In the State, the year saw the fall of the Melbourne Government, and the commencement of Peel's administration. In that year Mr. Gladstone became a Minister, and Mr. Cobden entered Parliament. From that year began the great fiscal reforms which have done so much for the material advancement of the nation, culminating in the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the establishment of Free Trade. In 1841, England was engaged in the Afghan and China wars: if the former did not open Central Asia, it indirectly led, a few years later, to the conquest of the Punjab; while the latter did open to European influence the largest homogeneous population in the world. In 1841, the struggle between Turkey and Egypt issued in the virtual independence of the vassal state. In 1841, the Niger Expedition ascended that great river. In 1841, David Livingstone went to Africa. In 1841, steam communication with India *viâ* the Red Sea was organized by the P. & O. Company. In 1841, the Prince of Wales was born.

An epoch-making year,

In the State,

Then turning to the Church: in 1841 appeared the famous Tract XC., the most daring manifesto of the Oxford Movement, in which John Henry Newman (to adopt the words of the resolution of the Heads of Houses at Oxford condemning the Tract) "evaded rather than explained the sense of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and reconciled subscription to them with the adoption of the errors

In the Church,

they were designed to counteract." * In 1841, the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was established, which has had a large share in extending the Anglican Episcopate over the world. In 1841, the Bishopric of New Zealand was founded, and Selwyn appointed first Bishop. In 1841, the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem also was established.

In the Society.

Almost all these events, sooner or later, affected the Church Missionary Society. But the year was a marked one within the Society itself. In 1841, the two Archbishops and several Bishops joined it, on the addition to its Laws and Regulations of certain provisions for ecclesiastical difficulties. In 1841 occurred various events which led to the Yoruba, Niger, and East Africa Missions; and the future China Mission was appearing above the horizon. In 1841, Robert Noble and H. W. Fox went to India to start the Telugu Mission. In 1841, the Society, in the face of all these openings and possibilities, was in the midst of the greatest financial crisis in its history, the whole of its reserve funds having been sold out, and a debt of several thousand pounds being due to the bankers and private friends.

Lastly, in 1841, Henry Venn became Honorary Secretary of the Society.

The three Venns.

No name is so identified with the History of the Church Missionary Society as the name of Venn. We found, in our earlier chapters, the springs of the stream, whose winding and gradually widening course we have been following from its source, in the Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century; and of that Revival, so far as it permanently affected the Church of England, the First Henry Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield, was perhaps the chief promoter. It is true that the Revival was, in its beginnings, entirely a Church movement. The Wesleys, Whitefield, and all the other earlier leaders, were clergymen. But the most conspicuous results of their labours—partly, if not principally, through the Church's own fault—were ultimately seen outside its pale. With Venn and his more immediate allies it was different. They preached the same Gospel in the power of the same Spirit, but they submitted to the restrictions imposed by their parochial responsibilities, rendered all loyal allegiance to the Bishops, held

* Bishop Philpotts of Exeter, the most advanced and militant High Churchman on the Bench, said in his Charge:—"The tone of the Tract as respects our own Church is offensive and indecent; as regards the Reformation and our Reformers absurd, as well as incongruous and unjust. Its principles of interpreting our Articles I cannot but deem most unsound; the reasoning with which it supports its principles sophistical; the averments on which it founds its reasoning, at variance with recorded facts. . . . It is idle to argue against statements which were not designed for argument, but for scoffing. . . . It is far the most daring attempt ever yet made by a minister of the Church of England to neutralize the distinctive doctrines of our Church and to make us symbolize with Rome." (Quoted in *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 99.)

firmly by the Prayer-book, steered a middle course between the Arminianism of Wesley and the ultra-Calvinism of some of Whitefield's followers, and gradually built up the new school of "serious clergy" within the Church, from which sprang the Church Missionary Society. Then, in the second generation of Evangelicals, comprising men like Newton, Cecil, Scott, Simeon, Pratt, and the Milners, we found that John Venn, Rector of Clapham, son of the First Henry and father of the Second Henry, was not only the Nestor of the party, but the first chairman of the new Society, and the author of its original constitution. And now, in the third generation of Evangelical Churchmen—perhaps we may say in the third and fourth—reckoning Bickersteth, Cunningham, and the first Daniel Wilson as representing the third, and McNeile, Stowell, Close, and Miller, as representing the fourth—we shall find the Second Henry Venn exercising for thirty years an unique influence as the Society's Honorary Secretary and virtual Director.

Henry Venn the younger.

Henry Venn the younger was born at Clapham on February 10th, 1796. The date is noteworthy, for it was only two days after Charles Simeon had opened that discussion at the Eclectic Society which led to the formation of the C.M.S. In 1814 he went to Queens' College, Cambridge, of which Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle, then an aged man, was still President. He came out 19th Wrangler in 1818; Lefevre (afterwards Sir John Shaw Lefevre) being Senior, and Connop Thirlwall (afterwards Bishop of St. David's) also in the list. In the following year he was elected, like his grandfather, the first Henry Venn, a Fellow of Queens', and was ordained by the Bishop of Ely. In 1821 he was curate of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, and then began to attend the Committee meetings of the Church Missionary Society. Only for two or three years, however; as in 1824 he went back to Cambridge, and became Tutor at his college—which at this time rose to be third among the colleges in point of numbers,—and also Proctor to the University. An interesting circumstance connects him also with Great St. Mary's. The Vicar was then Mr. Musgrave, afterwards Bishop of Hereford and Archbishop of York. Musgrave arranged to start an evening service for the townspeople,—a great novelty in the University Church, although Simeon had long ago introduced it, in the teeth of much opposition, at Trinity; —and appointed Venn to be the new evening lecturer. Shortly after, however, Venn moved to Hull, being nominated by William Wilberforce to the then very unattractive parish of Drypool. There he laboured six years, until, in 1834, he was offered by Daniel Wilson the younger, who had succeeded his father the Bishop in the Vicarage of Islington, the incumbency of St. John's, Holloway. This move brought him back to Salisbury Square, and he quickly became one of the leading members of Committee.

At Cambridge.

At Hull.

At Holloway.

In 1840, William Jowett resigned his Clerical Secretaryship, and in the following year his colleague Vores followed his example.

This left the Lay Secretary, Dandeson Coates, sole head of the House.* The Rev. Richard Davies was appointed Clerical Secretary; "in whom," wrote Venn in after years, "we had a lovely example of quiet energy, a heavenly spirit, and devoted love to the cause." † He continued at his post seven years; "but his early removal from the office prevented the full ripening of excellent official qualifications." ‡ No second suitable clergyman was forthcoming; and in October 1841, Venn was approached, and "kindly consented, as a temporary arrangement, to connect himself officially with the Society, under the designation of Honorary Clerical Secretary *pro tempore*." §

H. Venn Hon. Sec. of C.M.S.

He had already been virtually the Society's leader, particularly in ecclesiastical matters. In that very year, as we shall see in the next chapter, he had been in no small degree instrumental, with Lord Chichester, in bringing about the adhesion of the Archbishops and Bishops to the Society; and three or four years earlier, he had drawn up that important manifesto on the relations of the Society to the Church which for nearly forty years was printed, with his initials, in the Annual Reports. Now he became the official mouthpiece of the Society.

It was at first really supposed to be *pro tempore*. Venn still retained his Holloway parish; besides which, he was only just recovering—indeed it was doubtful whether he was really recovering—from a long and serious illness. For more than a year, in 1838-9, he had been unable to fulfil any of his ministerial functions. In May, 1841, his medical adviser urged him to give up his parish altogether, and allow his constitution two or three years to regain strength; but instead of following this advice, he, five months after, added to his parochial work the Secretaryship of the Church Missionary Society. One might say that he did not deserve to last; yet, through the goodness of God, he lasted thirty years. He continued at St. John's till the end of 1845, and then, at last finding it impossible to fill both posts efficiently, he resigned the parish—and the income,—and gave himself from that time, body, soul, and spirit, night and day, all the year round, to the work of the Church Missionary Society.

What was thought of him after the four years' *pro tem.* tenure of the office we may see from a letter on the question which office he should retain, written by Charles Baring (afterwards Bishop of Durham) to Venn's brother John (afterwards Prebendary of Hereford):‖—

C. Baring on H. Venn.

"I feel so strongly that the duty of a minister of Christ is to preach the Gospel, that in almost every case I should without a doubt say, Give up the Secretaryship for pastoral work; but your brother is an exception to this, and I feel as confident that if he were to resign his post in Salisbury Square he would be relinquishing one of the most important

* See p. 252.

† Address at Opening of new C.M. House; *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1862, p. 83.

‡ *Ibid.* § Annual Report, 1842.

‖ *Memoir of Henry Venn*, p. 124.

spheres for promoting Christ's kingdom, for which the grace of God seems peculiarly to have suited him. I have now been almost a year and a half in constant attendance at the Committees, and much as I value your brother's talents generally, it is only there that his real value can be seen as a most influential and successful promoter of his Master's kingdom. His calm judgment and long-sighted views of results, his firmness and settled opinions upon all doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters, his kindness of heart and manner, his straightforward honesty and candour—all these have won him not merely the confidence of the Committee, but have given him a power with them and an authority which no other secretary has before possessed. Again and again have I heard from the lips of many of the Committee almost the same language, that they considered it one of the most marked proofs of God's goodness to the Society, the having raised up such a person at a most critical time, without whose aid they could scarcely have hoped to have weathered the storms which were surrounding them."

It must have been a cause of special thankfulness to Josiah Pratt and Edward Bickersteth, the one at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and the other at Watton, to see such a man in the office they knew so well. Pratt was an old man when Venn first joined *pro tem.*, and at that very time was arranging to transfer to other hands his special child, the *Missionary Register*. Bickersteth was still in the prime of life, but was just then seriously ill. He recovered, however, to work for seven years more with unabated fervour in behalf of many a noble Christian enterprise. Pratt's home-call came before Venn was permanent Secretary. He died on October 10th, 1844, full of years and honours—if by honours we understand the respect and love of all who knew him, and the blessing vouchsafed upon the Society he had so devotedly and so wisely served. Two of his funeral sermons were preached by Bickersteth and Venn. It was in an Appendix to Venn's Sermon, when published, that the first authentic sketch of the Society's origin and early history appeared. And the Sermon itself mentioned the striking circumstance that while Pratt's first official act was his being one of the sixteen clergymen who formed the Society in 1799, his last one was to second the resolution in 1841 which modified its constitution and opened the door for the adhesion of the Heads of the Church.

Death of Josiah Pratt.

Hardly had Henry Venn entered upon the full responsibilities of permanent office, when he lost his able and experienced lay colleague. Dandeson Coates died on April 23rd, 1846, after a short illness. In the Report presented at the Anniversary, only a few days after, the Committee put on record the "self-sacrifice, zeal, and extraordinary ability with which he conducted the business of the Society, and the admirable way in which he brought the great principles of the Gospel of the Grace of God to bear upon the discussion of all important questions." His very ability, however, had sometimes caused difficulty, as indicated in previous chapters;* but his loss was keenly felt; and it must

Death of Dandeson Coates.

* See p. 252.

have been no slight additional trial in the office when his death was followed, within five months, by the death, after twenty-seven years' faithful service, of the Accountant, Mr. Northover, who was thrown from a pony-chaise and died almost immediately. Coates's successor as Lay Secretary was Major Hector Straith, who had been Professor of Fortification at Addiscombe, and who held office thirteen years. He was superior to Coates spiritually, but not his equal in the conduct of business.

Major Straith Lay Sec.

All this time there was another officer in Salisbury Square, who, however, had no part in the general administration. This was Mr. G. C. Greenway, the naval officer before-mentioned.* He acted as Association Secretary for London and the neighbourhood, and also as a central correspondent for the other Association Secretaries, the number of whom was now increasing. In 1841 there were eight. In 1849 there were thirteen. Among them at this time were Joseph Ridgeway, afterwards first Editorial Secretary of the Society; George Smith, afterwards first Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong; E. W. Foley, afterwards Vicar of All Saints', Derby; H. Powell, afterwards Vicar of Blackburn and Hon. Canon of Manchester; Bourchier Wray Savile, a well-known writer; and Charles and George Hodgson, who worked Yorkshire so zealously for many years.

Associa-tion Secs.

Of the clergymen who joined the Committee at this period, and were appointed members of the Committee of Correspondence, the most important were Edward Auriol, Edward Hoare, Charles Baring, and John C. Miller. Auriol, Rector of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, soon became by far the most influential clerical member, and continued so for thirty years, serving as a matter of course on every important sub-committee. Hoare was Venn's successor at St. John's, Holloway; but he moved soon afterwards to Ramsgate, and ceased attending. Not till nearly thirty years later did he become the power in the Committee-room which is now so well remembered. Baring was Rector of All Souls', Langham Place, and was a valued member until his appointment to a bishopric in 1856. Miller was Minister of Park Chapel, Chelsea; but his removal to the great sphere of his usefulness at Birmingham soon took him away from Salisbury Square.

New Clerical Members of Com-mittee.

The lay members at this time included several men of position and influence. Captain the Hon. W. Waldegrave (afterwards Earl Waldegrave), Sir Harry Verney, Sir Walter R. Farquhar, General MacInnes, Admiral Sir H. Hope, the Hon. S. R. Curzon, Lord Henry Cholmondeley, appear in the lists; and several of these were regular and very useful members. Colonel Caldwell joined in 1834, but his continuous membership did not begin till twenty years later, and then lasted twenty years. James Farish and R. M. Bird represented the Indian official element, and both were highly valued. So was John Gurney Hoare, a

New Lay Members.

* See p. 255.

regular attendant for nearly thirty years. His brother Joseph was a member for one year in 1849, but his more important services belong to a later period. But above all, among the new members of that time, must be named Alexander Beattie, who joined in 1842, and was still the Nestor of the Society forty-seven years afterwards. He had before this been a merchant in Calcutta, and a member of the Society's Corresponding Committee there. In after years he was a magnate in the railway world.

But most of these were new men at the period we are reviewing. The leaders in the Committee-room were, of the clergy, James Hough, Joseph Fenn, Cornwall Smalley, sen., and (when present) E. Bickersteth, and of the laity, C. Brodrick, W. A. Garratt, and J. M. Strachan; several of whom have been mentioned before.

New Vice-Presidents.

The Vice-Presidents in 1841 included the Marquis of Cholmondeley, the Earls of Galloway, Gosford, and Roden; Viscount Lorton; Lords Barham, Bexley, Calthorpe, Glenelg, and Teignmouth; Lord Ashley, Sir T. D. Acland, Sir T. Baring, Sir T. F. Buxton, Sir G. Grey, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir A. Johnston; Messrs. W. Evans, H. Goulburn, J. P. Plumptre, and Abel Smith, M.P.'s; Mr. Justice Erskine; Dr. Cotton, Provost of Worcester College, Oxford; Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham; Dr. Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall; Dr. Lamb, Master of Christ's, Cambridge; and Dean Pearson, of Salisbury. Between this date and the Jubilee, the following were added:—The Duke of Manchester, the Earls of Gainsborough and Effingham, and Earl Waldegrave; Viscount Midleton, Lord Lurgan, Lord H. Cholmondeley, Lord Sandon (afterwards Earl of Harrowby), Sir Peregrine Maitland,* and Mr. H. Kemble, M.P. In addition to these, by the end of this period the number of Bishops who had joined the Society was thirty-four; but of them the next chapter will speak.

Honorary Governors for Life.

The principal names added to the list of Honorary Governors for Life, on account of their "essential services to the Society," between 1824 and 1848, were the following:—Pratt, Woodroffe, Bickersteth, Pearson, and Davies, on their respective retirements from office; Baptist Noel, James Hough, and Joseph Fenn, as leading members of the Committee; W. Dealtry of Clapham (afterwards Archdeacon), C. J. Hoare (afterwards Archdeacon), Charles Bridges, Hugh Stowell, Francis Close (afterwards Dean); Hon. J. T. Pelham (afterwards Bishop of Norwich), and Chancellor Raikes; T. Dealtry of Calcutta (afterwards Bishop of Madras); and Dr. Steinkopf, of the Bible Society. No leading layman was added in this period.

Preachers at St. Bride's.

The list of preachers of the Annual Sermon during the period contains notable names. Francis Close's sermon in 1841 has already been noticed.† In 1842, the preacher was Hugh Stowell

* See p. 296.

† See p. 289.

of Manchester, who for so many years stood in the front rank of Exeter Hall orators. His sermon was one of great importance, coming just after the adhesion to the Society of the Archbishops and Bishops; and we shall see more of it accordingly in the next chapter. Then followed the Hon. and Rev. W. J. Brodrick, afterwards Viscount Midleton. In 1844, Bishop Blomfield of London, one of the new episcopal patrons, preached; and his words, too, must be quoted hereafter. Then in 1845 came Hugh McNeile of Liverpool, unquestionably the greatest Evangelical preacher and speaker in the Church of England during this century; but his sermon, in print at least, does scant justice to his reputation, and calls for no special notice. In 1846, Bishop Daniel Wilson was in England, and was invited to occupy the St. Bride's pulpit. He had already done so thirty years before, when Minister of St. John's, Bedford Row; * and his is the only name that has ever appeared twice in the famous list. His sermon also will be noticed in another chapter. In the two remaining years of the period, the preachers were Charles Bridges, the well-known expositor, and John Tucker, the Madras Secretary, who was now at home, and shortly to become a Secretary in Salisbury Square; but neither of these need detain us.

Speakers at the Annual Meetings.

Turning to the Annual Meetings, we find several of the leading speakers of the preceding period again prominent. In the eight years, 1842-49 inclusive, John Cunningham again spoke four times (including the Jubilee Meeting), making nineteen times in thirty-four years. No other man has ever been so frequently put forward. Stowell spoke three times, McNeile once, Close twice, Baptist Noel three times, Bickersteth twice, Dr. Marsh once, Professor Scholefield twice. The brother-Bishops Sumner are again conspicuous, the Bishop of Winchester speaking three times, and the Bishop of Chester three times,—the latter also presiding in 1848 on his elevation to the Primacy.† Bishop Longley of Ripon, another future Primate, spoke in 1842 and 1844; indeed he was almost as frequent a speaker at various May meetings as his brethren the Sumners. Samuel Wilberforce, who had spoken as Archdeacon of Surrey in 1840, appeared again as Bishop of Oxford in 1846, and also, as we shall see hereafter, at the great Jubilee Meeting in 1848. Sir Robert Harry Inglis was a speaker four times in five years. So far as regards those mentioned before as speaking in the preceding period. The new names in this period include Lord Ashley (twice), Lord Sandon, Bishop Spencer of Madras, Bishop Perry of Melbourne, Montagu Villiers (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle and Durham), John C. Miller, H. V. Elliott, Dr. Tyng of New York,

* See p. 113.

† Since that time it has been the custom to invite each new Archbishop of Canterbury to take the President's chair at the Anniversary next after his appointment.

and Dr. F. Jeune, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough).

The missionary speakers are again in this period very few: only John Tucker, Weitbrecht, Bernau, H. W. Fox, G. Smith of China, W. Smith of Benares, Townsend, and E. Jones, the coloured Principal of Fourah Bay College. Others, however, were put up at the Evening Meetings; but these were then gatherings of a very secondary character, without special attraction, and rarely well attended.

So much for the *personnel* of the Society at home during this period. What of its Missions and missionaries?

The C.M.S. Missions in 1841.

Henry Venn came to Salisbury Square not only at an epoch in the Society's history ecclesiastically, not only at a crisis financially, —both which will be described in future chapters,—but also at a time when the openings in the mission-field were increasing on every hand. Educational work, mainly with a view to the training of native teachers and evangelists, was conspicuous for its development. "In West Africa," says the Report of 1841, "there is the Fourah Bay Institution; in Jamaica, the Normal School; in Malta, the new Institution; in Syra, the High School; in Cairo, the Seminary; in Calcutta, the Head Seminary; in Benares, Jay Narain's School; in Madras, the Institution and Bishop Corrie's Grammar School; in Bombay, the Money Institution; in Ceylon, the Cotta Institution. They constitute the very hope of the future usefulness of the Missions; they require a large expenditure; they need also, for their successful superintendence, the most exalted piety." Some of these did not last; the list suggests reflections on the failure of the best plans; but several have lasted to this day, and all are typical of a branch of missionary work which was growing in importance, and calling for the services of the best men.

The same Report mentions appeals before the Committee for Missions to the Ashantis of West Africa and the Druses of the Lebanon; to the Himalaya Valleys, and to the Afghan territories then (but only temporarily) occupied by British troops. The new Telugu Mission was just being started. Krishnagar called loudly for development. The Niger Expedition was about to open up new territories to evangelization; the Sierra Leone Mission was stretching out into the Temne country; and a year or two later came the first ordination of an African clergyman, and the commencement of the Yoruba Mission. Krapf in Abyssinia was already looking southward; his move to Mombasa nearly coincided in time with Townsend's to Abeokuta; and before the close of our period the great explorations of Equatorial Africa had begun. Above all, the long-closed door into China was on the point of opening; before we complete this section of our History we shall find several China Missions established.

But the supply of missionaries from the Church at home was

The missionaries.

still miserably inadequate. There was, however, some little improvement. In a previous chapter it was mentioned that in the first forty years of the Society's existence only sixteen University men went forth under its auspices. Exactly the same number, sixteen, went out in the eight years now under review. The list begins with the two founders of the Telugu Mission, Robert Turlington Noble and Henry Watson Fox, of Sidney Sussex,

University men.

Cambridge, and Wadham, Oxford, respectively. It includes also, from Cambridge, W. C. Dudley (Queens'), T. G. Ragland (Corpus, 4th Wrangler, and Fellow), R. L. Allnutt (Peterhouse), R. M. Lamb (Trinity), M. J. Wilkinson (Trinity), and R. H. Cobbold (Peterhouse); from Oxford, J. G. Seymer (Ch. Ch.), C. L. Reay (Queen's), and George Smith (Magdalen Hall; afterwards Bishop of Victoria); from Dublin, E. Johnson, T. McClatchie, G. G. Cuthbert, W. Farmer, and W. A. Russell (afterwards Bishop of North China). Of these, Dudley and Reay went to New Zealand; Smith, McClatchie, Cobbold, Farmer, Russell, to China; and all the rest to India.

Islington men.

Of the Islington men of the period, the most notable are Edward Sargent (afterwards Bishop), and J. T. Tucker, of Tinnevelly; Henry Baker, jun., of Travancore; Samuel Hasell, of Bengal (afterwards Central Secretary); James Hunter, of Rupert's Land (afterwards Archdeacon); S. M. Spencer, of New Zealand. Of the Basle men, we should notice Gollmer, West Africa; Koelle, West Africa and Turkey; Rebmann, East Africa; Erhardt, East Africa and North India; Schurr and Fuchs, North India. All these were at Islington as well as at Basle. Two other men, whose names come on the list at this time, must be mentioned, viz., Samuel Crowther, the first of the Society's African clergymen, ordained from Islington in 1843; and Samuel Williams, son of Archdeacon Henry Williams, of New Zealand, who was taken out by his parents when a few months old in 1822, was ordained in the country in 1846, and still survives as Archdeacon himself, and an honorary C.M.S. missionary.

Their length of service.

Some of these brethren, like those of the preceding period, accomplished long periods of service:—Sargent, 47 years, besides seven as a catechist before ordination; S. Williams (to 1898), 51; Crowther, from ordination, 47; Spencer, 40 in active work, and afterwards as *emeritus;* Schurr, 36; Erhardt, 42; Rebmann, 29 without coming home; Baker, 35; Fuchs, 32; Russell, 25, and seven as bishop; Noble, 24 without coming home. Others of the same period had many years too: W. Clark, 30; Bilderbeck, 37; Bomwetsch, 31.

Protestant Missions generally.

In the wider area of Protestant Missions generally, this period comprises some memorable incidents, some satisfactory progress, and not a little trial. The India field has already been noticed.*

* P. 331.

China is especially conspicuous. It was at this time that several of the largest Missions there were begun; and William Burns, one of the most heroic of missionaries, went out as the first representative of the English Presbyterians in 1847. So did W. J. Boone, the first representative of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, afterwards Bishop. That Church had also, a little earlier, sent John Payne to Liberia, who likewise was subsequently for many years Bishop. In South Africa, Casalis, of the French Basuto Mission, and Moffat, of the L.M.S., had become celebrated. In 1841 went forth David Livingstone, and the *Missionary Register* reports from time to time the proceedings of "Mr. Livingston," and in particular, his discovery of Lake Ngami in 1849. Elsewhere, the L.M.S. had many trials at this time. The Russian Government suppressed the Siberia Mission in 1840; in Madagascar, the great persecution was at its height, and news of the Native Christians only came at uncertain intervals; in the South Seas, John Williams was killed at Erromanga in 1839; and in 1842 began the French aggression in Tahiti, which ultimately drove the Society from the island, and incidentally brought England and France to the verge of war.* On the other hand, the great Wesleyan triumph in the Fiji Islands, under John Hunt, belongs to this period; and so does the success of the American Board in establishing Christianity in Hawaii. This also is the date of the heroic enterprise of Captain Allen Gardiner—whose enforced retirement from Zululand we have already seen †—in Tierra del Fuego; but his death did not occur till 1851. Medical Missions were still in the future; but Woman's Work was beginning to extend, particularly in connexion with the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, which in 1848 had about twenty missionaries in India, Ceylon, China, Palestine, and South Africa.

Roman Missions.

The period was also one of great activity in Roman Catholic Missions. This was mainly due to the energy of a new voluntary society, not worked by "the Church," although patronized by the Popes, which had been founded at Lyons in 1822 by "a few humble and obscure Catholics" (to use their own words), with the title of the Institution for the Propagation of the Faith.‡ From 1842 onwards, for ten or twelve years, the reports of this society are summarized in the *Missionary Register*, with considerable extracts, which are extremely interesting. In the first year

The Lyons Institution.

* "I am glad," said Louis Philippe to Lord John Russell, "that our negotiations on Tahiti terminated favourably. I should have been grieved to do any injury to your capital, but I was advised to make an attempt on London, and I should have been successful." *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. ii. p. 91. "Terminated favourably"—because England cared little for a Christian state which was the fruit of Missions, and let the French have their way. Lord Ashley's "grief and indignation" are expressed in strong terms in his journal. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

† See p. 355.

‡ Not to be confounded with the College of the Propaganda at Rome.

(1823) it collected, chiefly from among the shopkeepers and artizans of Lyons, about £1900. In 1833 its income was £13,000; in 1843, £141,000; in 1852, £200,000. In 1843 it claimed to be assisting 130 bishops and 4000 priests, belonging to various Roman orders and societies. This originally humble voluntary society was in fact at this time enabling Rome to girdle the globe with Missions. One of the reports contrasts with much complacency the economy with which their operations were conducted with "the extravagant salaries allowed the lordly missionaries of the Anglican Church in the East and West Indies, the immense sums swallowed up by the Methodist Proconsuls who rule it over the Kings of the Southern Ocean, and the innumerable hawkers of Bibles, whose prudent zeal extends no further than to introduce along the coasts of China, with smuggled opium, the sacred writings which they profane."

Romish activity in Protestant Mission-fields.

Protestant Missions soon felt the effects of this new energy of Roman Catholic France. In 1839 the C.M.S. Report noticed the "direct and undisguised hostility to Protestant Missions which Rome was showing in India, in New Zealand, in the Levant and Abyssinia, and among the Red Indians." But it was added, "It is an axiom established by the history of the Gospel, that wherever the soil has been best cultivated, and wherever the hopes of a future harvest are most promising, there the enemy will be the most busy in sowing tares." Again, in the Report of 1847:—

"Each successive year affords fresh proof of the warlike activity in the Romish camp, and sees the multitudes sent out on Foreign Missions who have been trained in the College of the Propaganda. In numbers and activity they far outdo the advocates of the Truth. While we are meditating to send a catechist to a distant tribe of North-West American Indians, 1000 miles from the headquarters of both parties, we hear that four Romish priests are already among them! While the Church of England for a whole year seeks in vain for one missionary to China, the Romish agent at Hong Kong negotiates for a contract with a Steam Navigation Company to carry to China 100 priests within the year! . . . The intrusions into our Missions in Krishnagar and New Zealand are but faint skirmishes, to be numbered among the many signs which unequivocally proclaim that the battle between Popery and Protestantism must be fought on the Mission-field no less than at home."

Romish activity in England.

"No less than at home." These words contain an allusion to the growing activity of Rome in England at the time, encouraged by the Tractarian secessions. In 1845, Peel had carried his bill giving further grants to Maynooth College,* despite an outburst of Protestant feeling. Then came the great Irish famine which led to the Repeal of the Corn Laws. This gave Christian people in England an opportunity to fight Romanism in Ireland with spiritual weapons. The charity of England, which saved

* On account of which Mr. Gladstone left the Ministry. Curiously enough it was Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Disestablishment Bill of 1869 that abolished the Maynooth subsidy.

thousands of lives of Irish Romanists, predisposed them—just as similar charity dispensed by missionaries among famine-stricken people in India predisposes them—to listen to the message of free salvation from their benefactors. Hence the Irish Church Missions, into the cause of which Edward Bickersteth flung himself at this time with characteristic ardour. "While Englishmen in general," writes his biographer, Professor Birks, "felt the plain duty of relieving temporal distress, there were a smaller number of earnest Christians who saw in this visitation of God a still louder call to care for perishing souls, and to raise them from the darkness of sin and superstition into the glorious liberty of the Gospel of Christ." "The false benevolence which pretended to heal the miseries of Ireland by an ampler supply of Popery at the expense of the State [alluding to Maynooth] called for vigorous efforts of real Christian love in a more earnest diffusion of the Gospel, the only true remedy for Ireland's distress and moral degradation." * To this work the leaders of the Church Missionary Society, never too much absorbed with their own organization to care for other Christian enterprises, gave their warm co-operation; and the *Missionary Register* regularly reported its progress.

Irish Church Missions.

Concerning another movement of the day—also arising in part out of the Maynooth controversy—they were not unanimous. This was the Evangelical Alliance. For some years, Mr. Haldane Stewart had sought to heal the divisions within the Evangelical ranks, to which reference was made in a previous chapter,† by issuing annually an Invitation to United Prayer, for the Church and for the World; but in 1845, at the instance of certain Scotch ministers, a conference was held at Liverpool which issued, in the following year, in the formation of an organized body, uniting Churchmen and Dissenters, called the Evangelical Alliance. Of this body Edward Bickersteth was one of the chief founders and leaders. At the time, a strong anti-State-Church movement was spreading among the Dissenters; and Bickersteth hoped that the Alliance might at least cause the views they honestly held to be more gently and charitably promulgated. But some of his brethren took a different line, and feared, by joining the new organization, to encourage the Church's opponents. Josiah Pratt was now dead; but he had not approved of the preliminary steps taken two or three years earlier. Hugh McNeile wrote to Bickersteth, "I am convinced that your ardent and loving spirit will meet with a distressing disappointment in the issue of the Alliance"; and the *Christian Observer* decidedly condemned the scheme. The same diversity of opinion regarding the Alliance has prevailed in Evangelical circles ever since; but no one can doubt the good it has done by its influence upon Protestant movements on the Continent.

The Evangelical Alliance.

* *Memoir of E. Bickersteth*, vol. ii. p. 363-5.

† See p. 285.

Disruption of Scotch Kirk.

It has been said that the definite move towards forming the Alliance was made from Scotland. In fact it was, in one aspect, an attempt to heal the dissensions which had been at first the cause, and then still more the consequence, of the Disruption of 1843, and the secession of a large part of the Scottish people, and of several hundred of the best ministers, from the Established Presbyterian Church. That great event could not be viewed with indifference in England. The strong affection of the Evangelicals for the union of Church and State prevented their approving the formation of the Free Church; and yet their natural sympathies went with its leaders, Chalmers, Candlish, and others, who mainly represented the evangelical side of the Kirk. Pratt regarded the Secession as "a noble sacrifice to what was conscientiously considered to be absolute duty"; but he was "not convinced that the sacrifice was called for by a right sense of duty." * Bickersteth took a more sympathetic view: he regretted the separation, but he thought the contention of the Establishment party was "a virtual denial of the visible Church as a distinct ordinance of Christ."

Episcopal Churches in Scotland.

Another series of events in Scotland, though less important in itself, touched the Church Missionary Society more closely. The Scottish Episcopal Church had a Communion Service differing from that of the Church of England, and on this account several congregations of an Evangelical type had always kept aloof from it, and were ministered to by clergymen in English orders; and these congregations had a certain legal status under an old Act of Parliament. About this time, however, some modifications in the terms of subscription of the Scottish Episcopal Church had opened the door for their adhesion to it; and several of them took advantage of this, to gain the benefit of episcopal countenance. Unfortunately, two of the Scotch Bishops subjected the congregations of this type at Edinburgh and Aberdeen to high-handed treatment, in the one case forbidding prayer-meetings, and in the other case excommunicating the minister for using the English Service. Both congregations at once seceded, and at Edinburgh a new church was built for the minister, the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, an excellent and faithful clergyman; and a few other congregations followed suit. Naturally enough, this brought upon them the fulminations of High Church organs in England; while on the other hand, the *Record*, whose chief proprietor and virtual director, Mr. Alexander Haldane, was a Scotchman, threw itself into the conflict with the energy, and, it must be added, bitterness, that in those days so markedly characterized it. Now the old English congregations, both those that adhered to the Scotch Church and those that held aloof, were the supporters of the Church Missionary Society in Scotland; and a question arose as to what churches and chapels a deputation from the Society might preach in. The Committee of the Edinburgh

Perplexity of C.M.S.

* Letter to Bishop of Calcutta; in *Memoir of Pratt*, p. 359.

C.M. Association were mostly men who clave to Mr. Drummond; and there was no doubt that the best spiritual life of the Church was then in the separated congregations. On the other hand their position was regarded by some of the Society's leading friends in England as irregular, if not, as High Churchmen said, schismatical; and after prolonged discussions the Committee in Salisbury Square, unable to ignore the strong representations made to them from either side, resolved that the official deputations should attend meetings only, and not preach at all.

The controversy continued for many years. The Committee, after two years, allowed the deputations to preach in the English Episcopal Chapels, as they were called. Indeed most of the support came from them. This, however, did not satisfy the friends belonging to them. These friends wished the Committee not only to allow deputations to preach in the English chapels, but also to *forbid* their preaching in the Scotch Episcopal Churches. But the Committee maintained an impartial attitude, refusing to make any restrictions either way; and of course both sides were dissatisfied. In later times, the circumstances altered considerably; but this does not belong to our present subject.

Attitude of C.M.S.

Such were the men, and such the surroundings, of Henry Venn's first seven years as Secretary. Or rather, some of them. For other most important features of the environment of the period have yet to be noticed. We shall see the Society's Laws modified to open the door for the adhesion of the Heads of the Church. We shall see the Archbishops and Bishops joining it. We shall see the extension of the Colonial and Missionary Episcopate. We shall see the bitter controversies that clustered round the Tractarian Movement. We shall see the Society in the most serious financial crisis it has ever known, and see how it was delivered. Then, in the foreign field we shall see the opening of China, the commencement in East Africa, the extension of the West Africa Mission to the Yoruba country, the first attempt to navigate the Niger in the interests of commerce and Christianity. Thus the seven years from Venn's accession to the Jubilee, from 1841 to 1848, were a period of important events at home and abroad; a period of much testing of faith and of principle; a period in which, very emphatically, the Society could say, "The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge!"

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Society and the Church.

Improved Condition of the Church—Church Unions—H. Venn's Defence of C.M.S.—"Sanction of Convocation"—F. Close's Sermon—Bishop Blomfield's Proposals for C.M.S. and S.P.G.—F. Close and Lord Chichester on the Proposals—Revision of C.M.S. Laws—Archbishops and Bishops join C.M.S.—Hugh Stowell's Sermon, and Bishop Blomfield's—Results, Expected and Actual—S.P.G. and C.M.S.—Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford: his Career and Influence—J. B. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury—Tractarian Controversies and Secessions—Attitude of C.M.S.

"The hand of the Lord was with them. . . . Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the Church . . . and they sent forth Barnabas. . . . who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad."—Acts xi. 21-23.

"THE two great Missionary Societies of the Church" is a very common phrase at the present day. The two are, of course, S.P.G. and C.M.S. But sixty years ago, if the expression had been used, it would not have meant these two. It would have meant S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. Not that the S.P.C.K. has lost ground in the interval. On the contrary, it never did so great and beneficent a work as at present. But it is not usually thought of as a missionary society; and on the other hand, the C.M.S. has won for itself a recognition which in the first forty years of the century it did not enjoy.

Increasing vigour of the Church of England.

But about the time of Queen Victoria's Accession, the vigour of the Church of England, and its consequent efficiency, were rapidly increasing, and the clergy generally were becoming much more alive than before to the need of fostering and supporting Church Societies for various objects. It is customary to attribute this growing energy and efficiency to the influence of the Oxford Movement. Evidence has been given in a previous chapter* showing the fallacy of this view. No doubt the Movement had, subsequently, a great effect upon the Church, transforming the old-fashioned country parson into an ardent and hard-working parish priest. But the improvement, as we have seen, was marked and widespread before that, and while the Movement was still in its infancy. In particular, some of the new bishops were raising the standard of episcopal work to a very

* See p. 274.

REV. HUGH M'NEILE.

REV. HUGH STOWELL.

ARCHBISHOP SUMNER.

DEAN CLOSE.

BISHOP SAMUEL WILBERFORCE.

Hugh M Neile, D.D., Liverpool.
Hugh Stowell, Manchester.
J. B. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Francis Close, Dean of Carlisle.
Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford and of Winchester.

different height from what it had formerly been. Conspicuous among these were Bishop Ryder at Chester, Bishop Blomfield at Chester and London, Bishop Otter at Chichester, and the two Sumners, at Winchester and Chester. Samuel Wilberforce's tenure of the Diocese of Oxford, which unquestionably raised still higher the standard of a bishop's activities, and did much to form the modern idea of the bishop as the working captain of both clergy and laity in his diocese, did not begin till 1845; and Wilberforce, in the earlier years of his episcopate at least, was very far from being one of the Oxford School.

Working Bishops.

One result of the growing energy of the Church was the remarkable progress of the S.P.G., which has been noticed before. The S.P.C.K., the Clergy Aid Society (now the Additional Curates Society), the Church Building Society, and the National Society, were also being vigorously worked. At the same time, the old office of rural dean was revived, and ruri-decanal meetings began to be held, which Josiah Pratt, old man and conservative as he now was, welcomed as the beginning of more effective Church organization—while he deprecated the unofficial gatherings of clerical friends for spiritual exercises being given up in consequence.* One result was a proposal in some quarters to combine the five Societies just mentioned in a Church Union, for the deanery or some larger ecclesiastical area. Then, in places where some of the clergy were favourable to the C.M.S., it was suggested that it also should be included; and the Jews' Society and the recently-formed Pastoral Aid Society were sometimes mentioned too. Samuel Wilberforce, then Archdeacon of Surrey, proposed to combine seven Societies, viz., the five before mentioned and the C.M.S. and C.P.A.S.

Church Societies.

Church Unions.

The C.M.S. Committee saw clearly that this kind of union, well-meant as it was, would be more likely to strangle the Societies than to give them fresh life; and just about the time that Henry Venn became Secretary, a Circular was issued on the subject, in which it was pointed out that, even taking the lowest financial ground, the step was unadvisable. A man who would subscribe a guinea to the Church Union might probably subscribe a guinea *each* to the different Societies if approached on their behalf separately; or at all events to more than one. Besides which, the proposal ignored, said the Circular, "a deep-seated principle of human nature—a legitimate principle as regards charitable donations—that to him who gives, it belongs to determine how his gift should be applied; whereas the Societies it was proposed to combine all differ from each other, either as to the operations which they undertake, or as to the sphere in which they carry on these operations, or as to both these particulars." In short, the plan was not good for any of the Societies. The S.P.G., for instance, would get less out of a

Why C.M.S. objected to the Unions.

* *Memoir*, p. 354.

Church Union comprising also the S.P.C.K., the A.C.S., and the National Society, than it would if separately worked. How could a preacher or speaker interest his auditory in all four at once? And obviously the difficulty would be far greater in the case of Societies avowing distinctive principles, whether Evangelical or any other.

C.M. Associations intact.

The Church Missionary Society's Associations throughout the country were therefore directed to maintain themselves intact; and it was from the discussion of this subject that the practice arose of not sending deputations to joint meetings. The Circular of 1841 fully recognized the right of a parish clergyman to divide his collections in any way he thought best, and to combine any number of Societies, C.M.S. included, in any kind of Union, if he pleased. It only observed that the Society's official deputations could not be "expected" to be at the service of such parishes. This regulation no doubt works hardly here and there; but the principle involved in it is one which, upon the whole, has been for the advantage of all the Societies.

It will be readily understood, however, that the refusal to be included officially in the Church Unions gave a handle to the many Churchmen who disliked the Society, and were not sorry to have fresh ground for denouncing it as "not a Church society." In fact, the very criticisms that have still to be met in some quarters had then to be met much more frequently. They came most persistently from the rising Tractarian School. Dr. Pusey himself, preaching for the S.P.G. at Weymouth, made a vehement attack on the Church Missionary Society. Moreover, the cry began to be raised that Missions should be worked by "the Church in her corporate capacity," and that all societies were, to say the least, an anachronism. This view was dealt with, and opposed, in admirable fashion by Bishop J. B. Sumner of Chester (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), in a speech at the C.M.S. Anniversary of 1840.

Pusey and Sumner.

The Church Missionary Society, in fact, was now too large and important to be ignored. But it could still be assailed. And it was assailed—as it sometimes is still—with a singular ignorance of its actual history and work, or of the actual history and work of the varied organizations which, on different sides, were invidiously compared with it.

H. Venn's Defence of C.M.S.

This seems the right place to notice the famous document drawn up by Henry Venn (before he was Secretary), known as the Appendix to the Thirty-Ninth Report. There has been a sort of tradition that its immediate occasion was the settlement of the controversy about licenses with Bishop Daniel Wilson; but in point of fact its date is more than two years after that settlement, and although it notices the arrangement with Bishop Wilson as an important illustration of some of its statements, its scope is actually much wider. It was in reality a public vindication of the Society from criticisms current among Churchmen at home; and

the occasion of its being written was a request from Charles Bridges for an answer to various objections he had met with on deputation tours.* Its title is a comprehensive one—"*Remarks on the Constitution and Practice of the Church Missionary Society, with Reference to its Ecclesiastical Relations.*" Such portions of it as apply to the relations between the missionaries and the bishops abroad will be more conveniently noticed in the next chapter, in which the controversy with Bishop Wilson will be referred to. At present we have to do with those parts that are concerned with the general relations between the Society and the Church at home. The paper begins with announcing its object, viz., "to show that the constitution and practice of the Church Missionary Society are in strict conformity with Ecclesiastical principles, as they are recognized in the constitution and practice of the Church of England"; and then proceeds to distinguish between the Church's temporal and spiritual functions, the provinces respectively of Laity and Clergy:—

Constitution of C.M.S.

> "Throughout the system of the Church of England there is a recognized co-operation of temporal and spiritual functions in matters Ecclesiastical; that is, the Laity and Clergy have not only their separate and distinct provinces, but, in many important respects, they unite their agency for the accomplishing of Ecclesiastical acts."

Illustrations of this are given, such as Lay-Patrons, Churchwardens and Sidesmen, the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the Sovereign as Chief Ruler. Then—

> "Keeping the foregoing distinction in view, the Church Missionary Society may be regarded as an Institution for discharging the temporal and lay offices necessary for the preaching of the Gospel among the Heathen. It is strictly a Lay Institution: it exercises, as a Society, no spiritual functions whatsoever."

"Such," the paper goes on to say, "being the constitution of the Society in theory—are its proceedings conducted in conformity with this theory, and with the Ecclesiastical principles of the Church of England?" These proceedings are then stated to be the following:—

Functions of C.M.S.

> "I. The collection of the Home Revenue, and the Disbursement of it abroad.
> "II. The Selecting and Educating Candidates for Missionary Employment.
> "III. The Sending Forth, to particular Stations, the Missionaries thus ordained, or other Clergymen who have been previously ordained.
> "IV. The Superintendence of Missionaries in their labours among the Heathen."

Of these, No. 1 is declared to be "altogether within the province of Laymen." Under No. 2 it is explained that the Society no

* See a biographical sketch of C. Bridges, evidently by H. Venn, in the *Christian Observer* of June, 1869.

more encroaches upon "spiritual functions" than do the Colleges at the Universities, which are "Lay-Corporations"; also that in practice, the examination and training of the Society's candidates are conducted by clergymen. And the Bishop of London's sanction and approbation of the training at Islington is referred to. Under No. 3 is noticed an objection, based on the use of the word "sending forth," which, it was said, was the province of the Bishops :—

The true meaning of "sending forth."

"Now, here an objection against the Society has been founded on the use of the term 'sending forth' -it sounds like an exercise of ecclesiastical power. But, Ecclesiastically speaking, the Bishop of London 'sends forth' every Missionary ordained by him. The Law of the land has sanctioned the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of London, in ordaining persons to officiate abroad. The Secretary of the Church Missionary Society requests, by Letter, the Bishop of London to ordain, in conformity with the provisions of the Act of Parliament, such and such persons, whom the Society is willing to support in some Foreign Station. The Bishop, by the imposition of hands, gives them authority to preach the Gospel, with a view to their Foreign location. In the case of persons already in Holy Orders, who may join the Society, they may be said to go forth by their own voluntary act; but their Letters of Orders, given by a Bishop of our Church, are their mission and commission, Ecclesiastically speaking.

"Hence, to call the acts of the Church Missionary Society—in selecting the Station, paying the passage-money, and agreeing to provide the Missionary's salary—to call these acts a *sending forth* of Preachers, in an Ecclesiastical sense, is to confound names with things, and to lose sight of all true Church principles."

No. 4 takes us into the mission-field, and must therefore be considered in the next chapter. The remarks upon it occupy the larger part of the paper.

Three concluding observations are made,—(1) that although missionary operations are, from the nature of the case, in a sense anomalous in the system of the Church of England, they are analogous to voluntary agencies and work at home; (2) that they are temporary in character, having in view the building up of the future Church in Heathen lands; and that, in such a time of transition, it is natural that difficulties and perplexities should arise; (3) that all must really depend upon a good understanding and mutual confidence between the Ecclesiastical Authorities and the conductors of a voluntary society.

Pending revival of Convocation, all Societies alike voluntary.

On the first of these three points, there is an important reference to "a duly-assembled Convocation." The Convocations of the Church of England had been suppressed since the reign of Queen Anne, and when Henry Venn wrote this document there was no prospect of their revival. How it came about that they were revived we shall see hereafter. But it is interesting to see Venn's opinion that if some day Convocation should take it in hand "to decree and to regulate missionary operations," they would have to do it on much the same lines as those already laid down by the Church Missionary Society. Also it will be observed that

there is a passing hint correcting the idea that S.P.G., or any other society, was more the official representative of the Church than C.M.S. :—

"And here it may be observed that nothing less than the sanction of a duly-assembled Convocation can more fully identify the acts of any Missionary Society within the Church of England, with the Church. (The American Episcopal Church has, in Convention, thus identified itself with a Missionary Society.) Without such sanction, all associations of Churchmen must stand in the same position. Still further, not to notice the present abeyance of Convocations, it may be asserted, that even if the Church were to assemble in her Provincial Convocations, and to decree and to regulate Missionary operations, such proceedings could not essentially add to, or alter, those important particulars which, under present circumstances, entitle the operations of the Church Missionary Society, to be regarded as Missionary operations of the United Church of England and Ireland."

Appendix II. of Thirty-ninth Report.

These "Remarks" were printed as Appendix II. of the Thirty-Ninth Report. In the following year a brief extract from it was printed as a Note to the 29th Law, which provides for the going out of candidates, "ordained or unordained, at the discretion of the Committee." The Note begins thus :—"The Bishops of the Church of England, under the authority of the law of the land, ordain and send forth [ecclesiastically speaking] the Society's missionaries." The rest of it has to do with licenses, and touches points belonging to our next chapter. From 1842, the "Remarks" were printed in full in every Annual Report until 1877, when they were withdrawn because they had failed to meet the case of the Colombo difficulties. But for the most part they must be acknowledged to be of permanent value. It is interesting to find in the St. Bride's Sermon preached by Francis Close of Cheltenham in 1841—the very Sermon in which, as mentioned in a former chapter,* the Society was first definitely called an "Evangelical Institution"—a parallel passage, but fuller, to Venn's allusions to the suspension of Convocation, and the voluntary character of S.P.G., and a re-affirmation of Venn's statement as to who "sends forth" the missionaries in an ecclesiastical sense :—

Francis Close on Convocation, Missions, and C.M.S.

"Let me observe, that this Society does not assume to represent the Church; nor can any Society assume this, without presumption. We are, alas! in such a situation in the Church of England, that we cannot move as a Church—we have no Synod; we have no Convocation; we have no General Assembly. And it was this very destitution that gave birth to the Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and that for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts: these are voluntary, independent Institutions, conducted by members of the Church of England—by the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Laymen—but only in their individual capacity. For if every member of the Church of England, Clerical and Lay, should join these Societies, they would still be but voluntary Charitable Associations, and would fail to represent

* See p. 289.

the Church of England:—in fact, a Church Society is a contradiction in terms; a voluntary Association of Church members cannot be 'the Church.' The utmost, therefore, that we can hope to do, under these circumstances, is, to be careful that our Voluntary Institutions for any spiritual object should be conducted by Christian men, members of our Church, and, as far as possible, in strict accordance with her doctrines and her discipline. This character we claim for the Church Missionary Society, in common with the elder existing Institutions. . . .

"How shall I establish this claim? Brethren, the time would fail me to adduce the abundant evidence. Whether I look abroad or at home, I see the marks of Apostolicity in every act of this Institution. . . .

C.M.S. does not "send forth missionaries."

"But it may be replied that all this, and much more of a similar kind, may be true, and yet the important link may be wanting to connect your Missionaries with the Apostolic Church. Well aware of this, we scruple not to confess our faith, that the Church alone can send out Missionaries; and we repel the accusation, that this Institution sends them forth! Our ordained Missionaries are not commissioned by a Committee, or by Managers, whether Lay or Clerical; they are sent forth by the Bishops of the Anglican Church. Our Missionaries are ordained by the justly-respected Lord Bishop of this Diocese, upon a Missionary Title for Orders; or they receive Holy Orders at the hands of Colonial Bishops: and thus the exact position in which we are placed is fully recognized. The Society is but as the Patron of perpetual Advowsons in distant lands, nominating the Incumbents; as the parent of a youth, presenting him to the Bishop; as the College in which he is educated, claiming Holy Orders: and while the Society, standing in the position of the Patron, the Parent, or the University, determines, as they all do, the special location of the Minister, it is the mission of the Bishop by which he is sent forth; and under the license of the Bishop he is placed, wherever he is found in his work. How idle it is, to tell us that our Missionaries are not Episcopally sent forth; or that our Society is wanting in a true Church character!

"To such captious cavillers we are ready to reply: Are they Episcopalians? so are we. Are they Apostolicals? so are we. Are they lovers of order, and Church Authority? so are we; and so *were* we—it may be added—before ancient novelties were revived! Whatever they are, as Churchmen, so are we. Nay, like the Apostle, we may say, *We are more.* Who originated Episcopacy in India?—Buchanan, and others, who were the Founders of the Church Missionary Society. Who conveyed the first Bishop to New Zealand?*—the Church Missionary Society! And if, in that interesting colony, there soon be placed a Bishop, it will be through the request, and at the expense, of the same Institution!"

A few lines further on in the same Sermon we find these words:—"We have every reason to believe that, ere long, the Fathers, the revered Fathers of our Church at home, will take us to their protection and cherish us with their favour. . . . It is delightful to look forward to this opening prospect." These words were an allusion to Bishop Blomfield's public proffer of the right hand of fellowship, made only six days before. To this we now come.

Bishop Blomfield approaches C.M.S.

* This reference is not to Bishop Selwyn, but to Bishop Broughton of Australia, who visited Australia at the Society's request and expense in 1838. In the next line the reference is to the proposed Bishop of New Zealand, i.e., in the issue, to Selwyn.

The Society had already been recognized as at least an existing fact by both the Primate and the Bishop of London. The former, Dr. Howley, when himself Bishop of London, had approved the Islington College and ordained the students; and so had his successor, Bishop Blomfield. As Primate he had been consulted by the Society from time to time, particularly on the West Indian questions. But both felt that something more was now desirable. The Society's concessions to Bishop Daniel Wilson, as embodied in the "Remarks" above noticed, had been much approved; and so had the "Remarks" themselves generally. Moreover, in 1840, Bishop Blomfield put forth the proposals which led in the following year to the establishment of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund; and as the Society's co-operation in the work to be done by that Fund was desired, it became important to bring it, if possible, into closer connexion with the heads of the Church.

S.P.G. supposed also to need correction.

And it was not the Church Missionary Society only that was to be approached. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, though commonly regarded as much more ecclesiastically correct, was essentially also a voluntary Society; and it had not been, and with the coming increase of the Colonial Episcopate was not likely to be, without its own difficulties in the perplexing circumstances of Church work in new countries. Moreover, notwithstanding Dr. Pusey's advocacy of the S.P.G., some of the Oxford Tractarians were attacking both it and the S.P.C.K. One of their leaders, the Rev. William Palmer, author of *Origines Liturgicæ*, used very strong language at the annual members' meeting of the S.P.C.K. in 1840. He called it a "congregational society," a "joint-stock club." The S.P.G., he affirmed, was as bad, because the Bishops, under its charter (as it then was) were not *ex officio* members of the governing body, but had to be elected. "What," said Mr. Palmer, "would be thought of guinea subscribers in the early Church *inviting* the Apostles to become members of their Committee?" "The Societies should change their rules so as only to lay their offerings at the feet of the Apostles, to collect money for the Bishops." * This reads very curiously now; but it enables us to understand why the S.P.G. as well as the C.M.S. was to be brought into closer connexion with the Episcopate.

Blomfield's speech at Colonial Bishoprics meeting.

Private preliminary negotiations had been going on some time between Bishop Blomfield on one side and Lord Chichester and H. Venn on the other. The first public reference to the matter was made by Bishop Blomfield at the memorable meeting of April 27th, 1841, which inaugurated the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. That meeting and its proper object will come under our notice in the next chapter. But Bishop Blomfield, in the course of his speech moving the first resolution, said:—

"I have always been of opinion that the great missionary body ought to be the Church herself. It seems to me to follow, as an inevitable

* From a nearly verbatim report of the prolonged discussion, in the *Record* of May 11th, 1840.

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consequence, from the very definition of the Church, that all operations which are to be performed for the advancement of the Saviour's Kingdom upon earth should be the Church's operations. At the present moment, as I have observed, those operations are carried on by two Societies, both in connexion with the Church; one which has now for nearly a century and a half directed its principal attention to the maintenance of true religion amongst the settlers of Great Britain in distant parts; the other, which is of more recent origin, devoting its energies and applying its resources to preaching the Gospel to the Heathen; both most important branches of Christian charity, the comparative importance of which I will not, on the present occasion, stay to consider. But there has not been that perfect unity of operation between them—at least, not that uniformity—which ought to characterize the proceedings of one undivided pure branch of Christ's holy Catholic Church. Now it does appear to me far from impracticable that a plan might be devised which should remove the evil and do away with the seeming anomaly—if it be not a real anomaly—which now I know, from my own experience, necessarily impedes the progress of both Societies in the holy work which they have in hand. I think that, under your Grace's sanction, means might be devised, and those not of a complicated nature, by which both Societies might be induced to carry on their operations under the same superintendence and control; I mean the superintendence and control of the heads of the United Church of this Kingdom. When I use the word 'control,' I do not mean a control which shall be exercised in the way of invidious or captious interference —I do not mean a control which shall limit, except within certain recognized bounds, the operations of either Society; but I mean simply that kind of superintendence and control which, with the willing co-operation of both Societies, shall secure for both a strict and regular movement within the limits of the duty which they owe to the Church. I forbear from specifying particularly the details of the plan to which I allude; it may be sufficient to say that, if it were carried into effect, it would leave both Societies at perfect liberty to prosecute the holy work which they have in hand unimpeded and uninterrupted; while at the same time it would prevent the deviation of either from that straight line of spiritual policy which seems to be marked out by the very principles of the Church itself. I think it is impossible not to perceive that the present time, when we are preparing to extend the full benefits of our ecclesiastical polity, in all its completeness, to all the dependencies of the empire, seems to be a peculiarly appropriate moment for taking this work in hand, and for making provision for the time to come, that the Church, in her foreign and missionary, as well as in her domestic operations, shall present an united front to the world, and shall not leave it in the power of her adversaries and traducers to say that we differ amongst ourselves upon the very first principles of our duty."

S.P.G. and C.M.S. to come under the Bishops.

Lord Chichester responds.

The Earl of Chichester, who, as President of the C.M.S., had been invited to second the resolution, at once responded cordially, intimating "his great satisfaction with the Bishop's suggestion as to the necessity of a perfect uniformity of action with regard to religious Missions."

C.M.S. Report welcomes Blomfield's proposal,

This was on Tuesday. On the Monday following, Francis Close preached the great sermon at St. Bride's already quoted from. Next day, at the Annual Meeting in Exeter Hall, the Report anticipated with gladness the coming concordat, while

taking occasion, in obvious reference to the Tractarian movement, to avow fearlessly the Society's loyalty to the doctrines of the Reformation :—

While firmly holding to Gospel principles.

"To preach Christ, and Him crucified, has been the great end proposed to and by your Missionaries, in accordance with, and submission to, the Ecclesiastical order and polity of the Church. This object and these principles your Committee trust will be handed down, undefiled and unimpaired, from year to year. As regards Ecclesiastical questions, the Committee have always considered that it was no part of their province to settle them. In all such matters they were desirous to conform to the laws of the Church; but as, in applying those laws to Missionary exertions, new and doubtful questions must arise, the Committee would hail with satisfaction the adoption of measures by which such questions might be satisfactorily adjusted. And if, in connection with such measures, the fuller sanction of the Heads of the Church to the operations of the Society may be obtained, your Committee would rejoice themselves, and would feel that the members of the Society would have fresh cause for thankfulness. At the same time, the Committee trust that it will always be maintained by the friends and supporters of the Church Missionary Society, that the Saviour alone is the great Fountain of Life; and that Ecclesiastical discipline, however valuable, and however dear to them, is but the channel through which the waters of life should flow to the perishing nations of mankind. And they trust that neither faith, nor watchfulness, nor prayer, will be wanting; that the principles of the Society may never be compromised; and that it may continue to be the honoured instrument of sending forth the pure Gospel of Christ, as it was preached by Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and the Martyrs and Reformers of our Church."

Naturally, several of the speakers referred to the great question now in the thoughts of all. The President himself enlarged upon it :—

Lord Chichester commends it to the Society.

"I would call your attention to the suggestion made by our respected Diocesan, the Bishop of London, and, as I understand, with the full sanction of the Archbishop, that if some arrangement could be made by which the two Societies could agree to refer all matters of an ecclesiastical nature to one and the same recognized authority, consisting of a Council of Bishops, that, if this could be done, both Societies might expect the full and public sanction of his Lordship and the Archbishop. I am sure that I should not be doing justice to my own feelings, if I merely said that I most thankfully received this proposition as a member of both Societies. As a member of the Church Missionary Society, with whose proceedings and principles I am much more intimately acquainted than with those of the other, I am not only thankful, but I most cordially approve of the proposition as in perfect harmony with the spirit of our Rules, and with the principles and practice of the Society ever since my connexion with it. Most earnestly do I pray to the great Head of the Church, whose Name is Counsellor and the Prince of Peace, that His wisdom, and peace, and truth may direct and accomplish the work thus happily begun; that the arrangement of the details may be found as easy in execution as the abstract proposition is simple, and sound, and catholic in its character. I rejoice in the prospect of this result, because I believe that, among other benefits, it will place the Bishops of our Church in what I humbly conceive to be their legitimate position in regard to both Societies. It will enable both the clergy and the laity to

plead the cause of either Society, under the known sanction of their respective Diocesans. It will secure, I trust, the joint and steady progress of both Societies through our land, without rivalry and without collision. It will enable their Missionaries abroad to pursue with renewed vigour their present course of brotherly co-operation in the several departments of Christ's vineyard to which He has called them.

"And, Gentlemen, I rejoice to think that all this may, under God's blessing, be effected without any change in the principles, or even the system of our own Society. For although I love to see union and catholicity in all our religious proceedings—though neither from principle nor by disposition am I opposed to useful reforms, nor any stickler for old forms and practices merely because they are old,—yet do I think that we should prove ourselves unwise stewards of the trust reposed in us, ungrateful and forgetful servants of the gracious Master Who for forty years has so remarkably preserved and blessed and honoured this Society, if, in the matter of its principles or its constitution, we were found to be given to change."

Bishop C. Sumner of Winchester, whose identification with the Society was witnessed by the fact that this was his ninth speech at an Annual Meeting, warmly endorsed Lord Chichester's words; and Bishop Denison of Salisbury, who spoke for the first and only time, regarded the project as equivalent to "the Church becoming her own Missionary Society," acting by "her own constituted organs." Edward Bickersteth "cordially concurred" in the President's view of the matter, and "rejoiced in our more direct connexion with the Episcopate of our beloved Church." But the concordat, although projected, was not yet arranged; and Baptist Noel, who was the last speaker, called on the Committee to act with caution, pointing out that the Society was "invited to enter into certain relations, not with any living individuals, but with a succession of official persons," and urging that nothing be done "which might bear the effect of fettering our missionaries in preaching the Gospel," or impair the security for sending out "no missionaries but those who believe and love the Truth."

The Church's "own constituted organs."

B. Noel's cautions.

Very soon Bishop Blomfield sent in his definite proposal, which was a simple but an important one. It was that one new Law be added to the Society's existing Laws, in these words:—

Blomfield's new Law for C.M.S.

"That all questions relating to matters of Ecclesiastical Order and Discipline, respecting which a difference shall arise between any Colonial Bishop and any Committee of the Society, shall be referred to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, whose decision thereupon shall be final."

The Committee thought this too comprehensive if standing alone; and after much consideration, and several interviews between Archbishop Howley and the Bishop on one side and Lord Chichester and Venn on the other, it was arranged that another Law should be added, in order to secure (*inter alia*) the procedure already agreed with the Bishop of Calcutta:—

C.M.S. additions.

"The object of the preceding Law being only to provide a mode of settling questions relating to Ecclesiastical Order and Discipline, as to

which no provision has yet been made by the Society, it is not to be so construed as in any other respect to alter the principles and practices of the Society as they are contained in its Laws and Regulations, and explained in Appendix II. to the Thirty-Ninth Report.

"The proposed reference shall be made through his Grace the Primate, by the Committee, accompanied by such explanations and statements as the Committee may deem advisable; and the Committee will be bound so to refer all questions falling within the scope of the Rule so understood as aforesaid, which the Colonial Bishop shall require them to refer.

"While all decisions of the Bench of Bishops on questions so referred will be considered by the Committee as binding on them and their agents or representatives, the Colonial Bishops or other Ecclesiastical Authorities, unless concurring in the reference, cannot properly be considered as so bound." *

Alterations in patronage.

The Committee further arranged to alter Law II., which regulates the Patronage of the Society. Hitherto Bishops and Peers had been Vice-Patrons, and other distinguished persons Vice-Presidents; but it was thought well that a single separate office should be reserved for the Archbishop of Canterbury. To this office the title of Vice-Patron was now allotted; and all others were to be equally Vice-Presidents. The office of Patron was still to be reserved for a member of the Royal Family.

The C.M.S. General Meeting.

On July 27th a General Meeting of the Society was held at Exeter Hall to consider the alterations in the Laws proposed by the Committee. A great concourse assembled. In opening the proceedings Lord Chichester alluded to the fact of the Bishop of London's proposals applying, not to the C.M.S. only, but to the S.P.G. also:—

"The object is to bring this and another body of nearly similar character, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, into direct and immediate connexion with the Established Church of Great Britain and Ireland.

"The sole object of his Grace and the Rt. Rev. Prelate is to raise the importance and extend the usefulness of the two Societies by affording to their operations the countenance, sanction, and support of the spiritual Heads of the Church.

"This cannot fail to prove highly beneficial to this Society. But it will still more have an important bearing in another respect:—the junction and avowed connexion of these two Societies will tend to impart general stability to the Church itself."

Lord Ashley moves adoption of new Laws.

The Resolution moving the Laws was entrusted to Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury), who strongly advocated the adoption of the proposal. Josiah Pratt seconded it, as the oldest and most influential of the original members present. He said:—

Pratt seconds it.

"If this arrangement were to be purchased by any sacrifice on the part of the Society I would certainly demur. I have seriously and anxiously considered this question, for it is one that ought to be

* The slight differences in these two Laws as they now stand arise from alterations made in 1877, with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

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thoroughly examined, whether any sacrifice ought to be required of the Society, more especially at this time, when it is clear that the principles of this Society, which are those of an Apostolical Church properly carried out, have been the great cause of its success. If, then, the least sacrifice of those principles were to be made, to effect this object, I would protest against it, and rather leave the Society than continue in it if it were to lose its great characteristic and vital principle of upholding the great doctrine of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the ground of a sinner's hope for salvation with God. But there is no fear of that. I think that the blessing of God is with the Society, and that He has led the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to see that they are called upon by their connexion with the Church to sanction its operations; and I hope this course will not be regarded as any sacrifice, but as a deference paid to the honour and usefulness of the Church, and to consistency of principle."

He concluded with some remarkable words. "We have no hope," he said, "of our Church acting as the Church of Scotland does" (i.e. the Established Presbyterian Church). "That," he continued, "is the only Church establishment which acts as a Missionary body," referring to the fact that the Scottish Missions are the official work of the whole Church acting through its General Assembly. But he went on:—"Since we cannot act as a missionary body, let us take this course, and at least be externally united in the work of Missions. This is the only union that can be formed at present for that end, and I think it is a union which, with the blessing of God, will effect that end." This is only one of many notable signs that meet the reader of the speeches and papers of that day, that the idea of the Church as a whole carrying on its own Missions was not an unwelcome one to the Evangelical leaders, and that they regretted its impracticability.

An amendment proposed.

An amendment was moved by the Vicar of Fairford, Gloucester, Mr. Rice (afterwards Lord Dynevor), to the effect that the reference of any dispute should be, not to the whole Episcopate, but to such Bishops only as were members of the Society. He expressed great fear lest the adoption of the proposition as it was should completely hand over the Society to the control of the Bishops,and he quoted some words spoken to him by Dr. Pusey, who was, he said, a connexion of his, and whom he "esteemed very highly as a conscientious person." Dr. Pusey had said that the Society should collect funds and hand the money to the Bishops for disposal. Cries of "No," "No," very naturally arose at this quotation, and Mr. Rice proceeded to say that he feared that as the Oxford men had failed in their previous attempts to destroy the Society by saying it was not a Church of England Society, they were now endeavouring to gain it over to their own party. He further thought it very unfair that missionaries should be exactly in the situation of curates in this country, whose license might be withdrawn without any reason being assigned for it.

The amendment was seconded by the Rev. S. Glynn,* but no other speaker supported it. Baptist Noel, E. Bickersteth, and J. W. Cunningham spoke warmly in favour of accepting the Bishop of London's proposal, and other clergymen from the country followed on the same side. They pointed out that whatever inconvenience might arise from the dependent position of missionaries in a foreign diocese, neither the resolution nor the amendment would in any way affect it, and that, in point of fact, the proposal was for the Society's benefit, in that it provided a right of appeal against the unlimited power of Bishops abroad. All the speakers expressed in strong terms their determination to stand firm to the Society's principles, and their entire disapproval of the Tractarian teaching; but urged that neither one nor the other was involved in the proposition before the meeting. Mr. Rice again and again declined to withdraw his amendment, although generally pressed to do so. But he at last gave way, and withdrew it, amid great applause from the meeting, and the resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Leaders reply.

The new Laws adopted.

Immediately on the adoption of the Laws by the General Meeting, Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield joined the Society; and Archbishop Harcourt, of York, and six other English Bishops, at once followed their example. It may be well here to put on record the names of all who had joined before. They were (not in chronological order), Sumner of Winchester, Sumner of Chester, Ryder and Butler of Lichfield, Otter and Shuttleworth of Chichester, Burgess and Denison of Salisbury, Bathurst and Stanley of Norwich, Ward and Bowstead of Sodor and Man, Pepys of Sodor and Man and Worcester, Copleston of Llandaff, Longley of Ripon; also Archbishop Trench, of Tuam. Those who now joined, besides the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London, were Law † of Bath and Wells, Monk of Gloucester, Musgrave of Hereford (afterwards of York), Kaye of Lincoln, Davys of Peterborough, and Short of Sodor and Man. In the next seven years these were followed by Gilbert of Chichester, Lonsdale of Lichfield, Wilberforce of Oxford, Prince Lee of Manchester, and Eden of Sodor and Man. There were also two Irish Bishops, Daly of Cashel and O'Brien of Ossory, and several of the new Colonial Bishops to be mentioned by-and-by. Even the militant Bishop Philpotts of Exeter became Patron of the Devon Association, though he did not join the Parent Society. It may be added that Dr. Hook of Leeds joined at the same time as the Archbishops, and preached for the Society in his parish church.

Archbishops and Bishops join C.M.S.

* *Sic* in the *Record's* report of the meeting. But was it not the late Rev. Carr J. Glyn of Dorset?

† This was the Bishop Law who, when Bishop of Chester, had been so hostile to C.M.S. deputations. See p. 134. He was the father of Dean Henry Law, of Gloucester, a prominent Evangelical in later days.

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At the Anniversary of 1842, it was natural that the new patronage acquired during the year should have a prominent place in men's thoughts. The Annual Report, indeed, announced the adhesion of the Prelates in a merely formal paragraph. But several of the speakers alluded to it with much warmth; and the preacher at St. Bride's, who happened to be the most popular Protestant orator then living, Hugh Stowell of Manchester, spoke, one may even say, exultingly of the event:—

Hugh Stowell on the adhesion of the Bishops.

"A special lustre is reflected on our commemoration this year, because it is the first since, through the good hand of our God upon us, we have had to thank Him for the accession of both our Archbishops, and of many other members of the Episcopal Bench, to the Presidency of our Society. It is an event to make our hearts leap for joy—an event, for which the name of the Lord Jesus is to be devoutly magnified—an event, which took place at a juncture, and was accomplished in a manner, which gave to it a peculiar grace. It occurred at a crisis, when many, from whatever motives, were unwisely and unfairly attempting, by the formation of unions of certain societies, designated by them exclusively Church Societies, to brand this Society as unworthy of that designation: and had our Ecclesiastical Rulers connived at—much more had they countenanced—such ungenerous proceedings, disastrous must have been the consequences, not so much to the aspersed Institution, as to our beloved Church herself. How opportune, and benign, at such a moment, the accession of the supreme Rulers of our Church to the patronage of the excommunicated Society! Nor was the way in which they took the step less happy than the juncture at which they took it; for they required nothing more than a simple ecclesiastical arrangement—an arrangement not more fitting for them to demand than pleasing to the Society to make. Not one principle has been abandoned; not one plan relinquished; not one rule rescinded: insomuch, that virtually, if not actually, our Prelates have endorsed and authenticated the constitution and character of the Society, even from her birth."

He goes on to enlarge on the advantages of the Church of England and its "legitimate Ministry"; "Christ having confided to His Church a two-fold treasure—a succession of commission in the order of her Teachers—a succession of doctrine and ordinances in their teaching"—concerning which he uses surprising language from the mouth of such a man. But he goes on afterwards to utter very solemn words of warning against "any attempt, from whatever quarter, or in whatever shape, to corrupt the Society from the simplicity that is in Christ," and protests against those whose virtual boast would be, "We determined not to know anything among you, save the Church Catholic, and her glorified."

Bishop Blomfield's Sermon at St. Bride's.

Two years later, Bishop Blomfield himself preached the Annual Sermon at St. Bride's.* It is a very able and impressive discourse,

* Bishop Blomfield to Bishop D. Wilson of Calcutta:—"On Monday I am to preach the anniversary sermon of the Church Missionary Society. Efforts have been made to deter me from doing this; but as I have thought fit to join the Society, I could not consistently decline the duty. I cannot say that I am entirely satisfied with its constitution, or with the conduct of its committees; nevertheless, I am persuaded that I shall do more good to the

and is noteworthy for having for its text the verses in Isa. liv. which are for ever memorable as the text of Carey's famous sermon in 1792. It is very faithful in its reference to mediæval darkness, when, after the early energies of the Church in "enlarging the place of her tent," in "lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes," "the scene" (says the Bishop) "was sadly changed":—

"The efforts of Satan to regain a portion at least of the dominion, which had been won from him by the noble army of martyrs and confessors, were but too successful. Heresy and schism weakened the stakes of the tabernacle; superstition removed them, and substituted for them false and unsubstantial supports; and then its cords were slackened, and its curtains were shaken and torn by the blast; and many cities were reduced to spiritual desolation; and the awful warning, which the Spirit sent to the Churches, began to receive its fulfilments; and the witnesses were slain; and the Church herself was driven into the wilderness; and it was no longer a question whether she should enlarge the place of her habitation, but whether she should have any earthly habitation at all, except in name and shadowy form. Then might she have taken up the complaint of Jeremiah: 'My tabernacle is spoiled, and all my cords are broken: my children are gone forth of me, and they are not, there is none to stretch forth my tent any more, and to set up my curtains. For the pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord: therefore shall they not prosper, and all their flocks shall be scattered.'"

Then, after referring to later efforts in the cause of evangelization, and lamenting their inadequacy, he enlarges on the new schemes for Colonial and Missionary Bishoprics (of which our next chapter will treat), and gratefully notices the Society's co-operation in them.

Was C.M.S. captured by the Bishops?

Apparently, a great deal more was expected from the alteration in the Society's constitution and the adhesion of the Heads of the Church than has ever been realized. For one thing, it was supposed on all hands that the Archbishops and Bishops would have much more influence in the direction of the Church's Missions than before. Some of the secular papers made merry over the ease with which they had contrived—so it was said—to get possession of the Church Missionary Society. In point of fact, the new Laws have never once, in more than half a century, been acted upon. Not that their value is the less on that account. Perhaps their very existence has obviated the necessity of appealing to them.* For another thing, it was supposed that there would be a large adhesion of the moderate clergy who had always put forward the lack of episcopal patronage as their chief objection

Church by assisting it, and by co-operating with it as far as I can, than by retracing the steps I have taken; nor do I doubt but that its leading members are actuated by an honest desire to conduct the Society's operations upon sound Church principles."—*Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, vol. ii. p. 86.

* The instances of reference to certain Prelates, as in the case of the Ceylon and Palestine controversies, were not formal references under these Laws, though no doubt in conformity with the spirit of them.

to the Society. For another thing, it was supposed that the two Societies, C.M.S. and S.P.G., were now to be in a sense united; not deprived of their separate and independent positions and functions, but to be like two arms directed by one head, the Episcopate. Josiah Pratt himself so regarded it. In a private letter he wrote :—

Were C.M.S. and S.P.G. united?

> "The union formed with the Propagation of the Gospel Society is a union in that which the order and discipline of the Church required in order to give us the full benefit of her action, so far as she can (without an act of Convocation) give it to us; yet leaving us to the full in the independent pursuit of our course, as to all those views of Evangelical truth which first knit us together, and which are the life and soul of our body."

Practically, no such results ensued. First, there was no "rush" into the Society at all, as some had actually feared, lest the wrong men should get the upper hand. The clergy who held aloof from the Society, finding their principal reason for doing so gone, easily found other reasons as satisfactory to themselves. As for the Bishops, they were—as they are still—much too busy to undertake the detailed administration of complicated machines like societies having agencies and agents in all parts of the world; and both S.P.G. and C.M.S. continued to be directed by their respective Committees, that is to say by clergymen and laymen having leisure for such work. The two Societies went their several ways, in friendly occasional communication if the interests of either, or the common interests of both, required it, but with little that could be called co-operation, and certainly with nothing that could be called union; and with what came to be almost inevitable rivalry in the country, the friends and supporters of each being on neither side always generous, or even just, towards the other side. Probably, bearing in mind what human nature is, there would have been this kind of rivalry even if there had been no Tractarian movement; but that the Tractarian controversy greatly embittered it there can be no question. Not that the majority of S.P.G. supporters were Tractarians; very far from it; but a young party is always active, and the Tractarians, few as they were comparatively, were untiring in their efforts to take the lead where they could.

Relations of the two Societies.

The S.P.G. at that time was a very close corporation. The number of subscribing "associate members" was growing rapidly with the extension of the Society's influence; but the number of incorporated members was limited, and the election was vigilantly guarded; while the "narrow" C.M.S. had an open constitution which admitted every subscribing clergyman automatically. Leading Evangelical clergymen of many years' standing as subscribers to S.P.G. could not obtain election into the body of incorporated members; but the young Tractarians contrived to get in, and made themselves conspicuous in the Monthly Meeting; as also in those of the S.P.C.K., as already mentioned in this chapter. In 1843, Pratt, Bickersteth, and

Evangelicals and Tractarians in S.P.G.

others, who were not only subscribers, but supporters of S.P.G. in their own neighbourhoods, were contemplating withdrawal, because the Standing Committee felt unable to give them a pledge that men of the new School would not be sent out as missionaries. To us now it seems surprising that such a pledge should have been expected. The S.P.G. has always professed to pass no judgment, as a society, on a man's theological views. His ordination by a Bishop is accepted as a sufficient guarantee in that respect. "None are excluded whom the Church would admit, and none admitted whom the Church would exclude." * That is a perfectly intelligible and legitimate principle, and well understood. Why then did Pratt and Bickersteth expect such a pledge? The answer is that they regarded the Tractarians as outside any possible area of selection. Tract XC. had been solemnly and officially condemned at Oxford. Most of the Bishops had "charged" against the new teachings, which were avowedly in many respects identical with those of Rome. Both Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield had written and spoken strongly against them. How could members of such a party be sent forth as missionaries by an Anglican † Church society? However the S.P.G. Secretary did give an assurance that the Society would "adhere to the plain sense of the Articles and Liturgy as their rule of examination"; and both Pratt and Bickersteth gladly continued members. "It is a serious matter," wrote Bickersteth, "to cripple a Society that has done so much for God, and I do not feel justified in so doing." He preached for S.P.G. from time to time in various places, both while he was C.M.S. Secretary, and afterwards.

Should C.M.S. men leave S.P.G.?

Pratt and Bickersteth cleave to S.P.G.

The question may be asked, What came of Bishop Blomfield's proposal to bring the S.P.G. also into closer connexion with the Episcopate? The answer is no doubt to be found in the fact that in 1846 the Society resolved that in future its Examining Board should be appointed by the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London.‡

S.P.G. and the Bishops.

At this point a great man may most conveniently be introduced, whose name has been already once or twice mentioned, and will frequently appear in subsequent pages—Bishop Wilberforce. He was not yet a bishop when the Prelates joined the Church Missionary Society, but was appointed to the see of Oxford in 1845. The month of November in that year saw two events pregnant with important issues for the Church of England. On All Saints'

Bishop Samuel Wilberforce.

* S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 843. But the Society, properly, reserves the right to accept, or refuse, or disconnect, a man on other grounds; and the rules are very precise. *Ibid.*

† The use of the word "Anglican" is not so recent as is sometimes supposed. The *Christian Observer* of this period constantly uses it. It was in no sense then opposed to the word "Protestant."

‡ S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 842.

Day, John Henry Newman was formally received into the Roman Church by Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman.* On St. Andrew's Day, Samuel Wilberforce was consecrated Bishop of Oxford. His parentage, his education, his early friendships, his marriage, had all helped to identify him with the Evangelicals; though from the first there was combined with his undoubted personal piety a certain keen sense of the greatness of "the Church" which foreshadowed the career of the man who was to become the undisputed leader of what may be called the Anglican Party in the Church of England. His eloquence as a preacher and speaker, and his untiring industry in working to a high ideal of clerical life, were the admiration of all who knew him; and the hopes entertained by the Evangelical leaders that the son of Wilberforce was destined to exercise commanding influence on their side in the Church are illustrated by the offer of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, pressed upon him when under thirty years of age by no less a person than Charles Simeon. Had he accepted it, he would probably have at once become a power in Salisbury Square. He was already a fervent advocate of the Church Missionary Society. He had published a pamphlet in its defence; he had preached and spoken for it in many parts of the South of England (he was then Vicar of Brightstone in the Isle of Wight); and in September, 1833, he wrote: †—

His love for C.M.S.

> "We have been busy setting up Church Missionary Associations hereabouts with much prospect of usefulness. It is my favourite society, so thoroughly Church of England, so eminently active and spiritual, so important for a maritime nation whose commerce has led her to carry the Devil's missionaries everywhere."

His aims for C.M.S.

Like Reginald Heber,‡ however, he desired to see the C.M.S. and S.P.G. united; not, it is evident, to rob the one of its spiritual principles or the other of its broad basis and ecclesiastical status, but so to combine the best qualities of both as to form an instrument for the evangelization of the world worthy of the Church of England. It was—and such a purpose always is—a noble ideal; but the realities of our imperfect state are against it, as has been shown before in the pages of this History. Samuel Wilberforce, being personally intimate with good men in both societies, was trying hard, in 1832-3, to bring them together; but the attempt, it is needless to say, failed. "Unhappily failed," writes Wilberforce's biographer; § "happily failed," rather, if we consider the whole circumstances of the Church in the last sixty years. *Both* societies have done more good separately than they could have done united. In 1838, Wilberforce, ever busy and resourceful, planned a memorial to the Church Missionary Society, to be

* Having been previously, on October 8th, received privately by Father Dominic.

† *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 68.

‡ See p. 151.

§ Canon Ashwell, author of vol. i. P. 14.

largely signed by clergy and laity, calling upon it to "send out *The Church*, and not merely *instructions about religion*." "If," he writes to a friend,* "we can get up a strong memorial from lay and clerical subscribers, we shall force the Society, whose Committee is very Low Church, to do something." No further allusion to the proposed memorial occurs in his Biography; and no trace of its reception appears in the Society's minute-books; so presumably it fell through. Again, in 1843, he wrote to Lord Chichester on the case of the Society's Associations in Scotland, arguing against the Committee's neutrality in the controversy †—that very neutrality which so offended the *Record* and a section of the members from the opposite point of view. As usual, the Committee were between two fires. But it is noticeable that Wilberforce in this letter identifies himself with the Society, speaking of "*our* taking a line," "*our* decision," &c.‡ He was then Archdeacon of Surrey; and it was at this time that he was planning the Church Union before alluded to, in which the C.M.S. and the Pastoral Aid Society were to be included. His published sermons, too, were being highly commended by the *Christian Observer*.

His misleading comparison of S.P.G. and C.M.S.

It was at this time also that he fell into a mistake very strange for so able a man. At an S.P.G. meeting at York, in 1844, he based his praise of the Society on the fact that it did its work more economically than the C.M.S., for its expenditure, he said, was £200 a year per missionary, whereas the C.M.S. spent £1000 a year per missionary. Which society was really the more economical at the time is a problem beyond solution, so different was the work, so different were the methods. The point is that the basis of Wilberforce's comparison is an absurd one. In fact, the higher the expenditure per missionary, the larger is the work done. If in one parish with three clergymen £1000 a year is spent on all church objects, and in another parish with three clergymen £5000 a year is spent, that only means that more work is done in the latter than in the former. There were other errors in Archdeacon Wilberforce's argument; all which were pointed out in an admirable letter to him from Henry Venn.§ Wilberforce at once frankly and gracefully acknowledged his mistake and withdrew his comparison. But if such a man could fall into such a mistake, how can we wonder at the blunders of inferior men?

Bishop Wilberforce and Church parties.

In the early days of his episcopate, Bishop Wilberforce was severe on the Tractarians. He suspended Dr. Pusey for a time. But though he was always Anglican and anti-Roman, he became more and more alienated from the Evangelicals. He continued to be invited now and then to their platforms, and to speak. He spoke at the C.M.S. Anniversary in 1846, at those of the Jews' Society and the Pastoral Aid Society in 1847, and at the C.M.S.

* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 129.

† See p. 381.

‡ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 294.

§ The correspondence is printed in the *Memoir of Henry Venn*, p. 472.

Jubilee Meeting in 1848; but in 1852 he wrote, "I had a satisfactory ordination . . . not one Low Churchman in the set." * He was nevertheless always sensitive to Evangelical opinion of him, and often writhed under the *Record's* lash. It was mercilessly laid upon him, and sometimes far from fairly. On one occasion the Bishop wrote privately to the editor to expostulate, but was told in reply that he was "a Papist in reality," and that "the salvation of his soul was jeopardized." † On another occasion he appealed to Bickersteth, and on yet another to Archbishop Sumner, believing that they could influence the paper.‡ The idea that either of them would have been listened to for a moment is simply comical.

Commencement of "The Guardian."

Here it may conveniently be mentioned that the *Guardian* was started on January 1st, 1846, by a small band of able and resolute men of the advanced Anglican school, particularly F. Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford), J. B. Mozley, Mountague Bernard, and R. W. Church (afterwards Dean of St. Paul's). It had a hard struggle for existence in its early years, but gradually gained immense influence.

Archbishop Sumner.

The elevation of Bishop John Bird Sumner, of Chester, to the primatial see of Canterbury, in 1848, on the death of Archbishop Howley, was a cause of great joy and thankfulness to the Evangelicals. His gentle and conciliatory spirit, his faithfulness to the truth, his sound and quiet Churchmanship, gave great promise of a successful Primacy. He did not prove a strong Archbishop; but it may fairly be questioned whether a masterful man on either side of Church controversies would have been more useful. It is interesting to observe that Bishop Wilberforce was a member of the C.M.S. Deputation that presented the Society's address to him on his appointment. Under the revised Laws the Archbishop, being already a Member of the Society, was Vice-Patron if willing to be so; § and of course so old and tried a friend had no hesitation in accepting the office.

The Tractarian controversies.

No one can read the contemporary evidence without seeing how greatly the Oxford Movement fostered division and bitterness on all sides at this time. This, of course, is not necessarily to its condemnation. Our Lord Himself, in one sense, "came not to send peace, but a sword." But the fact is so. The vehemence of the controversial publications and utterances was of a kind rarely seen now. On the one side, the Tractarians, many of whom were brilliant writers, heaped contempt upon the "ignorant prejudices" of everybody opposed to them, by no means excepting the Archbishops and Bishops; and, through the younger Mr.

* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii. p. 152.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 223. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 199; vol. i. p. 501.

§ The corresponding office of President in the S.P.G. did not fall to him thus automatically. He had to be elected by the Incorporated Members, and the election is recorded in the Report of 1848. This has been altered since. The Primate is now *ex officio* President of S.P.G.

John Walter, they enlisted the *Times* in their favour—the leading articles of which had little of the dignity that now characterizes them. On the other hand, even the decorous *Christian Observer*, though its articles on the Tractarian controversy are very able, indulged in language which no one would now justify. The new school were not only called Puseyites, but, after the old Nonjurors whom they resembled, Sacheverellians and Altitudinarians. The Evangelicals were of course branded as Puritans—the infelicity of which name Dr. Overton has shown, as mentioned before. Some of the new practices most bitterly contested have long since been generally adopted as real improvements, or are regarded as indifferent; for instance, of the former kind, the weekly offertory, and of the latter kind, the surplice in the pulpit. But much graver matters than such as these were at stake, as was shown when we were viewing the first rise of Tractarianism, and it was only upon these graver matters that the Church Missionary Society uttered its voice. Indeed the transition from the average pamphlet or magazine article or newspaper leader of the period to the Church Missionary Reports is most startling. Very little is said, it is true. Henry Venn and his colleagues were "doing a great work," and could not "come down" even to solemn and serious controversy. At the very time that Newman's secession to Rome was shaking the whole Church, the C.M.S. Reports took not the slightest notice of the subject, but dwelt on the calls for men and means from Africa and India and New Zealand. But when Evangelical principles are mentioned, there is no mistaking the Committee's meaning. External things they never refer to. What they stand by are the fundamentals of the faith.

Attitude of C.M.S.

No mere polemics,

For example, in connexion with the alarming crisis in the Society's finances in 1842, the Committee solemnly appealed to the country to come to the Society's help, on the distinct ground that they looked for the Divine blessing only upon "the faithful, plain, and full maintenance of the great principles of 'the truth' as it 'is in Jesus,' by all the agents and missionaries of the Society, without compromise and without reserve"—on "the sustentation of a Scriptural, Protestant, and Evangelical tone throughout all their ministrations"—on "the upholding of the Bible, and the Bible alone, as the foundation and rule of faith." So, in 1841, Josiah Pratt wrote to his son in Calcutta (afterwards Archdeacon Pratt),—"The Church Missionary Society is becoming more than ever the refuge of Apostolical and Reformation Truth; and by the grace of God it shall so continue." And John Cunningham, in one of his greatest speeches, at the Annual Meeting of 1842, exclaimed, "We will preach Christ and Him crucified—or, we will hold our peace!"

but fidelity to fundamental truth.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Colonial and Missionary Episcopate.

S.P.G. Appeals in Eighteenth Century—First Bishops for America and Canada—The Colonial Episcopate at Queen Victoria's Accession—Growth of S.P.G.—The Colonial Church Society—The Colonial Bishoprics Fund, 1841—Attitude of C.M.S.—New Zealand Bishopric—C.M.S. Relation thereto—Bishop Selwyn—Stowell's Sermon—Other new Bishoprics—Jerusalem Bishopric—Bunsen, Lord Ashley, Gladstone—The First Bishop consecrated—C.M.S. Controversy with Bishop Daniel Wilson—The Concordat and H. Venn—Case of Mr. Humphrey—Bishop D. Wilson's Visit to England—His C.M.S. Sermon.

"*Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the Church of God, which He purchased with His own blood.*"—Acts xx. 28 (R.V.).

Part V. 1841–48. Chap. 27.

ENGLAND had been colonizing for two hundred years before the Church of England sent a bishop beyond the seas. But this was not the fault of the Church; certainly not of the English Episcopate. It was the fault of the State, that is, of the successive Ministries that raised endless political obstacles. The Church of England, as an Established Church, is necessarily restricted in its action by Acts of Parliament, or by the lack of Acts of Parliament; and not until that wonderful year 1786, which saw the beginning of so many movements that have combined to produce Modern Missions,* did the British Government, at last, permit the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate a bishop for foreign parts.†

Colonies, but no bishops.

The compiler of the valuable S.P.G. *Digest* gives a most curious and interesting account of the efforts made by Churchmen through no less than one hundred and fifty years to obtain a bishop or bishops for the Colonies—and made in vain.‡ Archbishop Laud seems to have been the first to move, in 1634-38. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to its honour, did from its very first establishment in 1701 agitate for the removal of the anomaly of an Episcopal Church being obliged to leave

Efforts of S.P.G. to obtain colonial bishops.

* See p. 57.

† The consecration was on February 4th, 1787; but the Act enabling it belongs to 1786.

‡ See also Bishop S. Wilberforce's *History of the American Church* (London, 1846); chaps. iv., v.

tens of thousands of its members without the advantage of the Three Orders of its Ministry. To us it seems an intolerable scandal that a man in the American Colonies seeking ordination in the last century should have had to cross the Atlantic to obtain it—a voyage the perils of which in those days we can now scarcely realize. At first the S.P.G. only ventured to propose the appointment of an itinerant Suffragan "to visit the several Churches; to ordain some, confirm others, and bless all"; the very titles being suggested which the now familiar Act of Henry VIII. provided for suffragan bishops, and which in our own day have been adopted at home—Colchester, Dover, Nottingham, Hull. Negotiations went on for some years; obstacles were gradually overcome; and in 1714 success was almost attained. But the death of Queen Anne put an end to this as well as to other projects for the greater efficiency of the Church; and for seventy years nothing was done. The S.P.G. raised funds; Archbishops and Bishops, as well as wealthy laymen, gave large donations; prelates of high repute like Bishop Butler, Bishop Sherlock, Bishop Lowth, and Archbishop Secker, pressed the Georgian Ministries again and again with plans for sending bishops to America; but no response could be obtained, even to so touching an appeal as this from New Jersey:—

Touching appeal from America.

"The Poor Church of God here in ye Wilderness, Ther's none to Guide her among all ye sons y^t she has brought forth, nor is there any y^t takes her by the hand of all the Sons y^t she has brought up. When ye Aptles heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, immediately they sent out 2 of the cheif, Peter and John, to lay their hands on them, and pray that they might receive the Holy Ghost; they did not stay for a secular design of salary; and when the Aptles heard that the Word of God was preached at Antioch, presently they sent out Paul and Barnabas, that they should go as far as Antioch to confirm the disciples; and so the churches were established in the faith, and increased in number daily. . . . But we have been here these twenty years calling till our hearts ache, and ye own tis the call and cause of God, and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered, and that's all one."*

Wesley's Methodist bishops.

It was because John Wesley despaired of the Church of England ever sending bishops to America that, immediately after the War of Independence and the establishment of the American Republic, he, on September 2nd, 1784, at Bristol, "set apart, by the imposition of hands, Thomas Coke, to be superintendent of the flock of Christ." This act of Wesley's, done in an emergency "for the present distress," proved momentous in its results. It was the real foundation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, perhaps the most vigorous and influential of all the Christian organizations in America, and now one of the most extensive and aggressive missionary organizations in the world.

* S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 745.

First Anglican bishops for the U.S.

But this great event in the history of Methodism only preceded by a few weeks the gift of the historic Episcopate to America. It was the separation of the United States from Great Britain that forced the Government to action. "The same stroke which severed thirteen colonies from England set the Church free to obtain for herself bishops of her own." * Samuel Seabury, "a godly and well-learned man" who had been one of the S.P.G. clergy in America, being elected by his brethren, came over to seek consecration. The Government, afraid of offending the new Republic, declined to bring in a bill to enable the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him; and he therefore appealed to the little struggling, but independent, Episcopal Church in Scotland. On November 14th, 1784, that Church had the honour of providing the first Bishop of the Anglican Communion in foreign parts. But the Church of England, though stepping more slowly in the fetters of her State connexion—not the less galling sometimes because felt to be of the highest value upon the whole—quickly followed suit. Largely through the influence of Granville Sharp—Wilberforce's coadjutor in the Slave Trade campaign—an Act of Parliament was passed, as already mentioned, in 1786 (26 George III. c. 84), empowering the English Archbishops, with the assistance of other Bishops, to consecrate persons who are subjects or citizens of countries outside the British dominions; and the American Minister in London heartily concurring, two clergymen of the American Church, William White and Samuel Provoost, were consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on February 4th, 1787. One other similar consecration took place in 1790; since which the Church in the United States has gone forward without English assistance, and its four bishops have become eighty.

First colonial bishops.

The Colonial Episcopate proper began at the same time. On August 12th, 1787, Dr. Charles Inglis was consecrated first Bishop of Nova Scotia, his jurisdiction including all the British possessions in North America; and in 1793 he was relieved of the overwhelming charge of Upper and Lower Canada by the establishment of the See of Quebec, to which Dr. Jacob Mountain was appointed. So stood the Colonial Episcopate when the Church Missionary Society was founded, and when the new century opened.

Bishops for India.

The next extension was to India. In obtaining this, a leading part, as before related,† was taken by the Church Missionary Society. The S.P.C.K. used its influence to the same end. The S.P.G., which then had no interests in Asia, was not concerned in the project. But it was the influence of the S.P.G., in the main, that obtained two bishoprics for the West Indies in 1824, Jamaica and Barbadoes,‡ and the bishopric of Australia in 1836; while all three societies combined in the reiterated appeals to Government which led to the foundation of the Sees of Madras (1835) and Bombay (1837).

* H. W. Tucker, *The English Church in Other Lands*, p. 22.

† See p. 101. ‡ See p. 342.

Thus, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, there were only seven bishoprics in the British dominions abroad, viz., two in North America, two in India (Calcutta and Madras), two in the West Indies, and one in Australia; seven in all. Five months after her accession the first Bishop of Bombay was consecrated. That made eight.

Seven bishoprics abroad at Queen's Accession.

In that same year, 1837, the S.P.G. issued an able and comprehensive statement on the condition of the Church in the Colonies, which Josiah Pratt, true to his unvarying policy, immediately published in the *Missionary Register*.* The S.P.G. was now in the full tide of its rapid progress at home and abroad. Its voluntary contributions, which we have seen were only £1340 in 1820, rose to £11,475 in 1837, to £16,082 in 1838, to £22,821 in 1839, to £38,730 in 1840;† and it was largely extending its work in Canada, in the West Indies, in India, and in Australia. In 1837 it had 177 agents abroad, clergymen, schoolmasters, and catechists; within seven years the number more than doubled, being 378 in 1844. A large proportion of these, of course, were not supported wholly by the Society. Its system has always been, to a large extent, one of grants-in-aid to local funds or to supplement Government subsidies; but the rate of progress is astonishing.

Growth of S.P.G.

In 1838 was founded the Colonial Church Society. It had existed two years before that, as a small organization for supplying Church ordinances to Western Australia; but at its second anniversary it extended the sphere of its operations to the Colonies generally. It undoubtedly owed its origin to the desire of Evangelical Churchmen, who had little influence in the counsels of the S.P.G.,‡ to stretch out a helping hand to their brethren in the Colonies; but, like the C.M.S., it was intended to be not a rival of the older society, but a fellow-labourer. One of its leading promoters wrote:—

Colonial Church Society.

"The Church Missionary Society directs its labours to the Heathen, and has declined applications from the Colonies for ministerial assistance, leaving this to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. To that Venerable Society, which it is admitted has not resources equal to its demands, the one lately established is not a rival; but it is hoped it will prove, as the spirit in which it has originated plainly indicates, a faithful, disinterested, courteous Auxiliary in the blessed work in which it is engaged, viz., in planting the Church of the Living God in every Colony of the British Empire."

That the statement was true that the S.P.G. had not resources—rapidly as they were growing—sufficient for the calls upon it is evident from the fact that at this very time, owing to the withdrawal of Government aid, it had to close many schools in New-

* *M. R.*, 1837, p. 529.

† The Royal Letters (see p. 148) were continued, about every three years. The last was in 1854, and produced £28,000.

‡ See p. 398.

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foundland and discharge the masters and catechists.* There was then existing a Newfoundland School Society, which had been a special child of Daniel Wilson's before he went to Calcutta; and the Newfoundland clergy (many of them on the S.P.G. roll) applied to this society for assistance, and it provided teachers at thirty places which had been sufferers. It was afterwards amalgamated with the new Colonial Church Society; which is the reason for mentioning it here.

Colonial Bishoprics Fund, 1841.

We now approach that great date in the history of the Church of England,† the year 1841. There were then ten colonial bishoprics, Toronto and Newfoundland having been added since 1837. Bishop Blomfield, in May, 1840, addressed a letter to the Primate, suggesting the formation of a Fund for endowing Colonial Bishoprics; and on April 27th, 1841, was held the great and memorable meeting at Willis's Rooms, at which the Fund was formally established, and at which also, as before related,‡ Bishop Blomfield made that public offer to the Church Missionary Society which resulted in the concordat under which the Primate and other Bishops joined it. The names of the speakers at this meeting are worth recording. Archbishop Howley presided; and the resolutions were moved and seconded by Bishop Blomfield and the Earl of Chichester (President of C.M.S.); Mr. Justice Coleridge and Bishop C. Sumner of Winchester; Mr. John Labouchere, the banker, and Archdeacon Manning (afterwards Roman Cardinal); Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and Archdeacon Robinson of Madras.§ Large subscriptions were announced, including £10,000 from the S.P.C.K., £5000 from the S.P.G., and £600 a year from the C.M.S. towards the support of one bishopric, that of New Zealand—of which more presently.

Scheme of the Bishops.

The four Archbishops of the then United Church of England and Ireland, and twenty-five Bishops, then issued a manifesto, embodying the following proposals:—The first bishopric to be established was New Zealand. The next was to be one for the British possessions in the Mediterranean Sea, with jurisdiction over the Anglican congregations in Spain, Italy, &c. This was intended to be at Malta, where Queen Adelaide, widow of William IV., was building a church at her own expense; but in the event Gibraltar was selected instead as the seat of the bishopric. Then were to follow New Brunswick, the Cape, Van Diemen's Land (i.e. Tasmania), and Ceylon. The claims were also mentioned of Sierra Leone, British Guiana, South Australia, Port Philip (i.e.

* See *Missionary Register*, 1838, p. 229. The fact is not mentioned in the S.P.G. *Digest*, or in the S.P.C.K. *History of the Church in Canada*.

† See p. 367. ‡ See p. 389.

§ In 1891, the Jubilee of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was celebrated by a meeting at which Mr. Gladstone again spoke after the fifty years' interval, and Sir John Kennaway spoke as representative of the Church Missionary Society.

Melbourne), Western Australia, Northern India (where a See of Agra was contemplated), and Southern India (for Tinnevelly and Travancore). The bishoprics actually founded between 1841 and the C.M.S. Jubilee were New Zealand, Tasmania, Antigua, Guiana, Gibraltar, Fredericton (New Brunswick), Colombo, Cape Town, Newcastle (N.S. Wales), Melbourne, and Adelaide; also Jerusalem, under special circumstances to be presently noticed.

Relation of C.M.S. to the movement.

What was the relation of the Church Missionary Society to this extension of the Anglican Episcopate?

There is a widely-current notion that the Society, though not openly objecting to bishops as such, would not be sorry to be without them; that the Committee and the missionaries alike use their best endeavours to prevent the establishment of the Episcopate in countries in which the Society's Missions are carried on; and that when it is a *fait accompli*, they submit with a bad grace, and render the bishops as little deference as they decently can. Such a notion could hardly prevail so widely as it does if there were no foundation for it at all. What, then, is the truth of the matter?

Why C.M.S. supporters not enthusiastic.

First of all, it cannot be doubted that the absence of the Episcopate for so long a period in so many of the Missions—in West Africa nearly forty years, in Ceylon thirty years, in New Zealand and North-West America nearly thirty years—did accustom the rank and file of the Society to Missions without bishops, and therefore that they were slow to see the need of them, except perhaps occasionally for confirmations and ordinations. Then secondly, when a large extension of the Episcopate was contemplated, they could not but feel that the choice of men for bishoprics would lie, in the main, with those who had little sympathy with the Society and its work; and it is not unnatural that some nervousness should have been manifested. Thirdly, it cannot be denied that, in the event, such apprehensions did not prove, in some cases, to be unwarranted. Fourthly, such tremendous claims to unchecked power came to be put forward on behalf of the Episcopate, particularly by the Tractarians—though they themselves set a poor example of obedience to bishops,—that a natural reaction took place in the minds of more moderate Churchmen. When it was laid down in intolerant tones that a Church Mission could not even be begun without a bishop, men could not but ask themselves whether the Spirit of God was absolutely tied even to His own ordinances, and whether the blessing which had, as a matter of fact, been granted to many Missions before any bishop appeared did not clearly prove the contrary.

But the leaders recognized value of bishops;

To this extent, there has unquestionably been some foundation for the current belief. But while the Society has never professed to attribute to the Episcopate such an exclusive virtue as would render Missions deprived of its advantages useless,—and while among some of its members there has certainly been a disposition

to undervalue those advantages themselves,—it is equally true that the responsible leaders of the Society have never failed to recognize the importance of the Church being represented abroad in its full organization, to value highly the actual benefits of the Episcopate, and to render due respect and deference to individual bishops—who have proved, after all, to be but fallible men. The large share which the Society has taken from the first in promoting the extension of the Episcopate, again and again finding both men and means for the purpose, ought to have saved it from the invidious remarks often made by those who substitute for a real knowledge of the facts the imaginations of a prejudiced mind.

Let us now look at the Society's official utterances at the epoch we are reviewing, and to the acts by which the sincerity of those utterances was proved.

and worked actively to get them,

The active part taken by the Society in the establishment of the Episcopate in India has been described in a former chapter.* In 1836-38, as we shall see presently, the Committee were earnestly considering how to get the advantages of a bishop's work and influence in New Zealand. In 1839, a whole year before Bishop Blomfield's first move for the formation of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, the Committee, in concluding their Annual Report, mentioned as a "ground of congratulation" "the extension of Episcopal Authority and Influence in those regions wherein the Missions of the Society are situated." "It is true," they go on, "that no new Diocese has during the past year been created in foreign parts, though more than one be called for; but the benefits of Episcopal Superintendence have been, during this year, increasingly felt in various parts where Dioceses, more or less new, had previously existed." This refers, no doubt, mainly to the three Indian sees; possibly also to Jamaica; certainly also to the visit of Bishop Broughton of Australia to New Zealand in the preceding year. Again, in the Report of 1840, the Committee, after expressing "heartfelt joy" at the increased zeal for church building at home and abroad, and other Christian enterprises, —say, "Nor less do they rejoice in the fact of the extension of Episcopacy in the Colonial Possessions of Britain. At present there are nine Colonial Bishoprics; and there is a strong desire, as well as a pressing want, for more." In fact, *the Society's leading friends had urged this extension long before the authorities of the Church saw its importance.* "We greatly rejoice," wrote an Evangelical editor at this juncture, "that the highly-important duty of adding largely to the number of bishoprics in our Colonies, *which we repeatedly urged many years ago, when the proposal was reprobated as unnecessary and, as 'making bishops too cheap,' and lowering their secular dignity*, has now strongly commended itself to the rulers and clergy and laity of our Church, so that before long, we trust, every British Colony will enjoy the benefits of confirmation, local ordination, and episcopal jurisdiction." †

before others moved.

* See Chapter IX.

† *Christian Observer*, May, 1841.

C.M.S. and New Zealand bishopric.

So much for the Society's general view of the matter. Let us now come to the definite question of a bishopric for New Zealand, which was the Society's special interest, and concerning which very strange misconceptions have long been current. The New Zealand Mission was undertaken thirty years before the Islands were annexed to the British Empire; and no one in those days dreamed of an English bishop being sent outside the Empire. The Act of George III. above mentioned would not have applied to the case. Even Australia, which was British, was included in the Diocese of Calcutta! In 1824, it was constituted an Archdeaconry, and the Rev. W. Broughton was appointed Archdeacon by Bishop Heber. Bishop Daniel Wilson used to send him instructions regularly. In 1836, as before mentioned, the new Diocese of Australia was formed, and Archdeacon Broughton, being in England, was consecrated to be the first bishop. New Zealand was not included in his diocese; but did the Church Missionary Society therefore do nothing? Let us see.

Current mistakes as to C.M.S. attitude.

In the *Life of Bishop Selwyn* it is stated that the Bishop "made an offer" to go to New Zealand, but that the C.M.S. Committee "had grave doubts about the legality and validity of episcopal functions exercised beyond the limits of the Empire and of the area assigned to the Bishop by letters patent"; and that the Bishop "represented that while undoubtedly he had no legal jurisdiction in New Zealand, his spiritual office might be exercised validly in a country which formed part of no diocese." Now see what the contemporary documents state. At the first Committee meeting after Broughton's consecration, it was resolved to wait upon him and request him to give such episcopal countenance and supervision to the Mission as was possible. He had, however, to go off suddenly, and in fact he actually sailed the day after the Committee met. Then they communicated with him through Mr. Cowper, the chaplain at Sydney, who was Secretary to the Corresponding Committee there which Marsden had formed for the administration of the New Zealand Mission. The Bishop replied in due course with the "offer" to go himself to New Zealand. The legal difficulties supposed to be involved were not new to the Committee. They had before had to face the question in the case of Travancore, where the Society's missionaries had been unable to obtain the advantage of the Bishop of Calcutta's license, as his jurisdiction did not extend into the native states. Nevertheless, they needed no reminder from Bishop Broughton that there are "functions inherent in the Episcopal office, independently of the prerogatives attached to it by the law of England"—which are the very words of their resolution (December 6th, 1836):—

C.M.S. invites Bishop Broughton to visit New Zealand.

The legal questions.

"That though the Committee are advised in reference to the Travancore case that a Colonial Bishop cannot grant Licenses in extra-diocesan stations, nor execute his office to the same extent there, nor with the same authority and legal sanction, as within the

limits of his patent; yet that it is nevertheless desirable that the Missionaries and Native Converts in such stations should, where practicable, enjoy the full privileges of a Christian Church, by participating in the benefits of the exercise of the Episcopal office, so far as circumstances may permit; especially the rite of Confirmation, the conferring Holy Orders, and the exercise of pastoral encouragement, admonition, or counsel, *these functions being inherent in the Episcopal office, independently of the prerogatives attached to it by the law of England.*"

The Committee, therefore, had no "doubts" at all. They knew perfectly well that the Bishop's legal jurisdiction did not extend beyond his assigned diocese; but this did not make them the less desirous that the missionaries and converts should "enjoy the full privileges of a Christian Church, by participating in the benefits of the exercise of the Episcopal office so far as circumstances might permit." In fact they rejoiced to find a Colonial Bishop who did not mind doing a spiritual work which was extra-legal. With strict accuracy, therefore, the Report of 1838 said that "the Bishop of Australia has, *at the request of the Parent Committee,* undertaken to visit the Mission"; and again, the Report of 1839 (presented before it was known that he had gone), that the Committee had "*opened a communication* with the Bishop of Australia, *with a view to acquire for the Mission,* through his instrumentality, such an exercise of the Episcopal functions as the nature of the case would admit." Indeed, at the very time that the Bishop was sailing from Sydney (December, 1838), they had been further considering how to overcome the obstacles to the possession of episcopal supervision for the Mission. When they heard of his visit they again (August, 1839) expressed their "deep sense" of the need of a clergyman in the Island "invested with ecclesiastical authority," "to regulate the ecclesiastical proceedings of the Mission in conformity with the discipline of our Church." If a bishop could not be obtained, perhaps an archdeacon or a commissary might be of partial use.

C.M.S. calls for a bishop for New Zealand.

On receiving Bishop Broughton's report of his visit, the Committee wrote as follows:—

"The Committee *most cordially concur* in the judgment of his Lordship, 'that *the Church of England requires to be planted in New Zealand in the full integrity of her system.*' This consideration induced the Committee to request the Bishop of Australia to visit the Mission, anticipating such information and suggestions as would promote that object. Since the receipt of the Bishop's letter, *other steps have been taken by the Committee directed to the same end.* Should it please Divine Providence to favour their views, and to raise up an individual eminently devoted, and thoroughly right-minded, to exercise his paternal authority in the midst of this infant flock, the blessings to be anticipated to New Zealand would be truly great." *

What were these "other steps"? The Committee went to the Bishop of London, to see what chance there was of obtaining

* *Missionary Register,* 1839, p. 552.

a bishop for New Zealand itself. On December 3rd, 1839, the President and some leading members waited on Bishop Blomfield. He encouraged them to approach the Government, while he himself went to the Archbishop. The very next day Lord Chichester interviewed Lord John Russell, who was then Secretary for the Colonies. Lord John said a bishopric was impossible until New Zealand was annexed to the British dominions. The Archbishop thought a bishopric should be pushed for, but said a special Act of Parliament would be necessary. Thereupon the Committee asked Lord John Russell to grant them another interview; but he declined, saying it was useless.

C.M.S. appeals to Government.

Early in 1840, Bishop Blomfield put forth his proposals for a Colonial Bishoprics Fund, and the Committee at once promised "cordial co-operation" "so far as concerned the New Zealand or any other C.M.S. Mission." * They urged that a bishopric was also needed for West Africa, and again the Archbishop and Lord John Russell were approached on this point. Just then, news arrived in England of the proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty in New Zealand; and Lord Chichester and Mr. Coates went to Lord John to press the establishment of both bishoprics. Lord John asked if the Society would endow them. He was informed that there was no power to do this, but that the Society would support the bishops until an endowment could be obtained. The Sierra Leone Bishopric had to wait for ten years yet; but the New Zealand one was pushed forward, and in the Report of 1841 the Committee said:—

C.M.S. appeals again.

> "Of the Sees which it is designed to erect, New Zealand comes among the foremost. And the Committee, on principle, and from a deep conviction of the necessity of the measure for their missionaries in that island, have undertaken to aid largely in providing the endowment from the lands held by the Society in the island; and until those lands can be made available for the purpose, the Committee have engaged to contribute towards the salary of the Bishop, an amount not exceeding £600 per annum."

C.M.S. promises £600 a year.

The Society's proceedings in this matter have been given in detail, because the recital proves to absolute demonstration how utterly groundless are the statements to be found in some modern books. Thus, in Dean Jacobs's Church History of New Zealand, it is said that Bishop Broughton, before visiting the Mission, "obtained the hesitating, not to say hardly-given, consent of the C.M.S." † And the *Life of Selwyn* has this statement:—"The idea of having a resident bishop among them was distasteful to the majority of the Church Missionary clergy,

More current mistakes.

* To this an allusion (not quite accurate) occurs in Bishop Samuel Wilberforce's journal, March 24th, 1840:—"The Ch. Miss. Soc. have just offered to endow a bishopric with £1000 a year, and land hereafter, if Bp. of London will consecrate, for New Zealand. This is a great beginning."

† *Colonial Church Histories: New Zealand*, p. 70.

and was loudly condemned by the Secretary at home."* Who could "the Secretary at home" be? Jowett and Vores were just leaving; Venn had not yet come into office. Is Coates referred to? Remembering his independent lay view of things, one might imagine him in some private circle drawing a picture of a possible High Church bishop set over a long-established Evangelical Mission, and "loudly condemning" his anticipated proceedings. But we have seen that Coates went to Lord J. Russell to press the establishment of the bishopric! However, suppose that some such thing did occur, the *obiter dictum* of an individual is not the official utterance of the Society.

Attitude of the missionaries.

With regard to the other assertion, that "the majority of the missionary clergy" disliked the idea of a resident bishop, it is quite a mistake. There were at the time six "missionary clergy" in New Zealand, viz., Henry Williams (afterwards Archdeacon), William Williams (afterwards Archdeacon, and then Bishop), A. N. Brown (afterwards Archdeacon), R. Taylor, R. Maunsell (afterwards Archdeacon), and O. Hadfield (afterwards Bishop). Of these, the brothers Williams had both expressed in the strongest terms their desire for a bishop. So had Hadfield, who had only lately arrived. Half the number therefore are accounted for at once. Whence come "the majority"? Moreover, no one who knows the history can suppose it likely that to Maunsell the idea of a resident bishop was distasteful. Of the views of Brown and Taylor there is no evidence. On the other hand it is very possible that the remark may be true of some of the lay catechists and settlers, who were disposed to presume a little on the position in which the sudden growth of the Mission and the paucity of clergy had placed them†—though Bishop Broughton had written very favourably of them on the whole. But then how could lay catechists and settlers be "the majority of the missionary clergy"? In fact, William Williams's own statement some years after is decisive: "*The appointment of a bishop had long been desired by the members of the Mission.* The Christian Church had grown to an extent which made it inexpedient that it should be left under the management of local committees. It needed a presiding authority, to which all could look with confidence, together with the exercise within it of those ecclesiastical functions which are essential to its complete efficiency."‡

How find a man for the bishopric?

So far we have only considered the bishopric. What of the bishop? New Zealand was not then, as now, a delightful and flourishing colony. There was nothing in a country inhabited by a people only just emerged from cannibalism to tempt a clergyman to desire lawn sleeves. The popular ideas of the place may be

* *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. i. chap. 3.

† See a letter in Curteis's *Bishop Selwyn*, p. 79.

‡ Bishop W. Williams, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, p. 296.

gathered from Sydney Smith's witticism—"It will make quite a revolution in the dinners of New Zealand: *tête d'Evêque* will be the most *recherché* dish, and your man will add, 'And there is *cold clergyman* on the side-table.'" * The most natural course in such circumstances would have been to select for the bishopric one of the six clergymen already in the colony. They knew the people, and the language; four were University men, and a fifth had been a naval officer, and was a born leader; so it cannot be said that there were none fit to choose from. But they had one fatal disqualification. They belonged to the Church Missionary Society. And although the heads of the Church had just joined the Society, and the Society had voted £600 a year towards the episcopal stipend, the appointment, nominally that of the Crown, was virtually in the hands of the new Colonial Bishoprics Fund; and although that Fund was doing nothing for the support of the Bishopric—as the other half of the stipend was to be paid by Government—its chief promoters were in the van of the general movement, and had to find bishops for the new sees. They did not even consult the Church Missionary Society at all. It is an incongruous spectacle. Yet the providence of God was not withheld; and the choice ultimately fell upon a man whose name will be honoured for all time as—with all his faults, and he had faults—one of the greatest bishops in the whole history of the Church.

Choice of G. A. Selwyn.

George Augustus Selwyn was a brilliant Etonian and Johnian. Born in the same year as Mr. Gladstone, he was an intimate friend of the future Premier at Eton; and another schoolfellow, E. Harold Browne (afterwards Bishop successively of Ely and of Winchester), wrote of him, "He was always first in everything; and no one ever knew him without admiring and loving him." At Cambridge he was second classic of his year, and rowed in the 'Varsity Eight on the first occasion of the Inter-University Boat Race. He was a strong Churchman; not stiff and inelastic like the older High Church School, and not enamoured of Roman ways like the new Tractarians; but one who thoroughly believed in the Church as a Divine institution, and had lofty ideas of the part she should play in the world. When an Eton tutor and curate at Windsor, he formed one of the Church Unions before referred to,† comprising four societies, viz., S.P.G., S.P.C.K., Church Building Society, and National Society. As a clergyman he regarded himself as a subaltern in the Church's army, bound to go wherever his commanding officer sent him; and when he received the offer of the Bishopric of New Zealand, he wrote to Bishop Blomfield,—"Whatever part in the work of the ministry the Church of England, as represented by her Archbishops and Bishops, may call upon me to undertake, I trust I shall be willing to accept with all obedience and humility. . . . I place myself unreservedly

Selwyn's ready obedience.

* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 203.

† See p. 383.

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in the hands of the Episcopal Council, to dispose of my services as they may think best for the Church."

Selwyn and the lawyers.

And so it came to pass that Selwyn was consecrated on Sunday, October 17th, 1841, at the age of thirty-three. But he did not like the part taken by the Crown lawyers in the matter. They so drew the letters patent as to make the Queen "give him power to ordain." Against this he protested, very naturally. If a bishop has any inherent authority at all, he certainly has authority to ordain. His protest, however, was unsuccessful; but he did succeed in getting the appointment of archdeacons left to him. Against one curious blunder he did not protest. By inadvertence his jurisdiction was made to extend from 50° South, not to 34° South, as intended, but to 34° North, thus giving him a large part of the Pacific Ocean; and this mistake led long afterwards to his undertaking the Melanesian Mission.

Selwyn and C.M.S.

Although the Church Missionary Society had not been consulted in the choice of a man who was to be bishop over its Mission, friendly relations were at once entered into with him. He accepted the Vice-Presidency. He came to Salisbury Square and had an interview with the Committee which gave them (in their own words) "lively satisfaction." And he spoke, with Bishop Blomfield, at a C.M.S. meeting at the Mansion House, presided over by the Lord Mayor. In the next Annual Report (1842), the Committee said,—

> "The necessity for Episcopal Superintendence has been long felt both by the missionaries and the Committee, in the advanced state of the Mission. The Committee can now report that New Zealand has been erected into an Episcopal See, and that the full benefits of our Ecclesiastical Constitution have thus been provided for the infant Church in those Islands. . . ." [After referring to the consecration of Bishop Selwyn] "In several communications with the Committee, his Lordship manifested a lively interest in the Society, and kindly expressed his readiness to render the Committee every assistance in his power toward carrying out their plans with respect to the New Zealand Mission."

And Venn wrote out to the senior missionary about the new Bishop as follows :—

> "I must congratulate you and the rest of our brethren upon the appointment of a bishop. I regard this event as the consummation of all our missionary schemes for New Zealand, and as an answer to the prayers which we have long been offering up that the Lord would foster and confirm the infant Church. Though the selection of the individual to fill the office was made independently of the Society, we trust that it has been guided by a gracious Providence for the best interests of the Church of Christ. I have had several interviews with the Bishop, and indulge the best hopes from his Christian devotedness, his zeal, his talents, and his large experience in the work of education. I trust that the whole of our missionary brethren will receive him with the confidence becoming the paternal relation in which he now stands toward them."

In the remarkable Annual Sermon of that year, which has

already been noticed and quoted from,* Hugh Stowell in eloquent language dilated on the new Colony and Diocese of New Zealand :—

Hugh Stowell on New Zealand and the bishopric.

"The Apostles did not, in the outset, map out the Heathen World into skeleton dioceses, and plant a Bishop at Crete, at Ephesus, at Antioch,—no ; but they themselves, first of all, 'went everywhere preaching the word,' and they sent forth chosen evangelists to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ : and when the Lord had given testimony unto the word of His grace, when multitudes had been gathered from among the Heathen, when pastors had been set over the infant churches thus gathered, and when those pastors themselves needed chief shepherds, then at length, when a fixed Episcopacy was required, and when the Apostles, thitherto the itinerating Bishops of the Universal Church, were about to enter into their rest, they instituted and added Diocesan Episcopacy, to consolidate, perpetuate, and govern the Church ; and so Timothy was appointed to Ephesus, Titus to Crete, and Ignatius to Antioch.

The missionary first ; the bishop next.

"Thus has it been in our modern Missionary progress. This Society did not tarry—to instance a beautiful existing illustration of our meaning till haply there might be a Bishop set over the wild Western Isle of New Zealand ; but she at once introduced, amidst the ferocious cannibals of that seemingly inaccessible land, the messengers of grace and peace and love ; and they, preaching Christ crucified, were through grace enabled so to subdue many a savage spirit and soften many a stony heart, that numerous flocks were gathered from among the fell natives ; pastors were multiplied over those flocks ; the island began to wear a general aspect of Christianization ; the Episcopate was now called for, to give order and perpetuity to the work ; and, lo ! as the result of our labours, a Bishop has been consecrated to the fair Western See.

C.M.S. gave New Zealand to England and to the Church.

"In this way the Church Missionary Society has had the blessed privilege of welcoming to a garden, which she had been the honoured means of winning from the waste, this master husbandman in the vineyard of God : and such is the maturity of the work in the once barbarous Isle, now lovely in grace as she is beauteous in nature, that it only needs the parochial system of our Church to be fully introduced, in order that we may withdraw our Missionary labours from her shores, and turn them to new wilds in the wilderness, where we may hope to add fresh spheres to our Primitive Episcopate, and fresh trophies to our Scriptural Church —but all for the glory of Christ Jesus. Blessed fruit of our weak endeavours ! expressive proof of our fidelity to our Church ! For can it with fairness be denied, that as this Institution, under God, has mainly helped to annex to the Crown of England's Queen the fairest province in her wide dominions—the fairest, because unstained by the blood of conquest, and neither wrested by violence nor filched by fraud from the aboriginal tribes, but vanquished by the Sword of the Spirit, and led captive by the cords of love, until the nation has virtually said to her Benefactress, as did the Moabitess to Naomi of old, 'Thy people shall be my people and thy God my God'—can it be denied, that as this Society has thus helped to add the fairest province to the Empire of our Queen, she has also aided largely in adding the fairest Diocese to the ample fold of our Church ?—the fairest, because the brightest modern evidence of the apostolicity and catholicity of our Church, of the soundness of her faith, and the energy of her obedience, of the

* See p. 396.

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power of her love, and of the abiding of the Spirit of Christ with her Ministers and in her ministrations—a living Epistle, known and read of all men."

Bishop Blomfield says the same.

And Bishop Blomfield, in his C.M.S. Sermon in 1844, before noticed, thus referred to the Society's part in both the evangelization of New Zealand and the establishment of the Bishopric :—

". . . That remote Colony of New Zealand, where this Society, having been the honoured instrument of displaying the light of the Gospel to those who were in darkness and the shadow of death, *has now been mainly instrumental* in placing that light upon the Church's golden candlestick, in its Apostolical completeness."

S.P.G. now helps.

But the C.M.S. was not now to be the only Church Society labouring in New Zealand. To it was still left the Maori work ; but in view of the rapid colonization of the country, both the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. gave the Bishop large assistance in providing clergy, churches, and schools for the white settlers ; and he took out with him, as a beginning, three clergymen and four students for holy orders, besides two new C.M.S. missionaries, one from Cambridge (Dudley) and one from Oxford (Reay). The announcement in the S.P.G. Report contains what seems to be the first reference to the C.M.S. in an S.P.G. official publication :—

"The erection of an Episcopal See in New Zealand must be considered as an era in the history of that interesting island ; and the Society are prepared to exert themselves to the utmost in order to render every assistance which may be required of them by the Bishop. At the same time, they wish carefully to abstain from intruding on the field already occupied by the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, and will take measures for preventing misapprehension on this subject."

We must not now follow Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand. We shall meet him there by-and-by.

Other new bishoprics.

The majority of the other bishoprics founded between 1841 and 1849 were for Colonies in which the Society was not at work. But it had Missions in the new dioceses of Guiana and Colombo ; and Bishops Austin and Chapman at once became Vice-Presidents and expressed cordial feelings towards the Society. Of the latter the Report of 1845 said,—"The Committee anticipate much benefit to the Mission from his spiritual direction and paternal superintendence over the Church in this interesting Island" [Ceylon]. The Society's interest, however, was not limited to its own spheres of labour. The new Bishop of Barbadoes, Dr. Parry, was invited to be a Vice-President, and consented. When Bishop Gray was consecrated to the new diocese of Cape Town in 1847, he too accepted the same office ; and his appeal for South Africa was printed in the *Missionary Register* with a sympathetic commendation.* Another bishop, consecrated on the same day, Charles

* *M. R.*, 1847, p. 301.

Perry of Melbourne, the Senior Wrangler of his year, who had been an influential Evangelical clergyman at Cambridge, was an ardent friend of the Society, and long afterwards, when he retired after a nearly thirty years' episcopate, became a leading member of the Committee. In the decade following the C.M.S. Jubilee, the Society was concerned in the formation of six new bishoprics, as will appear hereafter.

Bishopric for Jerusalem.

Another Anglican Bishopric was founded in 1841, at the same time as that of New Zealand, but under very different circumstances. This was the Bishopric in Jerusalem.

Reference has been made in previous chapters to the visits of Mr. Jowett and Mr. Connor to Palestine in 1816-19. From time to time, also, American missionaries, Presbyterian and Congregationalist, essayed to work among the Oriental Christians, but did not settle in the country. The London Jews' Society made various attempts, from 1820 onwards, to establish a Jewish Mission; and from 1835 its agents succeeded in making good their footing in Jerusalem. Converts from Judaism were gathered into the Church, despite bitter persecution; and the sympathies of Christians at home were largely drawn out towards the work. Plans were formed for building a church on Mount Zion, Anglican in the first instance, but with a view to its becoming the headquarters of an independent Hebrew Christian Church. For the study of prophecy at this time, to which reference has before been made,* had led men like Edward Bickersteth, Dr. Marsh, and Lord Ashley, to expect the early return of the Jews to their own land. In 1839, all Syria was in confusion, owing to the revolt of Egypt against Turkey and the victories of Mehemet Ali over the Ottoman forces. The Powers at last interfered—except France, which sympathized with Egypt—and drove Mehemet Ali out of Syria by force. This was one of Lord Palmerston's great *coups* as Foreign Secretary; and the *Life of Lord Shaftesbury* shows us Lord Ashley (as he then was) pushing Palmerston on, hoping thus to clear the way for the Jews to settle in the Holy Land.†

State and prospects of the Holy Land.

As soon as peace was made, King Frederick William IV., who had just come to the throne of Prussia, sent Chevalier Bunsen to England with proposals for securing from Turkey greater freedom for the Christians in Palestine, and, with this purpose in view, for sending out an Anglican bishop who should act as the head of the Protestant community and represent it before the Porte. This fell in with Lord Ashley's Jewish prospects, and he warmly seconded Bunsen's efforts. Mr. Gladstone and Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce also took an active part in supporting the scheme.‡ The latter (and very likely the former) really believed that the alliance of the English Church with the German Lutheran

King of Prussia proposes bishopric.

Churchmen for and against.

* See p. 283.

† *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. chaps. 8 and 9.

‡ In the *Life of Cardinal Manning*, Mr. Gladstone is represented as having opposed the Bishopric. But Lord Ashley's diary at the time is decisive the other way.

Church would pave the way for the latter presently receiving the historic Episcopate.* The Tractarians were furious.† Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield, who were sympathetic, were beset with their protests, Dr. Pusey loudly complaining that "for the first time the Church of England was holding communion with those outside the Church." But S. Wilberforce wrote,—"I confess *I* feel furious at the craving of men for union with idolatrous, material, sensual, domineering Rome, and their squeamish, anathematizing hatred of Protestant Reformed men."‡

The real purpose, an independent Hebrew Church.

But while the King of Prussia was thinking of an alliance between the two Churches, and of a more recognized status for German Protestants in Palestine, and while High Churchmen were divided on the ecclesiastical questions involved, the thoughts of Lord Ashley and the Jews' Society ran chiefly in quite different channels. To them the Jerusalem Bishopric was the revival, after long centuries, of the "Diocese of St. James at Jerusalem." St. James the Just was *par excellence* the Apostle of the Circumcision, and the ardent imaginations of the friends of Israel looked now to a Church of the Circumcision, presided over by a Christian of Jewish race, and to which an Apostle to the Gentiles, such as (say) the Archbishop of Canterbury, might perhaps one day indite a new Epistle to the Hebrews. And when Lord Ashley obtained the appointment for the Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, a Jewish convert,§ the joy of men like Bickersteth knew no bounds. An extract from Bunsen's diary will perhaps best illustrate the general tone of feeling :—

> (July 19th, 1841).—"The successor of St. James will embark in October. He is by race an Israelite; born a Prussian in Breslau; in confession belonging to the Church of England; ripened (by hard work) in Ireland; Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in England (in what is now King's College). *So the beginning is made, please God, for the restoration of Israel.*" ‖

Bill to establish the bishopric.

But before the consecration could take place, an Act of Parliament had to be obtained, the Acts before referred to in this chapter not covering the case. Chiefly through Lord Ashley's efforts, a Bill was introduced, "empowering the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, assisted by other Bishops, to consecrate

* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 200. See a curious proof that there was some ground for this hope, in Chapter XLI. of this History.

† But Manning and Palmer seem to have been favourable. See *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 378. Manning's biographer, however, throws doubt on this.

‡ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 213.

§ The story of Alexander's conversion is very interesting. As a young Jew, he was living in Lambeth with a Roman Catholic who was studying for the priesthood. Two young ladies visiting in the district persuaded the Romanist to accept and read a Bible. It brought both him and the Jew to Christ. One of those young ladies was Ellen White, afterwards Mrs. Ranyard, founder of the London Bible-Women's Association; the other was Martha Edwards, afterwards Mrs. Weitbrecht of Burdwan.

‖ *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 371.

British subjects, or the subjects or citizens of any foreign kingdom or state, to be Bishops in any foreign country, and, within certain limits, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the ministers of British congregations of the United Church of England and Ireland, and over such other Protestant Congregations as may be desirous of placing themselves under the authority of such Bishops." On September 14th, 1841, Lord Ashley wrote :—

Lord Ashley's joy.

"The Bill for creating the Bishopric of Jerusalem passed last night! May the blessing of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, be with it now and for ever. . . . Under God's blessing, *pars magna fui*."

The Act has ever since been commonly known as the Jerusalem Act; but there is no mention of Jerusalem in it. It is general in character; and under its provisions all Bishops for countries beyond the British dominions have since been consecrated (if consecrated in England), the Crown giving its mandate to the Archbishop, and citing the Act as its authority for doing so. If the Act had been passed a year or two earlier, the Bishopric of New Zealand need not have waited for the annexation of the Islands to the British dominions. It is a curious circumstance that an Act which has so largely contributed to the extension of the English Episcopate should be so entirely *anathema* to High Churchmen generally. They never tire of denouncing it; but they use it whenever they require it.

The endowment of the new bishopric did not come from the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. Even the influence of Bishop Blomfield and Mr. Gladstone would not have procured it in that quarter without a struggle. The King of Prussia promised £600 a year; and a capital sum sufficient to give a like income was raised by subscription, the London Jews' Society giving £3000. The nomination was to lie with the Crowns of England and Prussia alternately; and England had the first turn and appointed Dr. Alexander. He was consecrated on November 7th, 1841. One of the prelates who laid hands on him was Bishop Selwyn, whose own consecration had only taken place three weeks before; and Bickersteth wrote,—"Perhaps a more solemn effect was never produced than when the Bishop of New Zealand selected Acts xx., and read the passage, 'And now I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem,' &c. The Bishop of London was in tears." * Selwyn's biographer apologizes for his presence on the occasion, saying, "The circumstance caused some surprise to his friends, and the mention of it now may be a matter of regret to those who here learn it for the first time." † In fact, it was one of the many instances in which Selwyn proved himself superior to the prejudices of his own party. A curious illustration of similar breadth of view occurs in Lord Ashley's journal, in the notice of

Bishop Alexander consecrated.

* *Memoir of E. Bickersteth*, vol. ii. p. 182.
† *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. i. p. 81.

PART V. 1841–48. Chap. 27.

a dinner at Richmond shortly before the consecration, at which Bunsen entertained Dr. Alexander and several friends:—

Bunsen's dinner party.

"Gladstone stripped himself of a part of his Puseyite garments, spoke like a pious man, rejoiced in the Bishopric of Jerusalem, and proposed the health of Alexander. This is delightful; for he is a good man, and a clever man, and an industrious man."*

All readers of J. H. Newman's *Apologia* will remember that he mentions the Jerusalem Bishopric as the last straw in the burden of his dissatisfaction with the Church of England; although he did not go over to Rome until four years later. It is a strange instance of the vicissitudes that Time brings, that in our own day, while the revival of the bishopric was secured by Evangelical influence in the teeth of the vehement opposition of Canon Liddon, its very name has since come to be a red rag to many conscientious Protestant Churchmen, while it is now enthusiastically supported by the very party that formerly detested it.

C.M.S. not directly concerned in the Jerusalem bishopric;

The Church Missionary Society had no connexion, as a society, with the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric. It had then no work in Palestine;† and although it had previously sought the revival of the Eastern Churches, this was not the particular purpose of the bishopric. That purpose, as already indicated, was the formation of a Jewish Church; and this lay outside the range of C.M.S. objects. Still, the promoters of the scheme were supporters of the Society. Of the five trustees of the fund, four were Vice-Presidents, viz., Lord Ashley, Sir T. Baring, Sir R. H. Inglis, and Sir G. H. Rose, while the fifth, Mr. John Labouchere, was one of the Society's bankers. So the Committee, in the Report of 1842, noticed the Jerusalem Bishopric and the proposed

but rejoicing at it.

Gibraltar Bishopric together, designating them as "events which would form a glorious epoch in the history of missionary operations"; and they presented an address to the King of Prussia on his visit to England at the time, referring to the Society's past indebtedness to Berlin for missionaries, and to the "paternal and beneficial influence" which the new bishop might exercise over the C.M.S. Missions in Egypt and Abyssinia. In after years the Society's Palestine Mission brought it into closer relations with the new see; and therefore it has seemed desirable to give this brief account of its establishment.

Relation of C.M.S. to bishops abroad.

Before closing this chapter, it is necessary to notice the relation of the Society and its missionaries to the bishops in dioceses abroad. This can best be done by a further reference to the famous document by Henry Venn which formed the Appendix to the 39th Report. It has already been summarized, and quoted

* *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 377.

† Mr. Hodder says it had, but he is mistaken. (*Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 366.)

from, in connexion with the general question of the relations between the Society and the Church;* but of its four divisions, one remains for notice here. This is "The Superintendence of the Missionaries and their Labours among the Heathen."

We have seen that the first Bishop of Calcutta, Middleton, declined to recognize missionaries by giving them episcopal licenses like other clergymen; and that his successor, Heber, on the other hand, did recognize and license them. On this question of licensing a controversy arose between the Society and Bishop Daniel Wilson soon after he reached India. The Bishop desired not only to give the missionaries licenses, but to give or withhold them at his pleasure; while the Committee urged that this would put them too much in the unrestricted power of whoever might be bishop for the time being. In short, the Bishop wished the missionaries to have a status similar to that of curates in England, while the Society wished them to have a status as nearly that of incumbents as the very different circumstances of the Mission-field would permit. The dispute lasted for three years; and the Bishop had much correspondence, not only with the Committee, but with individual members of it. For example, Fowell Buxton wrote to him, "For God's sake, and for the sake of the poor heathens, do not let your love of the Church obstruct the diffusion of Christianity"; to which Daniel Wilson rejoined, "For God's sake do not let your *dread* of the Church obstruct the diffusion of Christianity." At length the whole matter was referred to three friends—Dean Pearson of Salisbury, Dr. Dealtry of Clapham, and J. W. Cunningham of Harrow. Ultimately, at their instance, the Committee gave way, and conceded the main point to the Bishop.† The arrangement was embodied in the four following Rules, drawn up by the Bishop himself:—

C.M.S. and Bishop D. Wilson.

The concordat.

1. The Bishop expresses by granting or withholding his license, in which the sphere of the Missionary's labour is mentioned—his approbation or otherwise of that location.
2. The Bishop superintends the Missionaries afterward, as the other Clergy, in the discharge of their Ecclesiastical duties.
3. The Bishop receives from those—the Committee and Secretary—who still stand in the relation of Lay-Patrons to the Missionary, such communications respecting his Ecclesiastical duties as may enable the Bishop to discharge that paternal superintendence to the best advantage. The Archdeacon of Calcutta or Bombay acting under the Bishop's immediate direction when he happens to be absent.
4. If the Bishop or Archdeacon fills, at the request of the Society, the offices of Patron, President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, &c., he receives, further, all such confidential information, on all topics, as the Bishops officially neither could wish nor properly ask (to receive).

* See p. 385.

† See *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 17; also *Memoir of Henry Venn*, 2nd edition, p. 144, where there is a letter on the subject from Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had been a member of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee.

Venn's comments.

These rules form the basis of Venn's statement in the fourth section of his document. He goes on to embody in very plain words the Bishop's view of the matter as in the end adopted by the Committee. "The Society," he says, "has recognized the uncontrolled discretion of the Bishop to grant or withhold his license, and the propriety of specifying in such license a particular district as the field of labour; so that a missionary cannot be removed from one district to another without the sanction of the Bishop." And again, "The Missionaries, thus licensed, stand towards the Bishops in the relation rather of Stipendiary Curates than of Beneficed Clergymen." These sentences so entirely concede Bishop Wilson's point, that we can scarcely be surprised that the Calcutta Committee, consisting of laymen in high Government office, rebelled, as we have before seen.* Nevertheless Venn's paper was regarded for nearly forty years as the charter of the Society's liberties. But the Ceylon Controversy of 1876 brought up the whole question again. The Society's Law was then altered, with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; and the famous "H. V." document was dropped.

Venn's influence.

The controversy with Bishop Wilson properly belongs to an earlier section of this History. Its settlement was in 1835-6. But notice of it has been deferred until now, partly because this chapter is a suitable place, and partly on account of Venn's share in the matter, his great personality having only risen up before us in the present section. It is very significant that he was not in attendance at Committee meetings during the greater part of the three years that the dispute lasted, as he was then at Hull; that within a few months of his return to London and to Salisbury Square the dispute was settled by the Committee giving way; and that he, though not then a Secretary, was chosen to embody the arrangement, and the Society's general ecclesiastical principles, in an important paper. The inference is obvious regarding his great influence and the direction it took. Then in 1841 comes the addition to the Society's Laws which enabled the Heads of the Church to join it, and the grant to the New Zealand Bishopric; and immediately afterwards Venn becomes Hon. Secretary. Again, the inference is obvious.

But Venn was no servile worshipper of ecclesiastical authority. It was he who led the Society to decline a place in the Church Unions before mentioned; and as regards the power of the Society over its missionaries, a case arose at the very time he became Secretary, which caused much anxious discussion, tested the new concordat with the Archbishops and Bishops, and gave the Society an opportunity, after having done so much to satisfy the authorities of the Church, of asserting its own just rights.

Case of Mr. Humphrey.

A young missionary in the Diocese of Madras, Mr. Humphrey,

* See p. 330.

drew plans for a new church, and sent to friends in England an appeal for funds to build it. This church was to be so built as to be the outward and visible sign of what is known as the "doctrine of reserve." The choir was to be for "the faithful," the transepts for "catechumens" and "penitents" respectively, and the nave, separated by an organ-screen, for the heathen; and the teaching was to be graded accordingly, the "mysteries of the faith" being concealed from the Heathen. In later times these principles were avowed by some few High Church clergymen in India, and were strongly opposed in an able pamphlet by Bishop Caldwell, of the S.P.G. Tinnevelly Mission.* But in 1841 such views were quite a novelty; and the Madras Corresponding Committee, with their Secretary, the Rev. H. Cotterill (then an East India chaplain; afterwards Bishop of Grahamstown, and then of Edinburgh), condemned them at once, and affirmed that any man holding them was disqualified from being a missionary. To this the Bishop of Madras, Dr. Spencer, objected. He did not discuss Mr. Humphrey's particular views: he merely challenged the right of the Society to disconnect a missionary holding his license. The case was not referred to the English Episcopate under the new Law XXXII., because the Committee considered that Law XXXIII. distinctly excepted it; but they nevertheless submitted it in a less formal way to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. They disavowed a part of the proceedings of the Madras Committee; but they successfully maintained the Society's right to close connexion with any missionary, while disclaiming the right to judge his qualifications for other service in the Church. The dispute did not alienate Bishop Spencer. He had been a good friend before, and he continued a good friend afterwards.

This chapter may fitly conclude with one more reference to Bishop Daniel Wilson. In 1845 he paid his one only visit to England during his quarter of a century's episcopate. He was now on the old affectionate terms with the C.M.S. Committee, and was received by them with all honour. It was while he was in England that Samuel Wilberforce became Bishop of Oxford; and it is interesting to see that when Wilson had his farewell interview in Salisbury Square before returning to India, it was Bishop Wilberforce who, after Venn's official address, delivered the Committee's Godspeed to the departing veteran, in a speech "subdued, affectionate, dignified, and full of heart."† But it is the St. Bride's Sermon of that year, 1846, that is especially worthy of notice. The fact has been already mentioned that Daniel Wilson's name is the only one that occurs twice in the list of ninety-eight preachers. The sermon was a great one. It occupied an hour and a half in delivery. The text was, "They

Bishop D. Wilson in England.

His great sermon at St. Bride's.

* See Vol. III., Chapter LXXVI.

† *Life of Bishop D. Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 279.

overcame him by the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. xii. 11), and the heads were (1) "The Mighty Foe," (2) "The Means of Resisting him," (3) "The Issue of the Conflict." The Bishop gave a solemn testimony against Romanism and Tractarianism, and made a most powerful appeal for men to carry to India the pure and uncorrupted Gospel. His final words were a touching farewell to a great assembly of friends who would never see him again :—

"Brethren, I have done. I commend the sacred cause of Missions, and especially in India, to your prayers. I am re-embarking, if God permit, for the scene of my duties, baptized for the dead. Receive, I pray you, in love, this my last testimony to the blood of the Lamb.

"I shall see you no more at our Anniversaries. But we shall be assembled before the judgment-seat of Christ. Let each of us see to it, that we meet there on safe ground. Satan's widespread empire is made up of multiplied individuals. Let us take care that Satan is cast out from the heaven of our hearts; and that we believe for ourselves, each of us, in the blood of the Lamb, and bear our testimony to it, each in our sphere, even unto *the death*.

"Then may we humbly hope that, being washed, covered, plunged, hidden in the blood of the Lamb, we shall pass, as one of our Commentators [Dr. Gill] sublimely speaks, 'under that purple covering triumphantly to glory'!

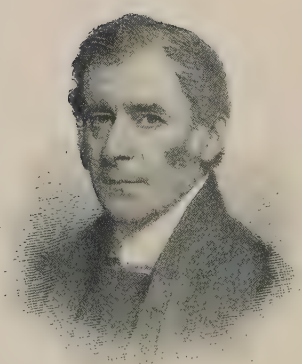
'Deo soli per Christi
Sanguinem
Sit gloria in sempiternum.'"

God grant that the doctrine, the principles, the spirit of this great sermon may more and more be the doctrine, the principles, the spirit, of our Colonial and Missionary Episcopate!

ARCHDN. H. WILLIAMS.

REV. S. MARSDEN.

BISHOP SELWYN.



BISHOP W. WILLIAMS.

MRS. W. WILLIAMS.

Henry Williams, Missionary in New Zealand, 1822-1867.
Samuel Marsden, Chaplain, New South Wales; Founder of New Zealand Mission.
G. A. Selwyn, first Bishop of New Zealand.
William Williams, Missionary in New Zealand, 1825-1878; First Bishop of Waiapu.
Mrs. W. Williams, Wife of ditto (survived to 1896).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

New Zealand: The Bishop, the Colony, and the Mission.

Advent of Colonists—Annexation of New Zealand—Arrival of Bishop Selwyn: his Testimony, Travels, and Trials—His Difficulties with C.M.S.—His tardy Ordinations—Colonial Encroachment and Maori Discontent—Governors Fitzroy and Grey—The Missionary Lands Question—Grey's Secret Despatch—Archdeacon H. Williams disconnected and reinstated—The Maori Bible—Romanist Mission—Extension and Successes of C.M.S. Mission—Sir G. Grey's Testimony—The Melanesian Mission.

"*Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.*"—1 Pet. v. 3.
"*In perils by mine own countrymen.*"—2 Cor. xi. 26.
"*Questions and strifes, . . . whereof cometh . . . evil surmisings.*"—1 Tim. vi. 4.

IF chronological order be observed, the words of the title of this chapter must be transposed. They should be "The Mission, the Colony, and the Bishop." The Mission, however, has already been introduced, and its history sketched through thirty years;* and in this chapter we have to do principally with its relations to the Bishop and the Colony.

Ungodly settlers in New Zealand.

Reference has already been made to the trouble caused by runaway convicts and other reckless and unprincipled people who settled near some of the Mission stations, set up scores of grog-shops, and tempted the Native women into sin. The evil grew so rapidly that in 1833 Government sent out a Resident, Mr. Busby, to keep order. But the Consul had no force behind him, and his "moral suasion" was simply disregarded and laughed at. Then as news reached England of a beautiful country with a healthy climate being now accessible, and of the once-ferocious Natives having been tamed by the missionaries, the rush of settlers began. A New Zealand Association was formed, which sought parliamentary powers for regular colonization. This scheme was opposed by the Church Missionary Society, Dandeson Coates throwing all his great energy and ability into the struggle. It is easy now to see that opposition in such a case was hopeless, and therefore inexpedient; but the Committee had before them the cases of aborigines elsewhere, who had been barbarously treated by colonists, driven from their lands, and mercilessly slaughtered, as

C.M.S. opposes colonization.

* In Chapters XVI. and XXIV.

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in the old American Colonies, in the West Indies, in South Africa, and in Australia, and they resolved to fight for those whom they naturally now regarded as their Maori children. Their petition to the House of Commons in 1838 gives a striking account of the external results of the Mission. It mentions the thirty-two agents, the 2500 Natives in the congregations, the 1500 in school, the wide observance of the Lord's Day, the reduction of the language to writing, the Bible translations, the printing-press, the farm, the water-mill, the introduction into the island of cattle and sheep and horses, also of new plants and seeds, the influence of the Mission in checking war and cannibalism, &c., &c.

C.M.S. petition to Parliament.

New Zealand Land Company.

The opposition was successful, and the bill was defeated; but a new body came into existence, the New Zealand Land Company, which proceeded, without a charter, to send emigrants out, and agents to purchase land from the Natives. The people thus sent out were mostly respectable labourers, and upon the whole this branch of the colonization was fairly well conducted. The southern districts of the North Island principally were selected, and the present capital of New Zealand, Wellington, was founded by the Company's colonists. The testimony of Colonel E. G. Wakefield —a famous name in New Zealand history,—who was the chief agent, to the character of the Maoris in those districts, is very striking:—

"The whole of the Native population of this place profess the Christian religion, and though there are no missionaries among them, they are strict in the performance of their religious exercises. As is to be expected, they are but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity, and are superstitious in many of their observances. But, compared with what they must have been before—and this is obviously the true standard of comparison—the improvement effected by their conversion to Christianity is most striking." *

New Zealand becomes a British Colony,

The annexation of New Zealand to the British Dominions now became an absolute necessity if law and order were to prevail; and in 1840, Government sent out Captain Hobson, R.N., to negotiate with the Maori chiefs for the establishment of the Queen's supremacy over them. They were very reluctant to surrender any of their rights; but they trusted the missionaries, and on Henry Williams assuring them that in no other way could they be protected from the immigrants, they entered into the negotiation. The French Romish priests used all possible influence to get them to refuse; but in the end the famous Treaty of Waitangi was signed, on February 6th, 1840, by forty-six chiefs. More than four hundred others in all parts of the country afterwards signed, chiefly through the instrumentality of H. Williams, who travelled for three months to interview all the tribes. The New Zealand Company's agents, who were at Wellington, were very angry, regarding the treaty as impeding their proceedings. It contained

through influence of missionaries.

* Quoted in Bishop W. Williams's *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, p. 272.

three articles, (1) ceding to the Queen full sovereignty over the Islands, (2) guaranteeing to the various tribes all territorial rights, with the right of pre-emption of lands reserved to the Crown; (3) extending to the Natives the rights of British subjects. In an official letter Captain Hobson warmly acknowledged the "efficient and valuable support," the "very zealous and effective assistance," of the missionaries, in bringing the negotiation to a happy conclusion. The Government then formally proclaimed New Zealand a British Colony, and nominated Captain Hobson the first Governor; and he at once appointed one of the C.M.S. lay agents, Mr. George Clarke, to the office of Protector of the Aborigines.

Bishop Selwyn arrives.

The way was now clear, as before explained, for the establishment of a bishopric; and in due course arrived the Bishop introduced in the preceding chapter. On May 30th, 1842, Selwyn landed at Auckland, the infant capital, and on Sunday, June 5th, he preached in the court-house, for lack of a church, on the words of Ps. cxxxix. 9, 10, "If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall Thy hand lead me." In the afternoon, to the astonishment of all, he conducted a service in the Maori tongue, so quickly had he learned it while on his voyage out. A few days after, he sailed northwards for the Bay of Islands, and on the evening of June 20th, after dark, Henry Williams, while teaching his Bible-class at Paihia, had a card brought to him bearing these words, "*The Bishop of New Zealand on the beach.*" Hurrying down, Williams found Selwyn and one of his clergy dragging up a boat, having steered their course to the shore by a pocket-compass. The Bishop quickly charmed everybody. "I am quite afraid," wrote Henry Williams, "to say how delighted I am."

Selwyn pleased with the Mission.

Selwyn himself was not less pleased. "I have imbibed," he wrote to the Society, "the strongest regard for the Native people, and a very high regard and esteem for the members of the Mission in general." And in a private letter,—"I am much pleased with the missionary clergymen whom I have seen here. They seem to be very zealous and able ministers, and I think myself happy in having under me a body in whom I shall see so much to commend and so little to reprove. The state of the Mission is really wonderfully good." * On June 26th, he preached a sermon at Paihia in which occur his oft-quoted and memorable words:—

His memorable testimony.

"Christ has blessed the work of His ministers in a wonderful manner. We see here a whole nation of pagans converted to the faith. God has given a new heart and a new spirit to thousands after thousands of our fellow-creatures in this distant quarter of the earth. A few faithful men, by the power of the Spirit of God, have been the means of adding another Christian people to the family of God. . . . Young men and maidens, old men and children, all with one heart and one voice praising God; all offering up daily their morning and evening prayers; all

* Curteis's *Life of Selwyn*, p. 53.

Part V. 1841–48. Chap. 28.

searching the Scriptures, to find the way of eternal life; all valuing the Word of God above every other gift; all in a greater or less degree bringing forth, and visibly displaying in their outward lives some fruits of the influences of the Spirit. . . . Where will you find, throughout the Christian world, more signal manifestations of the presence of the Spirit, or more living evidences of the Kingdom of Christ?"*

Selwyn at Waimate.

The Bishop took up his residence at Waimate, in the north of the North Island, that his headquarters might be among the Maoris, rather than at Auckland, which was the seat of Government, or at Wellington, which belonged to the Company and where there was a growing population of settlers. He occupied one of the Church Missionary Society's houses; and hard by he started "St. John's College," for the training of both English and Maori divinity students. Here, within a few months, died one of the men who had come from England with him, the Rev. T. C. Whytehead, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, whom he looked to being his right hand, and the loss of whom he deeply felt. Here, on February 23rd, 1843, he held his first confirmation, laying his hands on 325 Maoris: "and a more orderly and I hope more impressive service," he wrote, "could not have been conducted in any church in England." Here, on Trinity Sunday, Richard Davis, one of the lay catechists, originally a young farmer in England, was ordained, after twenty years' faithful and uninterrupted service; and on September 24th, S. M. Spencer, a new arrival, originally an American.† In the following year he ordained five other of the Society's lay agents, J. Hamlin, T. Chapman, W. Colenso, J. Matthews, and C. P. Davies. He appointed Alfred N. Brown to be Archdeacon of Tauranga, and William Williams to be Archdeacon of Waiapu. Of the latter he wrote, in a letter to the S.P.G., "He is a man universally beloved, and one who, during twenty years of residence in a savage country, has lost nothing of that high tone of feeling which distinguishes the best class of English clergymen." And, a little later, he appointed Henry Williams Archdeacon of Waimate. With untiring energy he travelled over the whole country, either on foot, or coasting in miserable trading schooners. Concerning the latter he only said that a Government brig which brought a new governor was "a floating palace" in comparison. "He has laboured hard," wrote Henry Williams, "and set us a noble example. He does the work of the best two missionaries I have ever known." His very first visitation, in 1842-3, lasted six months, in which he travelled 762 miles on foot, 86 on horseback, 249 in canoes or boats, and 1180 in ships; total 2277 miles.‡ "When I form my plan for the

He ordains C.M.S. men.

He appoints C.M.S. men Archdeacons.

His journeys.

* This is a longer extract than has been published for many years. It is partly from the C.M.S. Report of 1843, and partly from Carleton's *Life of Henry Williams*, vol. ii. p. 53. It is entirely omitted in both Tucker's and Curteis's Lives of Selwyn; but part of it appears in Dean Jacobs's *Church History of New Zealand*, and one sentence of it in Tucker's *English Church in Other Lands*.

† Who died April 30th, 1898.

‡ *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. i. chap. 5.

summer," wrote the Bishop himself, "I write down all the days in my journal, with 'D.V.' against the name of the place which I hope to reach on that day. If I succeed, I add a 'D.G.,' to the name. Almost all my marks of 'D.V.' have this year been changed into 'D.G.'"

Everywhere the Bishop found the happy results of the Mission. Of one Sunday on his tour he wrote,—

Among Christian Maoris.

"We enjoyed another peaceful Sunday. The morning opened as usual with the morning hymn of the birds, which Captain Cook compares to a concert of silver bells, beginning an hour before the sun rises, and ceasing as soon as it appears above the horizon. When the song of the birds ended, the sound of native voices round our tents carried on the same tribute of praise and thanksgiving; while audible murmurs on every side brought to our ears the passages of the Bible which others were reading to themselves. I have never felt the full blessing of the Lord's Day, as a day of rest, more than in New Zealand, when, after encamping late on Saturday night with a weary party, you will find them, early on the Sunday morning, sitting quietly round their fires, with their New Testaments in their hands." *

Between hostile camps.

Even where old tribal feuds were ranging professedly Christian Natives in hostile camps, their religion was not forgotten. For instance, hearing of a probable war between two tribes, Selwyn hastened (as Henry Williams had done before †) to the place, and, arriving on Saturday, pitched his tent between the two parties, and prevented the fighting:—

"On the next morning, Sunday, the whole valley was as quiet as in the time of perfect peace, the Natives walking about unarmed amongst the cultivations, it being perfectly understood that neither party would fight on the Lord's Day. Going early in the morning to one of the *pahs*, I found the chief reading prayers to his people. As he had just come to the end of the Litany, I waited till he had concluded, and then read the Communion Service, and preached to them on part of the lesson of the day, 'A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another.' I spoke my opinion openly, but without giving any offence; and the chief, after the service, received me in the most friendly manner."

In the Middle Island.

The Mission had been entirely confined to the North Island, the Maoris being few and scattered in the others; but when Selwyn visited the coasts of the Middle Island, and even the small South Island, he found every little Native settlement professing Christianity. No missionary had gone there; but two young chiefs from Mr. Hadfield's station at Otaki had travelled southward a thousand miles in an open boat to carry the Gospel to them all; and the Maoris at every settlement attributed their conversion to these two zealous volunteer evangelists. All this while, the pages of the *C.M. Record* and the *Missionary Register* were filled with the most touching and delightful narratives of

* From Miss Tucker's *Southern Cross and Southern Crown*, p. 231. Other books give part of the extract. Lady Martin says of Waimate, "It was grand to hear the people repeat the responses all together in perfect time. It was like the roar of waves on the beach."—*Our Maoris*, p. 34.

† See p. 356.

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conversions, Christian lives, and peaceful deaths. It would be impossible in this History to give even specimens of them ; * but no Mission in any part of the world has witnessed more conspicuous illustrations of the power of Divine grace. One feature of the work, however, must not be omitted, so strikingly similar is it to what we have seen in recent years in Uganda. R. Taylor, one of the ablest of the missionaries, writes as follows in his interesting book, *Past and Present in New Zealand* (p. 20) :—

Features of Maori Christianity.

"I was present when the first case of Maori New Testaments sent to Tauranga arrived, early in 1839. The whole stock was at once disposed of. One man said he had now a telescope on board his ship which would enable him to see the rocks and shoals afar off. Old men of seventy learned to read; whenever they had a spare moment, they might be seen clustering round some one who was reading."

Then of his own Wanganui district, a few years later :—

"It was wonderful to see how many could read, and write likewise. Every day generally brought its Maori mail, with letters on all subjects: one asking for books or medicine; another from a teacher, giving an account of his last sermon, and the heads of it, asking if he had treated the subject properly; some inquiring the meaning of texts, or as to the right line of conduct under certain circumstances."

Taylor also mentions that many could read a book upside down, owing to their habit of sitting in a small circle with a book open in the middle. This also is like Uganda.

Selwyn's first difficulties with C.M.S.

Thus all began happily for the new Bishop. But difficulties soon arose between him and the Society. It does not seem necessary to adjudge blame now. It would be easy to make out a case against the missionaries, or against the Committee at home, or against Selwyn himself. In fact, difficulties were practically inevitable in the circumstances. They would arise from very small causes. Little varieties in worship, or even in phraseology, are always apt to irritate. A good deal is revealed in a casual sentence in an unpublished letter from a missionary, that the Natives "did not understand the Bishop's fast-days and saints' days." The Bishop, in his strict observance of them, was only following the Church rules he was used to; while the Maoris, in the simplicity of a religion whose ecclesiastical correctness had been confined to Sunday observance and the regular use of the Prayer-book in its plainer outlines, would quite naturally be perplexed. But in fact there were more serious causes of difference than small things like these. The Bishop would not ordain the

About locations,

English lay missionaries unless he might also locate them without reference to the Society, and he required them to sign a pledge to go wherever he told them; and as this would have been contrary to the procedure arranged with the Bishop of Calcutta and embodied in the "H. V." document,† the Committee would not "present" candidates while that condition was insisted on. Here,

* See, however, Chapter LXVII.

† See p. 423.

again, it may fairly be said that the Bishop, regarding himself as the general of an army, would naturally expect to post his clergy out according to his discretion; while on the other hand the Society would naturally desire to work its Mission on its own plans, as it was doing in other parts of the world. The Bishop, again naturally, preferred the S.P.G. arrangements, which gave him unconditional grants of money for clergymen of his own selection. The two systems are both legitimate enough. Both have their merits, and both have their disadvantages. Why should it be necessary to criticize either Society? The difference with the C.M.S. was settled by the formation of a Central Committee of missionaries, with the Bishop as chairman, to which was committed the ordinary arrangements for location, subject to the control of the Home Committee in cases affecting the general policy of the Mission. But again, when the men had been ordained deacons, this still left large districts unprovided with ministers who could administer the Holy Communion; and the Bishop, with his high ideas of the office of a priest, required for ordination to it a more advanced scholarship than could be attained by men in middle life who had been labouring for years as lay agents among a barbarous people, and knew a great deal more of Maori than of Latin or Greek.* We can appreciate the Bishop's desire to maintain the standard of learning among his presbyters, while we can see the disadvantage of his policy in an infant Church scattered over a country as large as England; a policy which not only limited the number of English clergymen in full orders, but resulted in the postponement for many years of the ordination of Maoris even to the diaconate. Selwyn was ten years in his diocese before admitting an English deacon to priest's orders; eleven years before ordaining the first Maori deacon;† twenty-four years before giving a Maori priest's orders. The dilemma applies to all successful Missions. You cannot maintain anything like an English standard of scholarship for ordination, and at the same time provide a rapidly-growing Native Church with clergy who are either of the Native race themselves or at least fluent in its language. Bishop Selwyn chose one alternative. Other bishops have chosen the other. It is always a difficult task to steer between Scylla and Charybdis.

About ordinations.

His backwardness in ordaining Maoris.

On the general question of episcopal authority in details, the

* One man from Sydney, Mr. Puckey, was never even ordained deacon, but laboured faithfully for fifty-five years as a humble lay agent. Yet the Bishop chose him as one of a Committee of four to revise the Maori Prayer-book, because of his intimate knowledge of Maori idiom.

† "The step was taken with small encouragement from the majority of the older missionaries" (*Life of Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 19). Pages could be filled with contemporary letters disproving this remark; even on the very opposite page of the same work is a letter from Archdeacon Abraham, saying that "one or two of the Church Mission clergy pressed on the Bishop very much the importance of making a beginning."

missionaries were by no means of one mind. The brothers Williams, and Hadfield, stood very much by the Bishop. Henry Williams, it is true, was a strong Protestant: he was at this time sending home to his brother-in-law, E. G. Marsh, subscriptions to decidedly combative Protestant societies in England;* but as an old naval officer he believed in authority and discipline, and Selwyn owed more to him than he ever acknowledged or even knew. But some of the laymen, and one or two of the clerical missionaries, complained much to the Home Committee; and the result was that when the Bishop desired to rent from the Society the entire mission premises, buildings and farm, at Waimate, for his own purposes, the Committee declined to divert the station from its previous use. Naturally, again, the Society incurred blame for this; and it is impossible to read the letters of the period without sympathizing with Selwyn in having to move from the spot which had been his headquarters for two years, and where his college had been started. At the same time, the Committee could hardly be expected to view with favour the transformation of the most important C.M.S. station in New Zealand,† in the midst of a host of Native Christians who were the fruit of the Mission, into a kind of ecclesiastical collegiate establishment with a tone and colour quite different from the tone and colour of a C.M.S. Mission. How would the Cowley Fathers have liked Mr. Pennefather and his Mildmay Institutions to be set down in their midst at Poona? ‡

Selwyn leaves Waimate.

The move hard, yet not unreasonable.

So it came to pass that in 1844 Bishop Selwyn accepted from the Society, as a sort of "compensation for disturbance," one of the two mission schooners, the *Flying Fish* (which proved very useful to him),§ and moved to Auckland, the rising seat of Government. He established his headquarters, and St. John's College, at Tamaki, four miles from the town; where the exquisite chapel associated with himself and Bishop Patteson so deeply interests the visitor to-day. The move proved to be really very much to his advantage; for within six months of his leaving Waimate, the mission premises there were occupied by troops, and some of the buildings were burnt down. A punishment on the C.M.S.! says some one. Well; but Waimate revived again immediately, and amid all the wars and apostasies and miseries of subsequent history it never again saw an armed force. It has remained ever since a centre of peaceful Christian work.

Selwyn at Auckland.

* *Life of H. Williams*, vol. ii. p. 76.

† In 1844 there were, at this station, a central church, and twelve small chapels in neighbouring villages; total average congregations, 1000 Maori Christians; communicants, 380; 24 schools, with 720 scholars; baptisms in the year, adults 252, children 99. There were 40 acres of wheat, and 180 sheep; and the flour-mill yielded 48,000 lbs. of flour.

‡ This, of course, is only an illustration. It is not meant to suggest that Bishop Selwyn's views and ways were those of the Cowley Fathers; nor yet that the C.M.S. missionaries were of precisely Mildmay type.

§ *Life of Selwyn*, vol. i. p. 187.

Captain Hobson had died in 1843, and was succeeded by Captain Fitzroy, R.N., an excellent man and good friend to the Mission. His appointment was a happy response to the following delightful letter from the head chief of one of the tribes :—

Maori appeal to the Queen.

"Good Lady Victoria,—How farest thou? Great is my love to you, who are residing in your country. My subject is, a Governor for us and the foreigners of this Island. Let him be a good man. Look out for a good man—a man of judgment. Let not a troubler come here. Let not a boy come here, or one puffed up with pride. We, the New Zealanders, shall be afraid. Let him be as good as this Governor who has just died. Mother Victoria, let your instructions to the foreigner be good. Let him be kind. Let him not come here to kill us, seeing that we are peaceable. Formerly we were a bad people, a murdering people: now we are sitting peaceably. We have left off the evil. It was you appointed this line of conduct, and therefore it is good to us. Mother, be kind.

"From me,
"Werowero."

Colonists and Maoris: more difficulties.

All this time, the relations between the colonists and the Maoris were becoming more and more strained. Disputes about purchases of land were incessant; and the commissioners appointed to see justice done found the native customs of tenure exceedingly complicated, while the Maoris fretted at the consequent delays. Then some of the settlers whose unprincipled designs were thwarted by the Treaty of Waitangi tried to prejudice the Maoris against the Treaty and to stir them up to disloyalty. Drink and immorality, too, were bringing the inevitable misery and bloodshed in their train. "The influence of the immoral English living in the land," wrote the Bishop, "is the greatest difficulty I have to contend with; as the Natives continually object to me the lives and conduct of my own countrymen." * The evil was enhanced by the prosperity caused by the sudden and large demand for labour, and the ready market and high prices for produce to be obtained at Auckland and Wellington. But it is touching to find the Christian Maoris who were engaged in the growing traffic doing their best to keep out of the way of ungodly Europeans. In this they were assisted at Auckland by Mr. (afterwards Sir W.) Martin, the Chief Justice, and Mr. Swainson, the Attorney-General, who put up huts round their own dwellings, where the converts could sojourn in peace and engage in daily worship according to their custom.† But all Englishmen who befriended the Maoris became unpopular with the bulk of the settlers; and most unpopular of all were the missionaries, especially the Bishop and Archdeacon Henry Williams. "You will not be deeply affected," wrote Selwyn, "by the report of my unpopularity. The real subject of grief is the injury done to religion by the un-Christian feelings and language which many permit and justify in themselves."

* Curteis's *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, p. 73.
† *Southern Cross and Southern Crown*, p. 228.

The first outbreaks.

At last outbreaks occurred. In the south, the accidental shooting of a Maori woman led to a massacre of white men by still heathen Natives by way of reprisal, amid shouts from the chiefs of "Farewell the light! Farewell the day! Come hither night!" and in the north, a warlike chief named Heke cut down the flagstaff at the settlement of Kororareka as a protest against British rule. This latter incident led to a little local war; and it is noteworthy that Heke was finally defeated by the English troops through their attacking his fortified *pah* on a Sunday, while his men inside were engaged in Christian worship. Moreover, when the Maoris captured and burnt the town of Kororareka (March, 1845) they behaved with a forbearance that would have done credit to European troops, and was in striking contrast to their own customs only a few years before. The Bishop thus described it:—

Heke's War.

Forbearance of Maoris.

> "Two officers captured and sent back unhurt; one woman taken and sent back with an escort under a flag of truce; the bodies of the slain respected; the inhabitants of the town allowed to land during the plunder and take away such portions of their property as they wished. . . . The wounded and the women and children allowed to embark without molestation; after the explosion of the fortified house, the whole force suffered to retreat on board the ships without a shot being fired; guards placed to protect the houses of the English clergyman and the French bishop."

But the respect paid by the insurgents to the missionaries only made the latter more suspected by the colonists and by others. Lieutenant Philpotts, a son of the famous Bishop of Exeter, "to whose hasty and ill-judged order to fire upon the town the disasters at Kororareka appear to have been in a great measure due," * called Archdeacon Henry Williams "Traitor" to his face, when, at the risk of his own life, the Archdeacon was conveying the wounded captain of the ship from the shore in a boat. The lieutenant was killed in the same war; and Williams, again at personal risk, went into the native *pah*, and though not allowed to take away the body, cut off a lock of the dead man's hair and sent it to his friends.† Higher officers thought differently of the Archdeacon. Governor Fitzroy, who had laboured hard in the cause of peace and justice, indignantly repudiated the charge of treachery which some were copying the lieutenant in suggesting, and called Williams "the tried, the proved, the loyal, the indefatigable." ‡ And no wonder; for Williams and his brethren undoubtedly saved the Colony from destruction. At one point of Heke's War the British troops were defeated with heavy loss, and for some months the white settlements were practically defenceless. The excitement among the Maoris was great; and they could easily have overwhelmed by the mere force of numbers the scattered and discouraged colonists. What was it that warded

Henry Williams misjudged.

* Dean Jacobs, *Church History of New Zealand*, p. 137.
† *Ibid.*, p. 138. ‡ *Life of H. Williams*, vol. ii. p. 106.

off so disastrous a stroke? It was Christianity. The same gentle, unobtrusive, yet powerful influence which prepared New Zealand for colonization, preserved the infant settlements from destruction. The missionaries unceasingly exerted themselves to tranquillize the various chiefs; strongly tempted as they were to join Heke, they remained loyal to the Queen and to the Church; Heke was left alone, and was easily crushed when reinforcements arrived.

New Zealand affairs in Parliament.

Peace was restored; but the little war had called the attention of the British Parliament to New Zealand, and a Select Committee, presided over by Lord Howick, pronounced, by a majority of one, against the Treaty of Waitangi, to the dismay of the Church Missionary Society, the Bishop, the Governor, and all who valued the cause of fair and truthful dealings with the Maoris. The Society made a strong protest to Lord Stanley (afterwards the Earl of Derby, and Premier), then Colonial Secretary; and he practically threw over the Select Committee's Report. But Fitzroy was recalled, and Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey sent out as Governor. England has never had an abler proconsul in her colonies than Sir George Grey, and to this day he is justly honoured. But he began unfortunately in New Zealand. He came at once under the influence of the New Zealand Company, reversed many of the best acts of his predecessor, gave credence to the jealous and bitter accusations brought against the missionaries, and charged them—especially Henry Williams—with being the real cause of Heke's War. He indited a "secret despatch" to Mr. Gladstone, who had succeeded Lord Stanley as Secretary for the Colonies, embodying this and other serious charges against them.

Sir G. Grey.

Earl Grey's perilous policy.

In the very month when this despatch was written, June, 1846, Peel went out of office; the Whigs came in under Lord John Russell; and the Colonial Office was given to Earl Grey, the very Lord Howick who had carried in the Select Committee the condemnation of the Treaty of Waitangi. He at once proceeded to carry out his own views and those of the New Zealand Company. A new Charter for the Colony was sent out, with certain famous Instructions appended, which virtually took the greater part of the lands that belonged to the Native tribes and were guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi, and made them Crown lands, saleable to the highest bidder for the profit of the State. Details, of course, cannot be explained here; but this description is substantially correct. The right-minded part of the colonist community were aghast; the Chief Justice, the Bishop, the missionaries, all protested; Archdeacon H. Williams declared that the Instructions gave the lie to all his assurances to the chiefs which had induced them to acknowledge the Queen's sovereignty; and the Bishop said he would no longer be identified with the Government by taking a salary from them. Mr. Joseph Hume, the economist M.P., called him a "turbulent priest."

Lord Grey, indeed, sent him out a personal complimentary message; but he wrote, "I would rather he cut me in pieces than induced me by compliments to resign the Natives to the tender mercies of men who avow the right to take their land, and who would not scruple to use force for that purpose." * He and the missionaries, however, did their best to reassure the alarmed Maoris, and thus averted another war; and Governor Grey found himself obliged to let the Instructions lie dormant, and not act upon them at all.

Meanwhile, the action of Governor Grey and Earl Grey in another matter brought fresh and serious trouble upon the Mission; which brings us to the Missionary Lands Question.

The Lands Question.

The question arose in this way. The New Zealand Mission was from the first in a totally different position from those in tropical countries, in that the climate was one in which the missionaries might expect to live in health without furloughs in England, and in which their families could be brought up with a view to the permanent settlement of succeeding generations. It will have been seen from previous chapters in this History that even in India and Africa a considerable proportion of the early missionaries lived and died in their fields of labour without ever coming home; but, except in very few cases, they could not settle their children there. New Zealand was different.

How should missionaries in New Zealand educate and provide for their children?

The Society, indeed, undertook to care for such children as might be sent home; but the parents very reasonably preferred to bring them up there. Then the healthy climate and the temperate habits of the missionaries naturally resulted in the rearing of large families; and this proved a great advantage to the rising Colony, providing it with young men and women brought up under Christian influence and teaching, many of whom came in after years to be in the front rank of the colonial population. The Williams families, in particular, have grown in seventy years into quite a clan, and many of the members are now amongst the most highly respected in the country and the Church. But how were the children provided for in the first instance? The Society, according to its practice, made small allowances for them during childhood; but as the boys grew up, how were they to be occupied? A few became mission teachers and ultimately missionaries; but naturally the majority needed secular occupation. Trades and professions had little opening in the early days; but the vast stretches of uncleared land invited the industrious settler and farmer. The

Settle them on the land.

natural and the right course was to place the young people upon the land; and the land had to be bought from the Maori owners. At this point, rather than copy from the statements on the subject from time to time put forth by the Society, it will

* *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. i. p. 275.

be well simply to extract the explanation by an impartial writer, Dean Jacobs: *—

"Who shall say that [the parents] were blameworthy if ... in preference to seeking for their sons any chance employment that might be found in the vitiated atmosphere of the irregular settlements that fringed the coasts, they desired to settle them upon the land, and train them up as useful colonists, practical teachers, and patterns of civilization to the surrounding Natives? Had they taken advantage of their position and influence to possess themselves of an exorbitant quantity of land, they might well be deemed deserving of censure; but if the amount acquired by them seemed large in the aggregate, it was simply because the families of the missionaries had so increased as to form no inconsiderable portion of the community. In 1844 the families numbered twelve, and the children [and grandchildren] one hundred and twenty. It should be borne in mind also that the missionary purchases were made at a time when the colonization of New Zealand was not dreamt of.

Did the missionaries defraud the Natives?

"But what was the case in New South Wales? There, in an already thriving colony, we find that no lands were purchased by the clergy; but that was for a very sufficient reason: the Government made a free grant to its chaplains of land at the average rate of 1600 acres for each child—a very much larger amount than was ever claimed by any missionary in New Zealand, and very nearly double the quantity unanimously awarded by the council under Governor Fitzroy to the Rev. Henry Williams.

"If, again, they had abused their opportunities to acquire land at an unfair price, they would have been entitled to no mercy. But so far from this being the case, it was proved upon inquiry that they gave for their land more than thirteen times as much as the agents of the Government gave at a later period, when, owing to colonization, land had grown in value; and no less than eighty times as much as was given by the New Zealand Company. Neither was the land they purchased specially good; it was mostly bush land, which had been cultivated and abandoned by its original possessors, as supposed to have been worked out. Besides all this, it must be added that in no solitary instance did the Natives complain of being unfairly dealt with by the missionaries."

The real facts of the case.

It will be gathered from this extract that complaints had been made of the amount of land that had been purchased by the missionaries. This was so; and the Society at home had had to publish a full explanation of the circumstances, and had also issued, when the Colony was first established, and before the Bishop went out, stringent regulations for the missionaries' guidance. In two or three cases, individuals among them—one especially, a lay agent from Sydney, not known personally to the Committee—had purchased tracts of land at the request of the Natives, with a view to the settlement of quarrels among them. This, though done with the best motives, was not approved by the Committee, being likely to increase the hostile feelings of the colonists. In 1843 a Court of Land Claims was established by Governor Fitzroy, which heard all complaints; and the result was that the various cases were easily and satisfactorily settled. The quantity of land the pos-

* *Church History of New Zealand*, p. 142.

session of which by C.M.S. missionaries was confirmed by the Court came out less than half what was allowed in New South Wales for girls and less than one-fourth what was allowed for boys; and it was shown that the average price they had paid for it was 3*s*. 1*d*. per acre, most of the purchases having been made long before the Colony was established, and while war and savagery still prevailed. But the regulation price fixed when the Land Court was formed, and which was paid by many purchasing colonists, was *threepence an acre*. Here the narrative ought to stop. The upright and honourable dealings of the missionaries had been vindicated, and there should have been an end of the complaints. But the young men, their sons, to whom the various holdings were now transferred, were industrious and clever, and farmed them so successfully that they were becoming prosperous men. This caused jealousy; and the great trouble was yet to come.

Governor Grey's secret despatch.

Early in 1847 the C.M.S. Committee were startled and shocked by a communication from Lord Grey, enclosing the "secret despatch" from Governor Grey already alluded to. This "secret despatch" stated that the land claims of several influential persons in New Zealand, some of them Government officials and some of them missionaries, were "not based on substantial justice to the Aborigines or to the British settlers"—although they had been finally settled by the Land Court three years before. And further, that, on account of the discontent of the Natives, the claimants could not "be put in possession of the lands without a large expenditure of British blood and money"—whereas they were at the very time in quiet and undisturbed possession. "The only step," justly observes Dean Jacobs, "which could possibly have led to bloodshed would have been an attempt by the Government to eject them"—so popular were they among the Natives.

Alarm of C.M.S. Committee.

But the C.M.S. Committee naturally gave credence to official statements, and were greatly alarmed. They immediately sent the copy of the "secret despatch" out to New Zealand, and gave positive orders that every missionary was at once (1) to accept the joint decision of the Governor and the Bishop as to the quantity of land he was to retain for himself, (2) to transfer the rest absolutely to his children or otherwise dispose of it, (3) except as to any portion claimed by the Natives, which was to be given up entirely.

These were no doubt excellent instructions, but they were based on insufficient knowledge. First, there was no portion disputed by the Natives; secondly, the possessions confirmed by the Land Court had mostly been already all transferred to the children, some of whom were now married men with families of their own. The receipt, therefore, of the resolutions caused the missionaries no difficulty. Archdeacon H. Williams expressed entire agreement with them, and declared that they would not require the award of the Governor and the Bishop, as they would retain *nothing* for

themselves, but transfer all that had not been transferred already. But he and his brethren were indignant at the imputations of the "secret despatch," and still more so when it came out that the Governor had written again to the Colonial Office, and also to the Society, charging the missionaries with being the chief cause of Heke's War, and affirming that "unless some of them were removed, there would never be peace in the Northern District." "The missionaries," wrote the Archdeacon, "shrink with horror from such a charge, and are prepared to relinquish their claims [i.e. the lands in possession; there were no new *claims*] altogether, upon it being shown that these claims would render the possibility of such an awful circumstance as the shedding of one drop of human blood."

Henry Williams indignant.

Naturally the Archdeacon, for himself and his brethren, demanded an inquiry into the truth of such serious charges. "Should I fail to scatter them to the winds," he wrote, "I will resign my duties in New Zealand." He appealed to the Governor: the Governor did not answer his letter. He appealed to Lord Grey: Lord Grey refused, saying that an inquiry would be an affront to the Governor. He appealed to Lord Chichester, as President of C.M.S.; but the Committee dared not oppose the Colonial Office, and said it was "impossible to institute inquiries on the subject." He appealed to Bishop Selwyn, who had hitherto defended the missionaries on this land question; and the Bishop's action it would take much space to explain. We must in justice to him bear in mind that he did not like the possession of land by the missionaries and their families at all. For one thing, he desired to attract the young men to his college, in hopes of training them for service in the Church; and then, as before stated, he wished them to be at his own disposal, to be sent to any part of the country at his discretion; and obviously the possession of land by them would to some extent hinder this. What he did was, first, to appeal to the missionaries to teach their sons "to renounce the barren pride of ownership for the moral husbandry of Christ's Kingdom in the harvest-field of souls," urging that "there is a Christian meekness and an active zeal by which the Christian may inherit the earth, though he have no other possession in it than a grave." Admirable counsel for a missionary; yet if a young man is not a missionary but a farmer, who would think of laying it upon him as a Christian duty that he should abandon his farm? It is no discredit to him to keep and to use what has come to him in a legitimate way. It was one thing to offer to abandon just rights if by keeping them the peace of the country was endangered; it was another thing to be expected to do so without a shadow of evidence that there was any such risk, and in the teeth of a refusal even to inquire concerning it. Then the Bishop interpreted the Society's resolutions in a sense different from that understood by the missionaries, and certainly different from what the Committee intended; and thereupon he called on

Selwyn's attitude.

them to deliver up the title-deeds unconditionally, and accept whatever the Governor might afterwards allot to them.

Some of them now gave way rather than have further controversy; but Archdeacon H. Williams declined, so long as the grave charges against the brethren, and himself in particular, were neither proved nor withdrawn. With him it was no longer a question of property, but of character. In the case of one of the lay agents, Mr. G. Clarke, the Governor sued him before the Supreme Court. He declined to defend the action, but quietly awaited the result; and the Chief Judge decided in his favour.* Meanwhile, the refusal of Henry Williams to hand over the title-deeds had been communicated to England; the Bishop had written to the Society strongly against him; the Colonial Office was pressing Lord Chichester; and on November 20th, 1849, the Committee, in deep sorrow, but distracted by the contrary opinions expressed on all sides, and determined at all costs to set the Society right with the Government, passed a resolution dissolving their connexion with Archdeacon Henry Williams.

Henry Williams disconnected.

This is but a very brief and condensed account of a long and painful controversy. Henry Williams's biographer, Mr. Carleton, a New Zealand gentleman, afterwards Vice-Chancellor of the New Zealand University, devotes almost one whole volume to it, and defends him at every point, blaming severely the Governor, the Bishop, the Colonial Office, and the C.M.S. Committee. Dean Jacobs substantially endorses his view. Mr. Tucker, Selwyn's biographer, passes over the controversy, but quotes the Bishop's advice to the missionaries above referred to. In this History we are only concerned with the Society and its agents. On the general question of the lands enough has already been said. As regards the charges against the missionaries of endangering the peace of the country, they can only be characterized as utterly absurd; and it is a mystery how Governor Grey came to make such statements. That Archdeacon Williams was justified in the position he took up, and from which he never moved, that the character of himself and his brethren was at stake, is beyond doubt; but it is generally a hopeless task to bring to book persons in official position—or indeed any other position—who make accusations without supplying the evidence. Nothing is harder to bear; but most of us have had to bear it in some form. Henry Williams would perhaps have won a greater victory than he ultimately did (as we shall see) if, instead of vindicating himself and censuring his accusers in caustic and vehement letters, he had ignored the charges and left the Lord to plead his cause. As for the Society, it is impossible to feel that the Committee were right throughout. A careful perusal of the Minutes for several years, with side-lights from letters, &c., shows the extreme

Who was to blame?

* This decision was reversed on appeal to the superior court in England; but subsequently the reversal was itself reversed.

perplexity they were in, and their anxious desire to be just; but they were certainly misled as to facts, and perhaps unduly ready to defer both to the Government and to the Bishop, as well as over-sensitive to public opinion. The "man in the street," the ordinary newspaper reader, of course believed the official despatches; and the Committee, for the credit of the Society, shrank from shielding missionaries from censure which only a close and careful inquiry could prove to be undeserved.

But the time did come when right was done. In order to finish the narrative, it is necessary to go forward a little into succeeding years. Henry Williams's brother, Archdeacon William Williams, came to England, to explain matters to the Committee. His statement in refutation of Governor Grey's charges was conclusive,* and the Committee, in May, 1851, passed a strong resolution entirely exonerating the missionaries from them, and recognizing to the full the value of their services to the Colony as well as to the Maoris. But they could not see their way to reinstating Henry Williams. In their judgment he had done wrong, and there was "no sufficient reason" for rescinding the resolution disconnecting him. The opinion, however, of many leading friends in the country began to change. The facts gradually became known; and the Committee were beset with appeals from all sides for a reconsideration of the Archdeacon's case. At length an opportunity came for restoring him gracefully. In 1854, Sir George Grey (as he now was) and Bishop Selwyn both came to England. The chief subjects of their intercourse with the Society will come before us hereafter. Here it need only be said that Sir George, without confessing his mistakes—that was too much to expect—did his best to remedy them by warmly testifying to the high character and good influence of the missionaries; and that the Bishop expressed a personal wish that the Archdeacon should be reinstated.† The Committee thereupon, on July 18th, unanimously passed a resolution reaffirming their "confidence in Archdeacon Henry Williams as a Christian missionary," "rejoicing to believe that every obstacle is providentially removed against his return into full connexion with the Society," and asking him, "receiving the resolution in the spirit in which it is adopted, to consent to return," so that "all personal questions on every side may be merged in one common object of strengthening the cause of Christ in the Church of New Zealand." And in forwarding the resolution Henry Venn wrote,—"Be assured that if the Committee have in any respect misunderstood

William Williams defends Henry.

Selwyn and Grey appeal to C.M.S.

Henry Williams reinstated.

* This most able document is printed at length in the *Life of H. Williams*, vol. ii. p. 261.

† In the published resolution, only the Bishop's wish is referred to. The biographer of Henry Williams comments on what seems the significant absence of Sir G. Grey's name; and Dean Jacobs only "presumes" that the Governor must have concurred. But the original Minutes record that the request was made by both the Bishop and the Governor.

your actions or mis-stated facts, it has been unintentional on their part, as they are most desirous of doing full justice to your character, and to the important services which you have rendered to the cause of Christ." Thus the veteran missionary was vindicated and restored, to the satisfaction of all who knew him in New Zealand. He never returned to England, but laboured on with unchanging devotion till his death in 1867.

It has been felt necessary to narrate these facts, even so long afterwards, partly because there are still allusions in current books to the supposed land-greed of the New Zealand missionaries,* and partly because excellent lessons for our own or any other time may be drawn from the narrative. Moreover, there has probably been no matter in the whole history of the Society that has given the Committee more trouble; and this work would therefore be quite incomplete if it were passed over.

It is right here to say that Sir George Grey, though undoubtedly he fell into mistakes in this matter, proved himself upon the whole a hearty friend to the Mission, and an upholder of the Treaty of Waitangi and the rights of the Maori people. The C.M.S. reports and periodicals at the time frequently spoke warmly and justly in his praise; and we shall see by and by that he afterwards deserved, and received, still more confidence and commendation.

Maori Bible and Prayer-book.

To revert to the Mission itself. Two features of the work must not be passed over. One is the Maori Version of the Bible and Prayer-book. In 1836, William Williams had completed the translation of the New Testament and the Morning and Evening Services; and a printing-press was busy, under a printer sent out by the Society, Mr. Colenso, in producing thousands of copies. Then came Robert Maunsell (afterwards LL.D., and Archdeacon), who began the Old Testament, for which his Hebrew scholarship specially qualified him. When Bishop Selwyn went out, he formed a Revision Committee, combining with W. Williams and Maunsell two lay agents who had a singular familiarity with colloquial Maori, Hamlin and Puckey. At a period later than that now under review, further revision was undertaken by the same two leaders, with William Williams's son Leonard (now Bishop of Waiapu), and two Wesleyans; and Mrs. Colenso, a daughter of one of the lay agents from Sydney, rendered great service, being "a very able and intelligent Maori scholar."

The other feature of the period calling for notice is the attempts

* It should be added, to make the story complete, that two lay agents had also been disconnected: one of them, the Sydney man alluded to on p. 439, some years before; and the other Mr. George Clarke. In the latter case also there was misconception. The Committee thought he had "litigated," in order to keep his lands; but in reality it was the Governor who sued *him*, as before mentioned, and he did not even defend the action, yet the decision was in his favour. However the Government gave him an important post, so he did not rejoin the Society. He was the father of Archdeacon E. B. Clarke.

of the French Romanists to pervert the Maori Christians. Bishop W. Williams gives an account of them,* and the journals of the missionaries at the time are full of references to them. The policy of Rome in the nineteenth century is the same everywhere. It is to assail Christian converts rather than go to the unevangelized Heathen. In New Zealand the French priests had two great advantages. First, they could with truth affirm that no land-grabbers or troops were behind them. "Heke!" said one of them, addressing the insurgent chief when the little war was over, "the Queen first sent you teachers, and then sent soldiers to destroy you." Secondly, they could, as in other lands, allow the maintenance of heathen usages which the Protestant missionaries discouraged. The nominal Christians, therefore, who were now becoming numerous, fell an easy prey to them at first. But as the people became familiar with the Maori Scriptures, the priests found themselves foiled with a weapon that never fails. At Waimate the French Bishop said to a Maori Christian, "The missionaries have houses, and wives, and children; all their love is for them; but we have none, therefore our love is for you." "Is it then wicked," asked the Maori, "for a missionary to have a wife and children?" "I am an apostle and bishop of Christ," was the reply, "and I tell you it is." "But," rejoined the Maori, "St. Paul also was an apostle, and he said a bishop ought to be the husband of one wife." † A French priest challenged William Williams to the ordeal by fire, proposing that they should both walk into flames, and see which of them God would keep intact. The Maoris eagerly collected wood for the purpose, expecting him, as the challenger, to try first; but this he declined to do. The apparent success of the French Mission was short-lived. Very few Maoris permanently joined the Roman Church; and the victory was unquestionably due to the widespread knowledge of the Word of God. The indirect influence of Rome in later years in aiding the lapse of a part of the nation into semi-Heathenism will come before us hereafter.

French Romish priests disturb the Maori converts.

Maoris refute Romish teaching.

A much more serious obstacle to the growth of true spiritual Christianity was the rapid development of the Colony, with the increase of wealth, particularly when the gold discoveries in Australia caused a sudden demand for agricultural produce. New Zealand could supply the gold-diggers with food. The gold-diggers paid for it with gold. Both settlers and Natives in New Zealand found themselves getting rich; and the grog-shop furnished an easy way of spending money. A younger generation of Maoris was growing up, and falling a prey to the new temptations. "Why," ask the critics of C.M.S., "were the young neglected? Why was an 'emotional religion' considered sufficient, without systematic teaching and strict discipline?

Growth of the Colony: more difficulties.

* *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, pp. 253, 280, 334, &c.

† Bishop W. Williams, *Ibid.*, p. 281.

Why were the confirmees presented to the Bishop mostly middle-aged people, while the lads and lasses were running wild? And why was only religion taught and not industry too?" Here is Bishop William Williams's reply:—

"The charge of an immense district was often left to one individual. The case would be somewhat parallel if a clergyman were required to itinerate between London and York on foot, and then between London and Southampton, officiating at places on the road varying in distance from ten to twenty miles; and then, when he is at home, having charge, in addition to other matters, of three hundred candidates for baptism, and of seven hundred regular attendants at Bible-classes, who had been left in the interval, not to the care of competent curates, but to teachers who themselves required to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God."*

And, as he goes on to explain, notwithstanding these difficulties and disadvantages, schools were, with Government aid, being established; and these were definitely industrial schools, with farms attached, and the boys were taught ploughing, reaping, threshing, carpentry, &c., and the girls prepared for domestic life; —but unquestionably it was all on an inadequate scale.

Flourishing work in East and South-west.

The Eastern District, which was William Williams's own sphere of work, was the most prosperous spiritually, just because it was furthest removed from the colonial settlements; but the Western District (as it was called, i.e. the far south-west), under O. Hadfield† and R. Taylor, afforded conspicuous examples of high Christian character. At Christmas (the New Zealand midsummer), 1846, the converts, to the number of 2000, gathered from all parts of Mr. Taylor's district to Wanganui. Next day a missionary meeting was held, and two Christian chiefs volunteered to carry the Gospel to a hostile and still heathen tribe. They went, and were both cruelly murdered; and soon afterwards their places were taken by two others. At the Christmas of 1848, seven hundred English settlers gathered at Wanganui for horse-races. They were puzzled at the absence of the Maoris. The Maoris, two thousand of them, were at church, 710 remaining for Holy Communion. At the neighbouring English church, the communicants numbered fifteen.‡ The general results of the Mission are nowhere better summarized than in an address by Sir George Grey to the C.M.S. Committee when he came to England in 1854. The official minute, revised by himself, is as follows:—

Taylor's Christian Maoris.

Sir G. Grey's testimony.

"Sir George Grey stated that he had visited nearly every station of the Society, and could speak with confidence of the great and good work

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* *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, p. 346.

† Hadfield was greatly beloved by Bishop Selwyn, and frequent warm notices of him occur in the pages of both Lives of the Bishop. But both omit the fact that he was a C.M.S. missionary. He afterwards became Bishop of Wellington and Primate of New Zealand.

‡ These and many other remarkable incidents, and a vast amount of valuable information, are given in Mr. Taylor's two works, *The Past and Present of New Zealand*, and *Te Ika a Maui, or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants.*

accomplished by it in New Zealand; that he believed that out of the Native population, estimated by himself at nearly 100,000, there were not more than 1000 who did not make a profession of Christianity; that though he had heard doubts expressed about the Christian character of individuals, yet no one doubted the effect of Christianity upon the mass of the people, which had been evidenced in their social improvement, their friendly intercourse with Europeans, and their attendance upon Divine worship; that there was in many places a readiness on the part of the Natives to contribute one-tenth of the produce of their labour for the support of their Christian teachers, and to make liberal grants of land for the endowment of the schools: that some of the Native teachers were, and many, by means of the schools, might be, qualified for acting as Native pastors, if admitted to Holy Orders, and might be trusted in such a position to carry on the good work among their countrymen, and even to go out as Native missionaries to other islands of the Pacific; that the great want in the Native Church at the present was a consolidation of the work, and its establishment upon a basis of self-support; that it was impossible for a single Bishop to accomplish such a work, from the extent and geographical isolation of the different parts of the diocese; that he understood that it was the opinion of the Bishop that there should be four Bishoprics in the Northern Island, in which opinion he concurred; that the most suitable persons to be appointed to the new sees were those he understood to have been recommended by the Bishop, namely, three of the elder missionaries of the Society, who had commenced the work, and brought it to its present state: that the appointment of these gentlemen would, he believed, give satisfaction; that he believed nothing could induce the missionaries to desert the Natives; that they would rather give up their salaries and throw themselves upon Native resources; that they possessed the full confidence of the Natives, and were thoroughly acquainted with their character: but that, if the Society were now wholly to withdraw from New Zealand, the work would, he believed, fall to pieces, and the Mission do an injury to Christianity; whereas, if the work should be consolidated and perfected, as he hoped, the conversion of New Zealand would become one of the most encouraging facts in the modern history of Christianity, and a pattern of the way in which it might be established in all other heathen countries."

Selwyn's untiring energy.

All this time Bishop Selwyn was displaying the most unbounded energy, travelling all over the country, ministering to both colonists and Natives, never sparing himself, and, while often unpopular with the former, universally honoured by the latter, and also by the missionaries, notwithstanding the occasional differences of opinion. His two greatest works, however, were the organization of the New Zealand Church and the foundation of the Melanesian Mission. The former will come before us hereafter. The latter properly lies outside the range of this History; but it is impossible to pass over without notice one of the most interesting missionary enterprises of modern times. Seven voyages did Bishop Selwyn make to the Melanesian Islands in five years. At first it was very perilous work; but he so completely succeeded in winning the confidence of the islanders that on the seventh voyage he visited fifty islands in perfect safety. He brought several lads, of different tribes and languages, to be trained at St. John's College; but the

The Melanesian Mission.

climate of New Zealand proved too cold for them, and it was not till some years later that Patteson's plan of gathering them in Norfolk Island met with more success. But what gives special importance to the Melanesian Mission is that Selwyn designed it as an outlet for the foreign missionary zeal of the New Zealand Church. "It seems to be an indisputable fact," he said in his first episcopal charge, "that *however inadequate a Church may be to its own internal wants, it must on no account suspend its missionary duties; that this is in fact the circulation of its life's blood, which would lose its vital power if it never flowed forth to the extremities, but curdled at the heart.*" If only every Church, however small, and every parish, however poor, would act on the grand and true principle thus set forth so forcibly by Bishop Selwyn, the whole life of the whole Church would be quickened and invigorated as it has never been yet since the days of the Apostles.

A living Church must be a missionary Church.

CHAPTER XXIX.

New Enterprises in Africa: Niger Expedition, Yoruba Mission, East Coast.

Story of Adjai the Slave-boy—Fowell Buxton's New Plans—The River Niger—Prince Albert's First Speech—The Expedition of 1841—Its Failure and Fruits—Buxton's Death—The Returning Egba Exiles—S. Crowther's Ordination—Townsend and Crowther to Abeokuta—Krapf in Shoa—His Voyage to Zanzibar—Mombasa—Death of Mrs. Krapf—The Appeal of her Grave.

"*Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: Thou hast cast out the Heathen, and planted it. . . . She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.*"—Ps. lxxx. 8, 11.

WE are now approaching the period of modern African exploration. But the great discoveries that have been so brilliant a feature of the geographical history of the last forty years, and of which three C.M.S. missionaries were the pioneers, do not come within the field of vision just yet. The course of the most important exploratory expeditions was, ultimately, not from West to East, but from East to West. But this was not expected in the 'forties; and the West Coast is still, in our present period, the principal object in view. In this chapter important enterprises in West Africa come before us; while before we close it, we shall have just a preliminary glimpse of the wonderful scenes presently to be revealed on the eastern side of the Dark Continent.

West before East.

The West African events of this period, in their missionary aspect, group themselves about the life-story of one remarkable man—a Negro, a slave, the first African clergyman of our day,* and the first African bishop.

A Negro's life-story.

In the reign of George III. there was, about one hundred miles inland from the port of Lagos, a town called Oshogun. The hinterland of Lagos is inhabited by the Yoruba nation, numbering some millions of souls, and consisting of several distinct tribes, Egba, Jebu, Ondo, Ibadan, &c., all speaking the one Yoruba language. From this country a considerable proportion of the victims of the slave-trade were drawn; and not a few, therefore, of the liberated slaves at Sierra Leone belonged to one or other

* "Of our day"—not to forget or ignore Philip Quaque, the S.P.G. African clergyman in the eighteenth century. See p. 24.

The boy Adjai kidnapped,

of the Yoruba tribes. In 1821, the town of Oshogun was destroyed by Fulah slave-hunters, and the Egba inhabitants carried away captive. Among the captives were the wife of an Egba who (it is supposed) fell fighting in defence of his home, and their three children, a boy of eleven years and two younger girls. That boy, Adjai, was the future Bishop of the Niger.

During the next few months little Adjai, separated, of course, from mother and sisters, was the property in succession of five masters, being bartered generally for tobacco and rum. One dreadful fear haunted him through all these changes, and this was lest he should be sold to the "white men," the Portuguese slave-traders on the coast. The very thing he so much dreaded was ordained by Him who governs all things according to the counsel of His own will, to be the means of opening out to him a career of liberty and usefulness far beyond his wildest imaginations. His fifth master sold him to a Portuguese trader at Lagos, and there he was chained in the old *barracoon* or slave-shed upon the site of which now stands St. Paul's Church, until

shipped as a slave,

the day when he was shipped as one of 187 slaves forming the cargo of a vessel bound for Cuba or Brazil.*

rescued by a British ship,

The very next day, the slaver was seized by H.M.S. *Myrmidon*, belonging to the British squadron then patrolling the coast, and commanded by Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir Henry) Leeke.† One of her young officers who took part in the rescue was afterwards Commander Smith, R.N.; and his son, Lieutenant George Shergold Smith, was the leader of the first missionary party to Uganda in 1876. Sometimes we are permitted to see the links that make up the wondrous chain of God's providential dealings. Have we ever seen one more touchingly significant than this? The father is engaged in suppressing the slave-trade on one coast of Africa, and helps to deliver a little Negro boy who becomes the great pioneer missionary of that side of the continent; the son, fifty-four years after, becomes the first messenger of the Cross to penetrate Africa from the other side,—on a mission, too, which has resulted in an immense extension of British influence in Africa, and the consequent suppression of the slave-trade over vast territories.‡

landed at Sierra Leone,

On June 17th, 1822, the slaves rescued by the *Myrmidon* were landed at Sierra Leone, and distributed among the villages. The boy Adjai was allotted to Bathurst; and from the very first day of his being put to school, he evinced a ready intelligence which was unusual in the miserable victims of the slave-trade. One of the schoolmasters he was under, an industrial instructor, was J. W. Weeks, afterwards the second Bishop of Sierra Leone. One future bishop taught the other future bishop the use of the

* The Portuguese ship was (happily) called the *Esperança Felix*.

† In after years Bp. Crowther knew Admiral Leeke well. See Vol. II. p. 114.

‡ Another interesting link is that Commander Smith became in after years agent of the Devonshire estates of Sir John Kennaway, now C.M.S. President.

plane and the chisel. But in a higher kind of knowledge still young Adjai soon purchased to himself a good degree. He learned to know the Only True God, and Jesus Christ whom He had sent; and having given ample evidence that his heart as well as his mind had embraced the Gospel, he was baptized on December 11th, 1825, and named after a venerable clergyman in England, whom we have met with before as one of the early members of the Church Missionary Society,* Samuel Crowther.

baptized,

In 1826, one of the schoolmasters came to England, and brought Crowther with him; and for a few months the lad attended the Parochial School in Liverpool Road, Islington. He returned to Sierra Leone in the following year, just when Mr. Haensel was organizing the Fourah Bay College; and the very first name on its roll of students is that of Samuel Crowther. He soon became an assistant teacher; then a schoolmaster at Regent (W. Johnson's old station) under Weeks; and afterwards again a tutor at the College, under the Rev. G. A. Kissling (afterwards Archdeacon in New Zealand). In the published reports from 1830 onwards, his name frequently occurs as that of a faithful and efficient agent of the Mission; and that of his wife appears as "Susanna Crowther, school-mistress." But the memorable year 1841, which we have before noticed as so great an epoch in the history of the Church, was the year that witnessed Samuel Crowther's first step towards the high position he afterwards occupied.

first Fourah Bay student,

married.

When Fowell Buxton had achieved the great triumph of his life by the abolition of West Indian slavery in 1833-34, he turned his energetic mind to Africa itself. The slave-trade was still rampant. Not that Wilberforce's victory in 1807 had been abortive. No British ships were now engaged in the traffic. But Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian vessels were still carrying cargoes of Negroes across the Atlantic; and though the British cruisers caught some, the majority succeeded in eluding them. What was to be done? Early one morning in 1837, just before Queen Victoria's accession, when staying at Earlham (the well-known home of the Gurneys, near Norwich), Buxton walked into a room where one of his sons was sleeping, and told him he had been awake all night thinking of the slave-trade, and "had hit upon the true remedy for that portentous evil." † It was this:— "*The deliverance of Africa is to be effected by calling out her own resources.*"

Slave-trade still rampant.

Fowell Buxton's remedy.

To the maturing of a plan for working out this principle he now devoted his time and thought; and after months of study and inquiry, he printed a pamphlet in the form of a Letter to Lord Melbourne (then Premier), which he afterwards expanded into his important work, *The Slave Trade and its Remedy*. It set forth

* See p. 70.

† *Life of Buxton*, p. 363.

startling evidence of the immensity and the horrors of the existing slave-trade; it urged the strengthening of the British squadron, and the negotiating of treaties with native chiefs; and then it proceeded to enlarge on the capabilities of Africa, and the possibilities of developing her mineral and vegetable resources. The Government was to do its part; commercial companies were to do theirs; missionary societies were to add the work of evangelization. "It is the Bible and the Plough," said Buxton, "that must regenerate Africa."

The Bible and the Plough.

Only seven years before this, an event had occurred which much helped to secure favour for Buxton's projects. The course of the River Niger had, in 1830, been determined by Lander. The history of this discovery is curious. That there was a great river somewhere in the Western Soudan was known in the previous century; but in the edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* published in 1797, it was confounded with the Senegal, which flows westward into the Atlantic Ocean. It was, however, on July 21st of that very year, that Mungo Park struck its upper waters near Segou, west of Timbuctoo. "I beheld," he says, "the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering in the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward*." But still no one guessed where its *embouchure* was to be found. Park was killed in the attempt to complete the explorations; Clapperton died in making a similar attempt; and not until 1830 did Lander, having travelled overland from the Slave Coast to Boussa, where Park had met his death, succeed in descending the stream until he emerged, by one of the mouths that form the Niger Delta, into the Gulf of Guinea. Most great rivers have been discovered at their mouths, and their course traced up-stream. The Niger was known at its upper waters long before the tracing of its outflow into the sea.

The River Niger.

Although a commercial venture up the river, made by that persevering friend of Africa, Mr. Macgregor Laird, in 1832, had proved a failure, the more intelligent of the British public fully believed in the great opening for geographical and mercantile enterprise furnished by Lander's discovery. Of this feeling Buxton took advantage. Armed with his pamphlet, he approached the Government, and urged the fitting out of an expedition to go up the Niger, and make a systematic beginning in the promotion of such commerce and civilization as would, in the long run, destroy the slave-trade. The Colonial Secretary in 1838 was Lord Glenelg, the younger Charles Grant, whose excellent work when at the India Office we have before seen. "I ought to know something of Colonial Secretaries," wrote Buxton,* "for I have worried each of them in succession for twenty years. . . . There is not one of them who, in my estimation, has acted more conscientiously, or of whose anxiety to do justice to Negroes, Caffres,

Buxton's proposals.

* *Life*, p. 366.

Hottentots, and Indians I feel more assurance than Lord Glenelg." Then also Sir James Stephen, son of the James Stephen whom we have seen as one of Wilberforce's associates and one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society, and who was Henry Venn's brother-in-law, was Permanent Secretary of the Colonial Office; so everything was favourable to Buxton's plans. Lord Glenelg brought them before the Cabinet; the Cabinet unanimously approved them; and Buxton wrote to his son-in-law Andrew Johnston, "Thank God! I say it with all my heart, thank God!" * But approval and action are not quite the same thing. Lord Glenelg retired from office; possibly Lord Melbourne's celebrated question, "Can't you let it alone?" was put in this case as in so many others; and things did not move rapidly. Besides which, it was not sufficient to convince the Cabinet: a great part of the work was to be done by private enterprise; and this enterprise had to be set on foot and organized.

At length, in July, 1839, a new Society for the Civilization of Africa was inaugurated, Bishop Blomfield, Lord Ashley, Sir Robert Inglis, and other influential men taking part; and Samuel Gurney, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Gladstone joining. "Quite an epitome of the State," wrote Buxton; "Whig, Tory, and Radical; Dissenter, Low Church, High Church, tip-top Oxfordism, all united." † The movement now grew apace; and on June 1st, 1840, one of the greatest meetings ever held in Exeter Hall pushed it into the front rank of the topics of the day. For Prince Albert, who had been married to the Queen not four months before, was in the chair, supported by some five-and-twenty peers and bishops, and a host of M.P.'s and leading laymen and clergymen. In this his first speech before an English audience Prince Albert said,—

Great Exeter Hall meeting, June 1st, 1840.

Prince Albert's Speech.

"I have been induced to preside at the Meeting of this Society from a conviction of its paramount importance to the great interests of humanity and justice. I deeply regret that the benevolent and persevering exertions of England to abolish the atrocious traffic in human beings—at once the desolation of Africa and the blackest stain on civilized Europe—have not as yet led to a satisfactory conclusion. I sincerely trust that this great country will not relax its efforts until it has, finally and for ever, put an end to a state of things so repugnant to the principles of Christianity and to the best feelings of our nature. I do trust that Providence will prosper our exertions in so holy a cause; and that, under the auspices of our Queen and her Government, we may, at no distant period, be rewarded by the accomplishment of the great and humane object, for the promotion of which we have met this day."

Buxton himself moved the first resolution; and he was followed by Samuel Wilberforce, then Archdeacon of Surrey, with his hereditary right to a foremost place on such a platform, and with an eloquence even more captivating than that of his illustrious father. Then came Sir Robert Peel, the leader of the Conservative

* *Life*, p. 373. † *Ibid.*, p. 380.

Part V. 1841–48. Chap. 29.

Opposition, to support a scheme promoted by the Whig Ministry; the Bishops of Winchester and Chichester, the Earl of Chichester, President of the C.M.S.; the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Ashley, Sir T. Dyke Acland, and several others. It was shortly after this meeting that Fowell Buxton was created a baronet.*

Government plans.

Meanwhile the Government were not idle. They were building three new iron steamers expressly for the expedition, two of which, when launched, received the names of the *Albert* and the *Wilberforce*, the third being christened the *Soudan*. Lord John Russell, who was now Colonial Secretary, and Lord Palmerston, who was Foreign Secretary, entered warmly into the plans; and the former wrote officially,—

> "It is proposed to establish new commercial relations with those African chiefs and powers within whose dominions the internal slave-trade of Africa is carried on, and the external slave-trade supplied with its victims. To this end, the Queen has directed her Ministers to negotiate conventions or agreements with those chiefs and powers: the basis of which conventions would be, first, the abandonment and absolute prohibition of the slave-trade, and, secondly, the admission, for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods, the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them."

Several scientific men were engaged by the new African Society to accompany the expedition; and an Agricultural Association organized by Buxton with the help of the Gurneys and some other Quaker friends, raised £4000 to start a "model farm" somewhere on the Niger. These plans called forth a good deal of criticism. The *Times* distinguished itself by its vehement attacks on the whole scheme; and the *Edinburgh Review* followed suit.† But Prince Albert was not moved from his attitude of hearty approval. He visited the three ships in the Thames before they sailed, and narrowly escaped drowning from an accident to his boat.‡ As for Buxton, the motto of his family had been, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," and the last five words of this text was the motto attached to the arms which he bore as a baronet.

The scheme criticized.

C.M.S. action.

But what had the Church Missionary Society to do with all this? From first to last it was in close alliance with Buxton in his plans. The Niger would be a highway for the Gospel as well as for legitimate trade. If "the Bible and the Plough" were to combine to regenerate Africa, and if the new Agricultural Association was to provide the plough, it was plainly the part of the Church Missionary Society to provide the Bible. Accordingly the Committee obtained leave to send two mission agents with

* Another interesting fact about this great meeting is that David Livingstone was present. He was then a young student under the London Missionary Society.—Blaikie's *Personal Life of Livingstone*.

† Dickens's clever caricature of the scheme, in his picture (in *Bleak House*) of Mrs. Jellyby and Borrioboola Gha, will of course be remembered.

‡ *Life of Buxton*, p. 443.

the expedition, and for this service they selected J. F. Schön, a German missionary at Sierra Leone with special linguistic gifts, and Samuel Crowther.

Niger Expedition.

The expedition sailed on April 14th, 1841, and entered the mouth of the Niger on August 20th. Through the slimy mangrove swamps, with their fever-breeding miasma, for the first twenty miles—then through a region of dense tropical forest, palms, bamboos, and gigantic cotton-trees—then past the first plantations of plantains and sugar-cane, with here and there a mud hut—the three vessels slowly steamed up the principal channel of the river. At Abo, a hundred miles up, and again at Idda, another hundred miles further, treaties were concluded with the chiefs for the suppression of the slave-trade and of human sacrifices, and for the promotion of lawful commerce. Important information was collected touching the condition and capabilities of the country; and Schön gathered much linguistic material which afterwards proved valuable. But the expedition closed in sorrow and disappointment. A deadly fever struck the crews, and forty-two white men out of one hundred and fifty died in two months. Only one steamer, the *Albert*, got as far as Egan (pronounced Egga), the highest point reached, some 350 miles from the sea, the other two having been sent back full of invalids; and the *Albert* itself had at one time only three white men with strength enough to work the ship. The proposed "model farm" was started at Lokoja, but ere long the men in charge had to leave in shattered health; and almost the only immediate result of the first gallant attempt to "regenerate Africa" was the publication by the Church Missionary Society of Schön and Crowther's Journals, which proved a valuable book, and most useful in after years.

Its trials.

Its failure.

The failure of the Niger Expedition as distinctly killed Fowell Buxton as the Battle of Austerlitz killed Pitt. He survived it three years, but he was never the same man again. "He rarely spoke of the Expedition," says his son and biographer: "his grave demeanour, his worn pale face, the abstraction of his manner, and the intense fervour of his supplications that God would 'pity poor Africa,'—these showed too well the poignancy of his feelings." * On the other hand, the *Times* was triumphant; the very name of the Niger Expedition became a byword and a proverb to express hopeless failure; and for twelve years public opinion tolerated no further attempts to utilize the river. The promoters did not lose all heart: they held another meeting, to which Lord John Russell, now leader of the Opposition (Peel having come in), had the courage to come and speak, boldly asserting, against all cavils, the soundness of Buxton's schemes, and prophesying that the failure was only temporary; and Samuel Wilberforce again eloquently pleaded for persevering and

* *Life of Buxton*, p. 466.

patient effort in behalf of Africa. Buxton was not well enough to be present; but in 1843 he was able to take part in the dissolution of the Company. "I feel," he said, "as if I were going to attend the funeral of an old friend." His own funeral was not long delayed. He died on February 19th, 1845. But he was not forgotten. No less than fifty thousand Negroes in Africa and the West Indies subscribed to the fund for a monument to him; and the statue in Westminster Abbey is the result. Moreover, his name and character and influence have been perpetuated in sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, great-grandsons and great-granddaughters, who have been, and still are, the friends of Africa and of every good and holy cause at home and abroad.

Death of Buxton.

But was it a failure?

And Lord John Russell was right. The failure of the Niger Expedition was not final. In His never-failing wisdom, God permitted it, perhaps as a lesson on the uncertainty of human plans. Few projects for the benefit of mankind succeed, when they are ushered in with a flourish of trumpets. It pleases God to choose the weak things of the world to confound the mighty. The day came when the Negro teacher who occupied so humble a place in the Expedition became Bishop of the whole Niger territory. The day came when English ladies of refinement found that they could live and labour on the banks of the fever-stricken river. The day came when a great Chartered Company not only developed the river district itself, but delivered the great Hausa nation, in the heart of the Soudan, from the Fulah slave-kidnappers who had oppressed them so long, and proclaimed the entire abolition of slavery in the vast region under its control.

After days.

Sierra Leone prospering.

Sierra Leone was now a prosperous settlement. The West African is not great at agriculture, but he is a born trader; and many of the rescued slaves had become flourishing traffickers along the coast. In 1839, a few of the most enterprising, who belonged to the Yoruba nation before mentioned, purchased from Government a small slave-ship which had been captured, named her the *Wilberforce*, freighted her with English goods likely to attract buyers, and set sail for what was then known as the Slave Coast, a thousand miles to the east of Sierra Leone, and the gate into their own Yoruba country. Lagos being in the hands of a hostile and slave-kidnapping tribe, they landed at Badagry, quickly disposed of their cargo, filled their little vessel with the produce of the country, and returned to Sierra Leone; and a brisk trade speedily sprang up. A few years before this, the remnant of the scattered Egbas whose lands had been ravaged by the Fulah slave-raiders, as before mentioned, had come together again and settled round a high isolated rock called Olumo; and a great town of probably 100,000 souls was the result, to which they gave the name of Abeokuta, or Under-stone.

The Sierra Leone traders heard of this revival of the Egba power, and some, who belonged to that section of the Yoruba people, emigrated to Abeokuta. These had not been the most religious of the professing Christians at Sierra Leone; but in a wholly heathen country they began to long after their old church services, and they sent to the Sierra Leone missionaries, begging them to come and provide Christian ministrations for them and teaching for the Heathen population.

Sierra Leone traders at Abeokuta.

In the meanwhile, God was preparing the instrument for this extension of the work. The C.M.S. Committee had been so struck by the tone and intelligence of Samuel Crowther's journal of the Niger Expedition that they sent for him in the following year, 1842, to come to England, placed him in Islington College, and in a few months found him qualified for presentation to the Bishop of London as a candidate for ordination. On Trinity Sunday, June 11th, 1843, twenty-one years (less one week) after the poor frightened slave-boy was landed by H.M.S. *Myrmidon* at Sierra Leone, he was duly admitted to the ministry of the Church ;* and on October 1st in the same year he received priest's orders. Of course he was at once in demand as a preacher; and it was a touchingly significant scene when he stood up in the pulpit of Northrepps Church in the presence of the veteran benefactor of his race, Thomas Fowell Buxton. It was at the very next Anniversary that Bishop Blomfield preached the Annual Sermon,† and in the course of it he said,—

The Rev. Samuel Crowther.

Bishop Blomfield on the Negro minister.

"What cause for thanksgiving to Him who hath made of one blood all nations of men, is to be found in the thought that He has not only blessed the labours of this Society by bringing many of those neglected and persecuted people to the knowledge of a Saviour, but, from among a race despised as incapable of intellectual exertion and acquirement, He has raised up men well qualified, even in point of knowledge, to communicate to others the saving truths which they have themselves embraced, and to become preachers of the Gospel to their brethren according to the flesh!"

Saturday, December 2nd, 1843, was a great day at Sierra Leone. On that day, the "black man who had been crowned a minister," as the phrase was, disembarked from the ship that had brought him from England, amid the welcomes of hundreds of those who, like himself, had once been slaves but now were free —many of them free with the liberty of the children of God. The next day, "the Rev. Samuel Crowther" preached to an immense congregation from the words, "And yet there is room,"

Crowther at Sierra Leone.

* An interesting incident happened at the ordination. When the candidates for deacon's orders were to go up to the Bishop, an awkward pause occurred. The Englishmen, by a sudden and simultaneous instinct, waited for the Negro to go first; while he was sitting with his eyes on the ground, unconscious of the precedence they wished to accord him. At last, suddenly seeing that all eyes were fixed on him, he quietly arose, went forward, and knelt before the Bishop.

† See pp. 396, 418.

and afterwards administered the Lord's Supper to a large number of Negro communicants. This service was, of course, in English, the *lingua franca* of the Colony; but "Adjai" had not forgotten the native Yoruba of his childhood, and in a few days he conducted another service in that language, for the benefit of the large section of the population whose vernacular it was. This, it may be presumed, was the first Christian service ever held in Africa in the Yoruba tongue; and it is not surprising that at the end, after the benediction, the whole congregation burst forth with the cry of *Ke oh sheh*, "So let it be!"

Townsend visits Abeokuta.

But Crowther was not to be long in Sierra Leone. Before this, while he was in England, Henry Townsend, the young schoolmaster from Exeter who was already giving promise of great efficiency as a missionary, had made an expedition in the little trading-vessel *Wilberforce* to Badagry, and had actually gone up to Abeokuta. He had been warmly received by the principal chief, and invited to return and live there. He returned at once to England and reported this remarkable opening for an entirely new Mission a thousand miles beyond Sierra Leone, in the very country which had been so ravaged by the slave-trade. An active Methodist missionary, Mr. Freeman, had anticipated Townsend, both in visiting Abeokuta, and in reporting on it in England; and both the C.M.S. and the Wesleyan Society were already keen to enter so inviting an open door. Townsend received holy orders from Bishop Blomfield on Trinity Sunday, 1844, just a year after Crowther; and then he returned to Africa, commissioned, together with Crowther and with a young German missionary, the Rev. C. A. Gollmer, to commence a Mission in the Yoruba country.

The new Yoruba Mission.

Towards the end of 1844 —a year memorable also for the first commencement of work on the East African coast, as we shall see presently—the party sailed for Badagry. There, however, they were detained a year and a half, owing to the death of the friendly head-chief of Abeokuta, and the road thither being closed by local wars. At length the way opened to go forward, and on August 3rd, 1846, Townsend and Crowther (Gollmer being left at the coast) entered the great Egba town, amid joyous welcomes from chiefs and people.

The Yoruba Mission quickly took a foremost place in the interest and sympathies of the Society's circle of friends; and for some years no Mission was watched more eagerly or prayed for more fervently. We leave it now for the present, proposing to return to it in a future chapter, when we shall see something of the blessing which God graciously vouchsafed to it.

Krapf in Shoa.

Meanwhile, we will cross over to the other side of the Dark Continent, where we left the intrepid Johann Ludwig Krapf facing perils and privations innumerable in what proved to be vain attempts to establish a Mission in the kingdom of Shoa, and

among the Galla tribes, south of Abyssinia.* He had now (1842) a young wife to share his wanderings; a lady from Basle, whom he had married at Cairo. Rosina Krapf was a brave and devoted woman; and needful it was that she should be. In the dry bed of a torrent, between rocky hills, with no tent, or nurse, or surgeon, her child was born. "In the Shoho wilderness," wrote Krapf, "my beloved wife was prematurely delivered of a little daughter, whom I christened 'Eneba,' *a tear*. I had to bury the dear child, for she lived only a few hours, under a tree by the wayside, and her mourning mother was obliged to prosecute her journey on the third day, as the Shohos would not wait any longer, and there was no village where she could have found rest."

Birth and death in the desert.

Krapf had asked leave for the Society to go southwards, and try and reach the Galla tribes another way; and at Aden, whither —being finally driven out of Shoa—he now proceeded, he found letters sanctioning his proposal. He and his wife accordingly, on November 11th, 1843, set sail in an Arab trading-vessel bound for Zanzibar. The miserable craft, leaky and ill-found, tossed about for four days, and then began steadily to sink. There seemed no hope of escape, and the husband and wife together commended themselves to the Lord, and awaited death calmly; when suddenly a boat unexpectedly appeared, and took them off, only a few minutes before the vessel turned over and went down. They were put on shore again at Aden, and in a few days started again in another trading-vessel going to various ports on the East Coast of Africa. It is worth noting that this voyage, so pregnant with great issues, was being taken at the very time that the newly-ordained African clergyman, Samuel Crowther, was sailing from England for Sierra Leone.

Krapf goes south.

The Arab vessel took two months to complete its voyage to Zanzibar. At several ports Krapf inquired about the interior, of which nothing whatever was then known to geographers. He was told of "Chagga" and "Uniamesi" (as he spelt it)—names familiar to us now,—and that in the latter country there was "*a great lake*." This is the first mention of that inland sea which Speke discovered fourteen years afterwards and named the Victoria Nyanza. On January 3rd, 1844, Krapf entered the harbour of Mombasa. Here we catch a glimpse of the Divine Hand ordering by its invisible governance the course of this world. Had the first vessel from Aden not foundered, it would have taken Krapf straight to Zanzibar, and he might never have visited Mombasa at all—which would have altered the whole history of African geographical and missionary enterprise.

Krapf on the East African Coast.

Only for a few hours, however, was Krapf at Mombasa on that 3rd of January; though this was enough to suggest the place to his mind as a base for future travels and labours. It was to Zanzibar that he was now going.

The island and town so named held even then an important

* See p. 353.

Part V. 1841–48. Chap. 29.

Zanzibar and its Sultan.

place in the geography of the world as the capital of the great Arab potentate, Sultan Said Said. As Imâm of Muscat in Arabia, Said Said had extended his dominion all down the East African coast, and then had transferred the seat of his empire to Zanzibar. The Arabs are great traders, and the place became a centre of widely-extended commerce. Some hundreds of Banians, the trading caste of Gujerat in Western India, had settled there, and brisk was the traffic across the Arabian Sea, wafted by the steady trade-winds. "In the autumn, the sailors have but to spread their broad lateen sails to the north-east monsoon, to be driven, faster than any but the fastest steamers can follow, [from the Indian] to the African coast. There they have only to wait till the summer season brings the south-west monsoon, to be wafted back with equal ease and swiftness to the shores of India." * These Banian traders being British subjects, an English Consul had been stationed at Zanzibar. Not, indeed, for their protection only. England had already done something towards at least the diminution of the East African Slave Trade. A treaty limiting its area and scope had been concluded with Said Said as far back as 1822, and though the result was but small, this gave the Consul something to do.

Krapf at Zanzibar.

Krapf received a cordial welcome from Captain Hamerton, who was then Consul, and from the Sultan himself. The former asked him "to remain in Zanzibar, preaching on Sundays to its few Europeans, working amongst the Banians from India, founding schools for the Arabs and Swahilis (coast people), and preparing books." But Krapf's heart was with the Gallas, and he declined the work which, many years after, was so efficiently taken up by the Universities' Mission. The Sultan, therefore, gave him a letter, which ran as follows:—

"This comes from Said Said, Sultan; greeting all our subjects, friends, and governors. This letter is written on behalf of Doctor Krapf, a German, a good man who wishes to convert the world to God. Behave well to him, and be everywhere serviceable to him."

The Mohammedan potentate, it will be observed, was quite willing that a Christian missionary should go to Heathen savages. It did not occur to him that the Christian message was for him too.

Krapf at Mombasa.

In the first week of May, 1844, just when, in Exeter Hall, the C.M.S. Committee were reporting that they had given Dr. Krapf † leave to visit the East African coast, he and his wife settled at Mombasa. This place also, like Zanzibar, is both an island and a town; but not, like Zanzibar, an island fifty miles long. It is a small islet in the estuary of a small river. It was one of the Portuguese settlements in the seventeenth century, and the old

* *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, vol. i. p. 500.

† The degree of Ph.D. was conferred on him in this year, 1844, by the University of Tübingen.

fort around which the town clusters bears the date of its erection by Xeixas de Cabreira, 1635. Mombasa is the Portuguese form of the name, but Krapf wrote it in the Arab form, Mombaz, and the former has only been revived in the past twenty years. The inhabitants were chiefly Swahili, a mixed race resulting from the mingling of the Arabs with the Natives; but on the mainland was the barbarous Wanika tribe.*

With characteristic energy, Krapf at once flung himself into the study of both languages, and within a month, on June 8th, he actually began an attempt to translate the Book of Genesis into Swahili, assisted by the Mohammedan Cadi (judge) of Mombasa. Scarcely, however, had he begun, when the great trial fell upon him which was to be the first of a long series of illustrations of that key-text of African missionary history, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." On July 13th, death took his wife from his side.

Birth and death again.

Rosina Krapf had already, as we have seen, laid one child in an African grave. On July 6th a second infant daughter was given to her. Nothing more touching has ever been written than Krapf's diary of the next seven days.† When it became clear that she had not strength to throw off the fever, Mrs. Krapf called the Mohammedans who had been attending on them around her and told them, "with decision and force, that no Saviour but Jesus Christ could support them in the hour of death." Then she turned to her husband:—

Rosina Krapf's dying message.

"She told me that I should never forbear speaking to the people about Christ, and His being the only and true Mediator between God and man. Though my words might be forgotten, yet they might at the hour of death recur to the mind, and then be a blessing to the hearer; Christ being able to pardon a trembling, contrite, and believing Mohammedan as well and as easily as He had pardoned herself. Furthermore, she said I should not spend my time in mourning for her, but strive in good earnest to fulfil my duty and work while it is day."

Then Krapf himself was attacked by the fever, and when his wife breathed her last it was only by a great effort that he was able to rise and satisfy himself that she was really dead. At her own express wish she was buried, not on the island of Mombasa, but on the mainland opposite; and, a day or two after, the motherless babe was laid beside her. "My heart and body," wrote Krapf in a private letter, "wept for many days." Yet he could see in that grave the pledge of future triumphs of the Gospel in Africa; and he wrote home to the Committee his memorable and oft-quoted message:—

Krapf's message to Europe.

"Tell our friends at home that there is now on the East African coast a lonely missionary grave. This is a sign that you have

* Swahili is from *sahel*, Arabic for "coast." Krapf wrote *Sooahelee* and *Wonica*.

† Printed in the *C.M. Record* of April, 1845, and in *The Finished Course*.

commenced the struggle with this part of the world; and as the victories of the Church are gained by stepping over the graves of her members, you may be the more convinced that the hour is at hand when you are summoned to the conversion of Africa from its eastern shore."

What came of it.

He little thought, indeed, that on the very plot of land in which he laid the remains of his beloved Rosina would, thirty years after, rise a famous missionary settlement and a Church of the Living God. But he did begin to ponder on the future, and to form large plans for extended missionary operations. Three ideas shaped themselves in his mind: (1) a chain of stations to stretch right across the continent; (2) a colony for freed slaves similar to Sierra Leone, for which colony, he wrote, "Mombaz and its environs would be the best site"; (3) in his own words, "A black bishop and black clergy may become a necessity in the civilization of Africa." There was small prospect of either then; yet Krapf lived to see the Central African Missions of our own day, and Frere Town, and the Bishopric of the Niger.

But this was not yet. For two years the solitary missionary toiled at the Swahili language, compiling a grammar and dictionary, and translating the whole New Testament; occasionally visiting the Wanika on the mainland; and prosecuting geographical and ethnographical inquiries in all directions. At last, in June, 1846,

Krapf and Rebmann.

he was joined by a fellow-labourer. John Rebmann, like him, was a Wurtemburger and a Basle student; but, unlike him, had taken the divinity course at Islington and received English orders at the hands of Bishop Blomfield. Then, like St. Paul when Silas and Timotheus joined him at Corinth, Krapf was "pressed in the spirit"; and very soon were begun those wonderful explorations which, in their issue, opened up all Equatorial Africa, and led to the vast development of European influence and Christian enterprise which are among the glories of our day.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Opening of China.

Nestorian and Roman Missions in China—China in the First Report of C.M.S.—Morrison, Milne, Gutzlaff—E. B. Squire's Attempt—The Chinese War—Lord Ashley and the Opium Trade—New Moves Forward—Vincent Stanton—The C.M.S. Mission—The First Missionaries—Bishop George Smith.

"*When He saw the multitudes, He was moved with compassion on them.*"—St. Matt. ix. 36.

"*I have set before thee an open door.*"—Rev. iii. 8.

"ROCK, Rock, when wilt thou open?" said the Jesuit, Valignani, as his wistful eyes looked towards the long-closed Celestial Empire on his way to Japan. "O mighty fortress, when shall these impenetrable gates of thine be broken through?" His predecessor, Francis Xavier, had already died in his rude hut on another little barren island, gazing across the narrow strait at the long-closed mainland of China. But Xavier did not die despairing. With his last breath he repeated the familiar closing words of the *Te Deum*, "In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in æternum"; and the trustful hope of the Church of God, as she has knocked at the gate of China, has not been "confounded for ever."

China's closed gates.

Not that Christianity had then never entered China. The famous inscription at Si-ngan-fu is to this day a witness that in the seventh century A.D. the Nestorian Missions had spread "the illustrious religion" in every direction; and in the thirteenth century the great Tartar potentate, Kublai Khan, sent from Peking to the Pope for teachers.* John de Monte Corvino, the Franciscan, wielded great influence at the Court of Peking, translated the New Testament and the Psalms into Chinese, and baptized six thousand souls. But for the next two centuries the history is an absolute blank. After Xavier's death, however, the Roman missionaries, backed by the power of Portugal, and winning their way by their scientific attainments as well as by their undaunted courage, established themselves within the "mighty fortress." The success achieved by Matthew Ricci

Nestorian Missions.

Roman Missions.

* See Chapter II.

and other zealous and learned priests was considerable, largely through their virtual sanction of ancestral worship in the form of masses for the dead, and the close resemblance of the externals of their worship to the idolatry of Buddhism and Taoism. Their frequent interference with politics, however, as in other parts of the world, repeatedly aroused the fears of the Chinese Government, and led to terrible persecutions. In the eighteenth century Christianity became a prohibited religion, though the many thousands of Chinese hereditary Christians scattered in small bands over the vast empire were too little distinguishable from the Heathen to be seriously molested. The Romanist headquarters were at Macao, the island off the Canton River belonging to Portugal.

Christianity prohibited.

China in the first C.M.S. Report.

The very first Report of the Church Missionary Society, dated May, 1801,* devotes two of its twelve short pages to China. The words are worth recording here :—

"The extensive Empire of China, which is stated to contain three hundred millions of inhabitants, has hitherto enjoyed no share of the Missionary labours of the protestant churches. A zealous dissenting minister, the Rev. Mr. Moseley, has, however, of himself conceived the design of printing part of the Scriptures in the Chinese language, and circulating the work in that populous country. Extracts from the valuable Memoir, he has printed upon this subject, are subjoined to this Report. To carry his design into execution is, however, a work more adequate to the united efforts of a society than to the exertions of an individual. He has therefore expressed his wish, that this Society should undertake the important work he had proposed, and has promised to give into its hands a considerable pecuniary aid which had been promised to him. The Committee are fully impressed with a sense of the importance of the proposed work, but they are aware of its difficulties. The want of a sufficient fund, the natural difficulty of the Chinese language, the little acquaintance with it which Europeans possess, form obstacles not easily to be surmounted. The Committee, however, have determined to open a separate fund for this purpose; and should that fund be adequate to the necessary expense; and should they also obtain sufficient evidence of the fidelity and elegance of the MS. Chinese version of part of the New Testament, now in the British Museum; or should the Committee find the means of obtaining a faithful and elegant translation, they will direct their attention to this important subject. At the same time, they earnestly beg it to be understood that a work of this magnitude and importance cannot hastily be executed; and they deprecate the idea of holding out sanguine or arrogant expectations of speedy success in it."

Moseley's pamphlet.

Chinese version of part of the New Testament.

Turning to the Appendix, we find nine more pages devoted to extracts from Mr. Moseley's pamphlet. He gives a brief sketch of the Roman Missions, their early successes and subsequent troubles; and then describes the Chinese MS., which he had discovered in the British Museum, and which had been brought to England by Sir Hans Sloane in 1738. It contains, he says, St. Luke's Gospel, the Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles; and he earnestly appeals for aid

* See p. 74.

in printing it for circulation. How this work came into the hands of the S.P.C.K., and from theirs into those of the newly-formed Bible Society, has already been related.* The thoughts of the Church Missionary Society meanwhile turned to Africa; and China was for the time forgotten.

L.M.S. sends Morrison to China.

But it was the interest excited by Moseley's pamphlet and the Chinese MS. that led the London Missionary Society to send Robert Morrison to China in 1807. The Northumbrian lad was self-educated like Carey; but, like Carey, he became celebrated in after years for his Oriental learning. His own first thought was of Africa: could he not go to Timbuctoo, then recently revealed by the travels of Mungo Park? But God wanted him for special service in China, just as, thirty-four years after, God wanted Livingstone, who had thought of China, for special service in Africa. It was, however,—as we have seen regarding other Missions,—one thing to be appointed to China, and quite another thing to get there. The English trade was in the hands of the East India Company, and no passage for a missionary could be obtained in their ships. So Morrison crossed the Atlantic to New York, and thence sailed in an American vessel round Cape Horn and across the Pacific, with letters to the American Consul at Canton. There he landed on September 7th, 1807, eight months after leaving England—a quick voyage considering the route and the period.

How he got there.

Again, it was one thing to reach China, and another thing to live and work there as a missionary. "First of all, Chinamen were forbidden by the Government to teach the language to any foreigner, under pain of death. Secondly, no one could remain in China except for purposes of trade. Thirdly, the Roman Catholic missionaries would be [and were] bitterly hostile."† How Morrison lived in an American house, unable to walk the streets, and unable to leave his Chinese books about; how he presently donned Chinese dress, grew long finger-nails, and cultivated a queue; how he afterwards abandoned this plan, as useless in the circumstances; how he hired a single room to live in, and was cheated and ill-treated by the Chinese landlord; how he tried in vain to tame and teach three wild Chinese lads; how he laboured and laboured at the language; how after two years he was engaged by the East India Company as their translator, and thus obtained a secure position; how, after infinite toil, he produced a Chinese grammar and dictionary, the latter of which cost the Company £12,000 to print and publish in six quarto volumes with 4600 pages; how he also, with the aid of Robert Milne, who went out in 1813,‡ produced the whole Bible in Chinese in 1818; how in

How he began work.

His Chinese Bible.

* See p. 74.

† C. S. Horne, *Story of the L.M.S.*, p. 124.

‡ It was Milne who said that "to acquire Chinese is a work for men with bodies of brass, lungs of steel, heads of oak, hands of spring-steel, eyes of eagles, hearts of apostles, memories of angels, and lives of Methuselah!"

1814 he baptized one Chinese convert, and nine others in the next twenty years; how he and Milne founded an Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, being British territory; how Milne started a magazine there called (of all names!) the *Gleaner;* how Milne died, and Mrs. Milne, and Mrs. Morrison, leaving Morrison in 1822 once more the sole Protestant missionary in China; how he visited England in 1824-5; how he went back to more troublous surroundings, hostile English officials and Romish conspiracies against him; and how on July 31st, 1834—the very day on which, far away on the other side of the globe, the West Indian slaves

His death.

were joyfully awaiting the midnight that would usher in their new freedom *—he entered into rest, at the age of fifty-three:—all this, and much more, has often been told, and was told, year by year, by Josiah Pratt, in the pages of the *Missionary Register.*

In the very first volume of the *Register,* for 1813, occur two notices regarding China. Morrison's labours are briefly referred to in an account of the London Missionary Society; and in the December number is given a new Imperial Edict issued from Peking against Christianity. "Such Europeans," it says, "as shall privately print books and establish preachers in order to pervert the multitude . . . the chief one shall be executed"—and others should be imprisoned or exiled.

New edict against Christianity.

America was not content with having helped Morrison to get to China. In 1829 began the noble succession of American missionaries who have done so much for the evangelization of the Celestial Empire. In that year the A.B.C.F.M., the Society constituted with a broad basis like the L.M.S. in England (though virtually Congregationalist), sent out Elijah Bridgman and David Abeel,† and, three years later, S. Wells Williams, afterwards well known for one of the best books on China, *The Middle Kingdom.* They, however, were as closely confined to the foreign trading factories at Canton as Morrison and Milne had been. But at this time, also, occurred the travels of a very remarkable man, Charles Gutzlaff.

American Missions.

Gutzlaff.

Gutzlaff was a Prussian agent of the Netherlands Missionary Society, an accomplished scholar, a qualified doctor, and a man of extraordinary enterprise and resource. His proper mission-field was Siam; but in 1831-5 he made seven journeys up and down the coast of China, sometimes accompanying foreign trading-vessels as surgeon and interpreter, and sometimes in Chinese junks; ascending the rivers, landing here and there at the risk of his life, pursued by pirates, harassed by the police, stoned by the mob, haled before the magistrates, but giving medicine to crowds of sick folk, and distributing literally hundreds of thousands of tracts and portions of Scripture. His method was much criticized,

* See p. 345.

† It was Mr. Abeel whose appeals in England in 1834 for the Chinese women led to the formation of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East.

but his adventures excited unbounded interest in England and America, and certainly gave the Christian public a new idea as to the possibilities of missionary work in China. "Are the bowels of mercy of a compassionate Saviour," he wrote at the close of his third journey, "shut against these millions? *Before Him, China is not shut!* He, the Almighty Conqueror of Death and Hell, will open the gates of heaven for these myriads. He *has* opened them. When we arrived at Fuh-chow, on our return, my large store of books was exhausted, and I had to send applicants away empty-handed." * "Two friends," stirred by his narratives, issued in 1834 a rousing "Appeal to the British and American Churches," pointing out that "the Buddhists of the first century found the door of China open for their Idolatry; and the Nestorians of the seventh century, for their Heresy; and the Mahomedans of the eighth century, for their Koran; and the Papists of the thirteenth century, for their Mass"—why not, then, the purer and fuller message of the Gospel? "Whenever," they go on, "*Inveniam viam aut faciam* has been the maxim of any sect or system, *they* have scaled the imperial wall, and penetrated far enough into the Celestial Empire, to prove that neither was impassable."

Was China really shut?

The natural result of these efforts followed. The Chinese Government woke up, and issued a new edict. "Some English ships," it said, "have passed along the coasts of China, and have distributed some European books; and *as these books exhort to believe and to venerate the Chief of that religion, named Jesus*, it appears that this religion is the same as the Christian Religion, which has been prosecuted at different times and banished with all rigour." "The Christian religion," it goes on, "is the ruin of morals and of the human heart; therefore it is prohibited." † After Morrison's death, the L.M.S. work was carried on with difficulty by his son and W. H. Medhurst; and though the Americans were not molested, it was little that they could do. Nevertheless, three other American societies sought to enter the field, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Episcopal Church sent two men in 1835 to Singapore and Batavia, for preparatory study and work, and they were followed in 1837 by W. J. Boone, M.D., afterwards the first Protestant Bishop in China.

Another hostile edict.

American Episcopal Mission.

Although in the first two years of the existence of the Church Missionary Society, when no Protestant missionaries had yet attempted to enter China, the possibility of sending men there was several times discussed by the Committee, the other enterprises to which the Providence of God called them entirely diverted their attention for many years. In 1824, when Morrison was in England, he was received by them, and asked them to send a

* *Missionary Register*, 1835, p. 85. † *Ibid.*, 1837, p. 90.

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C.M.S., Morrison, Gutzlaff.

Mission; but the way did not open, and in 1832 we find a resolution, in reply to a suggestion from friends to the same effect, that the financial position precluded the Society from undertaking such an enterprise. In 1834, however, the Committee were again discussing the openings indicated by Gutzlaff's journeys. They wrote out to him for information, and actually made a grant of £300 to him in furtherance of his work. His reply * plainly told of the difficulties and dangers which Europeans in China would encounter. He mentions his own trials, but adds, "Nevertheless I am still alive, and can in much weakness carry on the work of God." "Neither the Apostles nor the Reformers," he writes, "waited until Governments were favourable to the Gospel, but went on boldly in the strength of the Lord." What sort of missionaries should go? "We want here," he says, "*no gentlemen missionaries*." Considering that when gentlemen by birth and education have gone to the mission-field, they have for the most part set a brilliant example to others of readiness to endure hardship—just as they do in the army and navy,—this remark is at first sight startling; but evidently his reference is rather to those who, whatever their origin socially, desire to live as "gentlemen" and not risk their precious lives. For he goes on—"but men who are at all times ready to lay down their lives for the Saviour, and can wander about forgotten and despised, without any human assistance, but only the help of God." †

C.M.S. sends E. B. Squire.

Such an one the Committee hoped they had found in Edward B. Squire, an officer in the Indian Navy, who offered to the Society at this time; and on June 28th, 1836, they bid him farewell with an admirable paper of Instructions drawn up by William Jowett.‡ He was to make Singapore his headquarters, and thence make such journeys to Chinese ports as he might find possible. "Viewing the enterprise in all its difficulties," said the Committee in the Report that had just before been presented, "they are constrained to exclaim, With man this is impossible! Their only ground, yet a sure ground, of encouragement is that with God all things are possible!" Neither the hour nor the man, however, had come yet. Mr. Squire, excellent as he was, did not get beyond Macao.

Opium and War.

One difficulty was that the Opium Traffic was now in full swing. The abolition in 1833 of the East India Company's monopoly of trade in the East had been followed by an immense increase of the export of Indian opium to China. Every ship to a Chinese

* Printed in the *Missionary Register*, 1837, p. 326.

† In after years there seemed good reason for not entirely trusting Gutzlaff's accounts of his work in China. H. Venn's Private Journals are much occupied with this question in the early 'fifties. King Frederick William of Prussia believed in Gutzlaff, and on Bunsen informing him of the doubts of experienced men in England, he (the King) "wrote a letter of sixteen pages, urging Bunsen to arouse the Bishops and clergy of the Church of England to more vigorous action for the evangelization of China." Private Journal, October 11th, 1850.

‡ Printed in the Appendix to the Report of 1837.

port carried the drug; every ship, therefore, was regarded by the Chinese authorities as bringing into the country something worse even than Christianity; a missionary coming in an opium-vessel was an enemy to the Empire; and practically all aggressive work was suspended. Then came the first War with China; and missionary work of any kind being for the time hopeless, Mr. Squire returned to England.* "The many millions of China," said the Report of 1841, "are not forgotten by your Committee; nor are they inattentive to the great political events which are taking place in that country; but should God in His providence again open the door for missionary operations, your Committee feel that greatly enlarged resources must be provided, to justify them in recommencing a Mission which for its successful prosecution would demand a scale of operations in some measure commensurate with the magnitude of the undertaking."

The War opens China's gates.

It was the War that opened China to the Gospel. We have seen how in New Zealand the missionary led the way, and the English colonist and soldier followed. In China the soldier led the way and the missionary followed. It was on this wise. The Chinese Government, seriously alarmed at the quantities of opium now pouring into the country, took stringent measures to stop it. Commissioner Lin, at Canton, insisted on whole cargoes being forfeited; and more than the value of one million pounds sterling was actually destroyed. Angry disputes followed; and presently the question became one, not of opium merely, but whether the English would be allowed to trade with China at all. Ultimately, in 1840, open war ensued—a war which, on England's side, it is hard to justify on any righteous principle of national conduct, and yet a war which undoubtedly resulted in great benefit to China. Of course the British troops were everywhere easily victorious. They captured the island of Chusan; they captured Ningpo; they captured Amoy; they threatened Peking itself; and at length the Chinese sued for peace on any terms that England would grant. The principal conditions were—the cession to England of the island of Hong Kong; the throwing open of five "treaty ports" to foreign trade and residence, viz., Canton, Amoy, Fuh-chow, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and a heavy money indemnity. The Treaty of Nanking, which imposed these terms, and in the framing of which Morrison's son took an active part, was concluded in 1842.

First open ports.

Lord Ashley on the War.

An extract from Lord Ashley's journal at this point will show what the feelings of many thoughtful Christian men were at the time:†—

"Nov. 22nd, 1842. Intelligence of great successes in China, and consequent peace. I rejoice in peace; I rejoice that this cruel and debasing

* He was afterwards ordained, and was Vicar of Swansea for thirty years.

† *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 440.

war is terminated; but I cannot rejoice—it may be unpatriotic, it may be un-British—in our successes. We have triumphed in one of the most lawless, unnecessary, and unfair struggles in the records of History; it was a war on which good men could not invoke the favour of Heaven, and Christians have shed more Heathen blood in two years than the Heathen have shed of Christian blood in two centuries.

"Nov. 25th. The whole world is intoxicated with the prospect of Chinese trade. Altars to Mammon are rising on every side, and thousands of cotton children will be sacrificed to his honour.*. . . The peace, too, is as wicked as the war. We refuse, even now, to give the Emperor of China relief in the matter of the opium-trade."

These last words prepare us for Lord Shaftesbury's life-long protest against the Opium Traffic. Early in the following year, 1843, Mr. Samuel Gurney and Mr. Fry approached him with a view to his taking up the question in Parliament. The War had not compelled the Chinese Government to legalize the traffic. To do that, indeed, they positively refused. But they saw that open resistance was impossible; and the sin of forcing the drug upon an unwilling nation—a nation conscious of its lack of moral strength to resist the temptation to opium-smoking, yet conscious also of the disastrous consequences of yielding to it—has lain heavy on the minds of Christian men ever since. What could be done? Without entering into the details of the question, which are very complicated, it may suffice to quote the resolution moved by Lord Ashley in the House of Commons on April 4th, 1843:—

Lord Ashley on Opium.

"That it is the opinion of this House that the continuance of the trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India, are destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country by the very serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of governments and individuals, to abolish the evil."

"The Times" on Opium.

His speech in moving this resolution occupied seven columns of *The Times* next day; and that paper, in a leading article, pronounced it "grave, temperate, and practical," and "far more statesmanlike in its ultimate and general views than those by which it was opposed." Moreover, *The Times* held up to scorn the chief argument on the other side, as in essence this—that morality and religion and the happiness of mankind were very fine things in their way; but that we could not afford to buy them at so dear a price as £1,200,000 a year of the Indian revenue. It is clear that on some grave questions our public instructors have not grown wiser in half a century. At the earnest request, however, of the Premier, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Ashley did not divide the House, being assured that the resolution would hamper the Government in their negotiations with China on the subject, and understanding by private communications from the Board of Trade that Govern-

* Referring to the child-labour in the Lancashire cotton-mills, not yet regulated by his Factory Acts.

ment were in earnest, and glad to be pushed on by the moral influence of the debate.* But whatever good intentions Ministers may have indulged in at the time, nothing came of them. The Opium Traffic grew, and grew, until its profit to the Indian revenue was not one million but eight millions; and the debasement of the Chinese people so increased that, to meet the demand for opium, the poppy supplanted cereals in extensive tracts of country that never before displayed what Archdeacon Moule calls "its baneful bloom."†

Growth of the Opium Trade.

The Missionary Societies now prepared to move forward. The L.M.S. removed its Anglo-Chinese College, of which Dr. Legge ‡ had become Principal, from Malacca to Hong Kong; while Medhurst and Dr. Lockhart—the first medical missionary in China—established themselves at Shanghai. Other Missions were started at Hong Kong, and also at Amoy and Ningpo. The Female Education Society sent a lady to Shanghai; and another lady, who did a great work, Miss Aldersey, settled at Ningpo. At Hong Kong, twelve missionaries met and made arrangements for a revised version of the Bible, delegates being appointed for the work. In 1844 there were thirty Protestant missionaries, at various ports. In 1846 Dr. Boone, of the American Episcopal Church, was consecrated Bishop, and settled at Shanghai. A clergyman whose name should ever be affectionately remembered by the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Vincent J. Stanton, went out in 1843 as Consular Chaplain at Hong Kong; and it was he who founded St. Paul's College there. He had gone to China during the war as a voluntary and unattached missionary, and had been seized and confined in chains for four months. On his release he returned to England; and when Hong Kong became a British possession he was appointed chaplain.§

Missions move forward.

Vincent Stanton.

What was the Church Missionary Society doing? The opening of China was coincident with the serious financial crisis which has been before alluded to, and which will be more fully noticed in a future chapter; and when the Treaty of Nanking was concluded, all the Committee could do was to put on record their deep sense of the importance of the opportunity, and express their readiness to join in taking advantage of it whenever men and means should be forthcoming. A statement to this effect was issued, to meet the appeals that at once came from all parts of England, pressing the Society to undertake a China Mission. The news of the Treaty reached England in November, 1842. In December the Committee

Could C.M.S. go in?

* *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. i. pp. 466, 475.

† *Story of the Cheh-Kiang Mission*, p. 5.

‡ Afterwards Professor of Chinese at Oxford.

§ Mr. Stanton was in after years Rector of Halesworth, and a munificent supporter of the C.M.S. Mrs. Stanton, who was with him in China, was a cousin of the Gurneys, Frys, Barclays, &c. Their son is now Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The chains worn at Canton by Mr. Stanton are to be seen at many of the Missionary Exhibitions.

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passed their resolution on the subject. In January their statement was issued. In March came the first token that the Lord would answer the prayers going up from the whole C.M.S. circle. A friend feeling himself to be "less than the least," and therefore calling himself 'Ελαχιστότερος instead of giving his name, sold out £6000 Consols and handed the proceeds to the Society as the nucleus of a China Fund. Before long, two clergymen came forward to undertake the Mission: the Rev. George Smith, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, who had been a zealous and successful Association Secretary of the Society, and had also had a parish in Yorkshire; and the Rev. Thomas McClatchie, of Trinity College, Dublin, who was curate of Midsomer Norton. They were cordially accepted, received their Instructions at a Valedictory Meeting on May 29th, 1844, and sailed on June 4th for China.

The money and the men.

Smith and McClatchie were instructed to visit all the five Treaty Ports, and Hong Kong, and report upon their relative advantages for the new Mission. This commission they fulfilled, and their reports and letters, printed at great length in the *C.M. Record*, are exceedingly interesting, especially as read in the light of the immense development of missionary work in China since then. It was only in the Ports themselves that any definite agencies could be set on foot. A treaty obtained by the United States immediately after the British one gave the right, within the Ports, to build churches and hospitals; but no European could go more than half a day's journey beyond the city walls, as he was obliged to be back by nightfall. But the Mandarins were very courteous, and seemed ready to pay respect to any religious teachers. At Amoy, for instance, the five chief Mandarins invited all the missionaries there, during Smith's visit, to an entertainment, and placed them in the seats of honour, complimenting them on bringing a religion tending to the peace and harmony of mankind.* Fuh-chow seems to have impressed Smith more than any other of the Ports; but there were exceptional difficulties in the way of getting in there. Canton, Amoy, and Hong Kong, were already occupied by other Missions. Shanghai and Ningpo, therefore—though the former was already occupied,—were reported as the most likely places. McClatchie quickly took up his permanent residence at Shanghai; but Smith's health failed, and he returned to England after two years' absence. The Society published his Narrative of Travel in China, which had a large sale, and did much to interest the Christian public in the Celestial Empire.†

George Smith and McClatchie

The Committee now issued an earnest appeal for more missionaries, and particularly for University men. Again it pleased God to give them the encouragement of a speedy response. Two

* Speech of the Rev. G. Smith at Exeter Hall, May, 1847. *Missionary Register*, 1847, p. 376.

† A good summary of his travels and experiences is given by Miss Headland in her biographical sketch of him, in *Brief Sketches of C.M.S. Workers* (Nisbet, 1897).

Dublin graduates came forward, William Armstrong Russell and William Farmer. They received some further theological instruction at Islington College, and were ordained by the Bishop of London on May 13th, 1847. In October they were admitted to priest's orders and taken leave of; and on November 10th they sailed for China. And a third man went with them, Robert Henry Cobbold, a double-honour man from Peterhouse, Cambridge, who had had three years' ministerial experience, and was curate of Melton Mowbray. Farmer was to join McClatchie at Shanghai, and Russell and Cobbold were to start a new Mission at Ningpo. To have a Mission manned entirely by University men was a new thing for the Society; but the interest aroused in China at the time was great, and the Committee indulged in high hopes of operations on an unusually extensive scale. Smith's book exercised considerable influence; and his speeches also brought the claims of the newly-opened Empire before numerous Christian circles. At the Anniversary Meeting in 1847 he said,—"The opening in China will absorb, for many years to come, all the materials for missionary strength and effectiveness at the disposal of the Committee."

Russell and Cobbold.

Two further developments of C.M.S. work must be noticed in this chapter, as they just fall within the proper limits of the present section of our History. On February 12th, 1849, it was announced to the Committee that the Rev. George Smith, the pioneer missionary to China above referred to, had been appointed to the new Bishopric of Victoria, Hong Kong. The establishment of this see had been strongly urged upon the Government by Lord Chichester and Henry Venn, and an endowment was provided, in the main, by the liberality of an anonymous donor, a friend of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. The S.P.G. also made a grant. Venn's influence with Archbishop Sumner, and with the Colonial Office, procured the appointment of George Smith; and he was consecrated * on Whit Tuesday, May 29th, 1849, together with Bishop Anderson for Rupert's Land—another new see strongly pressed on the attention of Government, and of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, by the Church Missionary Society. Both Smith and Anderson were men of a true missionary spirit, and both did admirable work. We shall see more of them both by-and-by.

G. Smith first Bishop of Victoria.

The other move forward was the resolve to start a Mission at Fuh-chow. This was urged by Bishop Smith, and it was arranged to send a reinforcement out to China with him, two members of which should proceed to Fuh-chow. Again, University men were appealed for; and again God raised them up. Another double-honour Cambridge man offered, F. F. Gough, Scholar of St. John's, and Curate of St. Luke's, Birmingham; also a Caius man, W. Welton, a qualified surgeon as well as a clergyman, from Suffolk; also a Dublin graduate, E. T. R. Moncrieff, Curate of

Fuh-chow Mission planned.

More men.

* In Canterbury Cathedral. See Vol. II. p. 313.

Achurch, Oundle. Gough was instructed to join Russell at Ningpo, Farmer having left China invalided, and having died on the voyage home; Moncrieff was to accompany the Bishop to Hong Kong as tutor in St. Paul's College there, a new institution founded by the efforts and the liberal gifts of the chaplain before mentioned, Mr. Stanton; and Welton, and an Islington man, R. D. Jackson, were appointed to Fuh-chow. On November 5th, 1849, they all sailed with the Bishop. Another Islington man, John Hobson, had sailed earlier in the year.

C.M.S. not in the front in China.

So the outlook was promising. But the C.M.S. China Mission has never been in the front rank of agencies in the Land of Sinim. India and Africa have generally claimed the largest places in the Society's thoughts; and it is only quite recently that its China Mission has much expanded. The London Missionary Society, and the American Societies, have always taken a more important part in the work; and of course in later years the China Inland Mission has far exceeded all others in the number of its labourers and the extent of its operations. But the work is one; Christ's servants are one; the spiritual Church into which so many thousands of Chinamen have been admitted is one; the Faith in which they have lived and died is one; the Home into which they are gathering is one. Many regiments are at work in China; but they are one Army, under one Divine Captain.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Society's Finances.

Earliest Contributions—The Associations in 1820—London and the Provinces in 1848—Comparison with the Present Time—A Missionary-box at Sea—The Expenditure of the Half-Century—The Financial Crisis of 1841—Plans of the Special Committee—What are the "Talents" given to a Society?—An Income Tax for C.M.S.—An Appeal on Protestant Principles—Its Results.

"*Now concerning the collection.*"—1 Cor. xvi. 1.
"*It is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful.*"—1 Cor. iv. 2.

AT this point it seems desirable to give a brief account of the Society's funds during its first half-century; how they were raised, and how they were expended.

Early free-will offerings.

In the first five years of the Society's existence, its funds were derived entirely from what may be called in the fullest sense "freewill offerings." No money was asked for in the first instance; and the donations ("benefactions" as they were, and still are, called), with two or three hundred annual subscriptions, mostly the time-honoured guinea, which came in unsought, and amounted in the five years to a total of £2461, sufficed to pay the preliminary expenses and the earliest charges for the first two missionaries. Indeed almost from the beginning the Committee began to invest surplus monies, and thus to "put by for a rainy day"; and seven East India 10 per cent. bonds of £100 each, purchased out of the above-mentioned total, formed the first reserve fund. Consols were afterwards bought; and the balance-sheet of 1807 records the receipt of dividends "*less ten per cent. Property Tax.*" In the spring of 1804, when two missionaries had actually sailed, a circular was issued to friendly clergy asking for contributions, and particularly for congregational collections. The response was immediate. Within a few weeks, twenty-six parishes had made collections, either in church or by personal canvass. Most of these were in small towns and villages; but St. Mary's Chapel, Birmingham (Rev. E. Burn), heads the list with £58, and Holy Trinity, Cambridge (C. Simeon), stands next with £50. In the following year, Bentinck Chapel (Basil Woodd) stands first with £240; and this West End congregation kept the lead for many years. In 1804 the first legacy was received, £20, from a London

First church collections.

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man; and on Christmas Day, 1808, the first Sunday-school collection was made at Matlock (Rev. Philip Gell), £4 11*s.* 5*d.*

Sudden leap forward, 1813.

Progress, however, was slow; and £3000 in one year was not reached till 1812-13. But in the following year, that amount was quadrupled, £13,200 being received. This was due to the establishment of Associations, and the journeys of Basil Woodd, Legh Richmond, Daniel Wilson, and others, all over the country, as described in our eleventh chapter. So successful were these new efforts, that the Income for a time grew faster than the Expenditure; and in 1816 the Committee congratulated their friends on the "pleasing circumstance" that the Expenditure was "keeping pace with the Income"! It really needed expanding work to effect this; for the Income not only suddenly leaped in 1812-13 from £3000 to £13,000, but rose in 1817-18 to £24,000, and in 1819-20 to £30,000, thus increasing tenfold in seven years.

The new Associations,

Let us see what the financial results of the new Association system were, more in detail; and let us take as a specimen the year 1819-20, when the system had been at work seven years. The total collected in that year, through the Associations, and excluding contributions sent direct to the Society, was £25,000.

in London,

Of this amount London stands for just one-tenth, £2500. St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row (Daniel Wilson), stands first with £563; then Clapham (Dealtry), £383; Percy Chapel (Haldane Stewart), £302; Bentinck Chapel (Basil Woodd), £259; Wheler Chapel (Pratt and Bickersteth), £147. The first three of these items account for one-half of the whole sum. The only parish churches, besides Clapham, that did anything substantial, were St. James's, Clerkenwell, £128, and Christ Church, Newgate Street, £79. Kensington does not appear at all, nor Marylebone; Paddington is represented only by Bentinck Chapel; Islington by a ladies' association raising £57; Hampstead by one guinea subscriber, and "a few children, £2 8*s.* 0*d.*" South of the Thames, except Clapham, there are only Southwark, £172; Kennington, £58; Brixton, £7.

in the North,

Then, leaving London, and beginning with the Northern Counties, we find a Newcastle Association, which comprises both Northumberland and Durham, and sends £300 (Durham city £20); Cumberland contributing £276 (Carlisle, where Fawcett was, £226), and Westmoreland £160, Kirkby Lonsdale, under the influence of the Carus Wilsons, standing for £100 of this. Lancashire's total is £940, of which Manchester supplies £452 (St. James's £157; St. Clement's and St. Stephen's also in front); Liverpool £325 (St. Andrew's £153, and St. Mark's £80); and Preston £136. Yorkshire beats London, with its £3070, of which £710 came from York, £553 from Hull and neighbourhood, £542 from Leeds, £200 each from Sheffield and Huddersfield, £153 from Knaresborough, £143 from Halifax; while Dewsbury, Doncaster, and Bradford follow. Cheshire sent £506, of which £204 came from the village of Latchford.

Coming into the Midlands, we find Lincolnshire sending £338 (Gainsborough standing for £121); Notts, £410 (Nottingham £255); Derbyshire, £720 (chiefly Derby; Ashbourne £173); Staffordshire, £770 (North Staff., £300; Tamworth £260); Shropshire, where John Langley was at work, £622 (Wellington £127, and Madeley £117; the rest chiefly Shrewsbury); Herefordshire, £379; Worcestershire, £342 (Worcester £114, and Bewdley £93); Warwickshire, £894 (Birmingham £636; Coventry £120); Leicestershire, £827 (due to Vaughan's influence); Rutland, £38; Northamptonshire, £430 (Creaton £173); Gloucestershire, without Bristol, £840 (North-east Forest of Dean Association, £190; Campden £113); Oxfordshire, £118; Berks, £368; Bucks, £210; Herts, £13; Beds, £107. in the Midlands,

In the East, there are Norfolk, £776 (chiefly Norwich, but Lynn and Wymondham contributing); Suffolk, £443; Cambridgeshire, £276; Essex, £570 (Colchester leading). In the South, Kent stands for £303, but of this £187 is from Blackheath; Surrey (not including Clapham, &c.) for £350, of which £81 is from Richmond; Sussex for only £167 (mostly Chichester and Hastings); Hants for £510, more than half of it from the Channel Islands, but Portsea stands for £93; Dorset for £353; Wilts for £71; Somerset for £754 (Bath £334, Yeovil £187); Devon for £477 (Devonport £140, Teignmouth £92); Cornwall for £195. Bristol, reckoned always as a separate county, heads all other Associations with £1755. Hunts and Monmouthshire do not appear at all. in the East and South.

Wales sends £247, of which £152 is from Glasbury. The Edinburgh Association stands for £300; and Ireland for the round figure of £2000, evidently the sum remitted within the year, but not necessarily corresponding exactly with the amount collected. The Isle of Man is down for £5. In Wales, Scotland, Ireland.

It will be seen that the great watering-place Associations are conspicuous by their absence. There are no Brighton or Worthing or Eastbourne; no Ramsgate or Margate or Dover or Folkestone; no Southsea or Sandown or Bournemouth; no Ilfracombe or Weston-super-Mare; no Southport or Blackpool; no Scarborough or Cromer; no Harrogate or Leamington or Tunbridge Wells. Bath, Cheltenham, Torquay, Teignmouth, and Hastings, seem the only representatives in the list of this fruitful class of contributing towns; though Clifton was an important part of the Bristol Association. No great watering-places.

Coming forward into subsequent years, we find the Associations growing, but somewhat intermittently. Between 1824 and 1834, they went up and down between £35,000 and £45,000. In the year of the Queen's Accession they reached £61,000, and in the 'forties they averaged about £75,000. Let us take the year before the Jubilee, 1847-8, and again examine the details. The Associations at the Jubilee period.

In that year, London—which was defined as within five miles of St. Paul's—still kept its place as contributing (through

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City Auxiliary.

Associations) about one-tenth of the Association income, £7200. There was then a City of London Auxiliary, which had been founded in 1840 at a meeting at the Mansion House, summoned by the Lord Mayor in response to a requisition signed by seven hundred citizens. When its first annual meeting was held, again at the Mansion House, on November 2nd, 1841, it was found that £1700 had been raised by it in the year. On this occasion, Bishop Blomfield, who had just joined the Society,* and Bishop Selwyn, who had just been consecrated,† were among the speakers. The contributions, however, did not keep up at that level, and in the year we are now reviewing, 1847-8, the amount was only £434. But this consisted mainly of a great many guinea subscriptions from City firms, which, evidently, were regularly canvassed.

London.

Among the other metropolitan Associations, the most conspicuous feature is the rise of Islington, which, with only seven churches, stands for £1500; St. James's being first, as it has been ever since. The other chief figures are, Clapham, £528; Chelsea (three churches), £534; St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, £478; North-East London, £406; Camberwell, £386; Hampstead, £373; St. George's, Bloomsbury, £325. Kensington is again conspicuous by its absence. Paddington—Bentinck Chapel having disappeared—is only represented by Bayswater Chapel (the precursor of the present St. Matthew's), £130. Proprietary chapels are still (barring Islington, Clapham, and Bloomsbury) the centres of evangelical life. Besides those above-mentioned, we find Charlotte Chapel, Pimlico; Park Chapel, Chelsea; Christ Chapel, Maida Hill; Chapel of Ease, Islington; Pentonville Chapel; Gray's Inn Road Episcopal Chapel; St. John's Chapel, Hampstead; Ram's Chapel, Homerton; Lock Chapel, Eaton Chapel, Belgrave Chapel, Percy Chapel, Long Acre Chapel, Bridewell Chapel, Fitzroy Chapel; St. James's Chapel, Marylebone; Holland Chapel, Brixton; Camden Chapel, Camberwell; Stockwell Chapel; Carlisle Chapel, Kennington; St. Mary's Chapel, Lambeth. A few of these still exist, but most of them have long since been replaced by consecrated churches. But in 1847-8, there were collections for the Society in only twenty-two regular churches, mostly of very small amounts. The clergy of London whose congregations did the most were, Baptist Noel at St. John's, Bedford Row; Montagu Villiers at Bloomsbury, Smalley at Bayswater, Fisk at Maida Hill, Griffith at Homerton, R. Montgomery at Percy Chapel, Daniel Moore at Camden Chapel, Jowett at Clapham; D. Wilson, Hambleton, Mackenzie, Sandys, and E. Hoare, at Islington; Cadman, Niven, and Burgess at Chelsea.

The proprietary chapels.

The Counties.

Proceeding into the Provinces, we find Yorkshire easily first, with £9800, and Lancashire next with £6575. No other county

* See p. 395. † See p. 416.

exceeds £3000. Between £2000 and £3000 we find, in order, Somerset, Sussex, Stafford, Warwick, Suffolk, Kent, Hants. Between £1500 and £2000 are Norfolk, Gloucester, Cheshire, Surrey, Bristol, Lincoln, Devon. Between £1000 and £1500, Derby, Essex, Notts, Leicester, Shropshire, Worcester. Between £800 and £1000, Durham, Dorset, Cambridge, Wilts, Berks, Herts, Northampton, Middlesex (outside London). Between £500 and £700, Oxford, Bucks, Cumberland, Northumberland, Hunts, Cornwall. Below £500, Hereford, Monmouth, Beds, Westmoreland, Isle of Man, Rutland. Wales stands for £1542; Scotland for £643; Ireland for £1300.

Then and now.

One cannot compare these figures with those of the present time without being struck by the relatively great advance in later years of the Southern Counties, especially those near London, in comparison with that of the North. Taking the two ecclesiastical Provinces of Canterbury and York, we find that the former, although hampered by the slow progress of some midland counties, has increased by about 155 per cent., while the latter has increased by only about eighty-five per cent. Yorkshire in particular has increased by only thirty-four per cent. In 1847-8 Yorkshire contributed nearly twelve per cent. of the whole; now, only seven per cent. Great towns like Hull and Huddersfield have actually gone back. On the other hand, Middlesex, Herts, Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hants, which in 1847-8 contributed together twenty-five per cent. of the whole, now contribute thirty-six per cent. Ireland has multiplied its contribution by twelve: it then gave one and two-thirds per cent.; now it gives eight and a half per cent. This is the most striking feature of all in the comparison. Next to it is the rise of the watering-places as contributors. The five watering-places (not reckoning Clifton) mentioned above as contributing in 1819-20 sent then together £600. The same five, in 1847-8, sent £2900; and thirteen of the others mentioned sent £2800, Brighton leading with £1335. The five, in 1896-7, sent £6000, and the thirteen £14,000; while Bournemouth, Southsea, Sandown, Worthing, Folkestone, Blackpool, which do not appear in 1847-8, added £4000 in 1896-7, making a total of £24,000 from twenty-four watering-places, or just twelve per cent. of the whole Association Income. But a reference to the present day is scarcely relevant in this chapter.

Methods of raising funds.

Regular Parochial Associations under the clergy were much more common in 1848 than in 1820. The old non-parochial Ladies' Associations for a whole town, however, were still numerous, and did a large part of the best work. Organized Juvenile Associations rarely appear in the lists, and the Lancashire Sunday-schools are not so prominent as in subsequent years. Sales of work also are few; but one at York, in 1839, realized £1000, including a gift of £10 from Queen-Dowager Adelaide. A much larger proportion of the contributions in most

parishes seems to have come from ordinary guinea subscriptions. That is to say, other sources of income had not been much cultivated, while this one was well worked by the lady collectors. Penny-a-week collections, also, from house to house, were then a common method of raising money.

The Association Income in those days was a more important element in the Society's Funds even than it is now. Instead of providing three-fifths or two-thirds of the total as at present, it provided four-fifths or even five-sixths. Benefactions and subscriptions paid direct to headquarters supplied about one-tenth of the whole, and legacies not more than one-twentieth. But on two occasions large legacies were received. In 1835, Mr. Cock, of Colchester, bequeathed his estate to various institutions, and the Society's share realized over £5000; and in 1846 a legacy from Mr. John Scott realized over £7000. Apart from the latter, the average from this source in the 'forties was under £4000.

Legacies.

The missionary-box was from a very early period an important means of collecting small sums. Some pleasant incidents of zeal and self-denial in connexion with boxes are recorded from time to time. One incident, of a different kind, should be recorded. During the short war with the United States in 1812-14, an American privateer captured a small Welsh collier in the Irish Channel. The captain of the privateer, noticing in the cabin a strange little box with a slit in it, asked what it was. "Ah!" replied the Welshman, "I and my poor fellows drop a penny apiece into that box every Sunday, to help to send missionaries to the Heathen." "Indeed," exclaimed the American, "that's a good thing!" A brief pause ensued, and then the victor suddenly said, "I won't touch your vessel, nor a hair of your heads"; and, summoning his men, he returned to his own ship, leaving the collier with the missionary-box to go its own way free! *

A missionary box saves a ship.

In Henry Venn's Private Journal, there is an account of the Annual Conference of the Society's Association Secretaries in January, 1850, shortly after the Jubilee. The unanimous judgment of the Association Secretaries was "that the Society's Income might be sustained at its present point, but that there was no prospect of increase." Has there ever been an Annual Conference at which the same opinion has not been expressed? † And yet—!

Views of Association Secretaries.

We must now turn to the Society's Expenditure. A glimpse of the way in which the early funds were spent on the first missionaries going to West Africa was given in the curious entries quoted in our Eighth Chapter. ‡ The sudden increase in the Income in 1813, and its rapid growth for several years afterwards, due to

* *Missionary Register*, 1814, p. 514.

† Until 1898. In January, 1898, the Reports of the Association Secretaries were marked by a hopeful tone quite different from that of previous years.

‡ See p. 87.

The Expenditure.

the establishment of the Associations, enabled the Society to start and develop the Missions in India, Ceylon, the Mediterranean, and New Zealand. The India Missions soon accounted for a third, or two-fifths, of the whole foreign Expenditure; indeed, of the whole £1,500,000 spent (exclusive of local funds) in the mission-field in the Society's first half-century, India and Ceylon together absorbed just one-half. The cost of the New Zealand Mission also became heavy, exceeding £16,000 in 1839. In the same year the West Indies work cost £19,000, but towards this the Government granted £2000 for schools. The cheapest of all the Missions (except the tentative efforts in South Africa and Australia) was that in Rupert's Land, its cost at that same date not exceeding £1000.

Of each pound sterling of the total Expenditure of the first half-century, about 14*s.* 4*d.* was incurred directly for the Missions; 1*s.* 2*d.* for disabled missionaries, care of children, &c.; 1*s.* 7*d.* for training of missionaries; and 2*s.* 11*d.* for home charges proper, including collection of funds, publications, and administration. It ought, indeed, to be borne in mind that "Publications" then included translations and linguistic works; but even allowing for this, the percentage of home expenditure was considerably higher than at present.

Cost of publications.

The expenditure on reports and periodicals was very high in the 'forties. The Annual Report cost on an average nearly £1300 a year, or two-thirds what it does now, although it was not half its present size, and the circulation many thousands of copies less. The periodicals* averaged £2500 a year in cost, of which about £150 was got back in sales. The corresponding periodicals now cost over £5000, but almost the whole of this comes back in sales. The average number of papers circulated in the 'forties was about a million a year, chiefly small papers; and the nett cost (excluding Annual Reports) was nearly £3000 a year. The number now is four or five million, nearly half of it substantial magazines, and the nett cost is £2500.

Invested funds.

For many years from 1813 onward, the Income so much exceeded the Expenditure that substantial amounts were invested in Government securities, and formed a useful working capital. In the later 'twenties, the expansion of some of the Missions—especially in India, where the Corresponding Committees kept drawing on the Society beyond the amounts sanctioned,—and the establishment of the College at Islington, encroached largely on this reserve, and in 1830 a Committee of Investigation was appointed, which led to some economies, and to the starting of a Fund for Sick and Disabled Missionaries, as by this time the burden of providing for them was pressing on the Society. At the same time, however, it was found necessary to increase the Expenditure on Home Organization with a view to extending the

* See Chapter XXXV.

Associations and so raising larger funds. The effort was successful; and in 1836 the Society had £30,000 invested in Government stocks, while the Committee were largely increasing its responsibilities in India and New Zealand, undertaking extensive work in the West Indies, and planning the short-lived Australia and South Africa Missions. The result, especially of the West Indies Mission, was speedy financial embarrassment: and this culminated in a serious crisis in 1841-2, the very year of the adhesion of the Bishops and of Henry Venn becoming Secretary. On March 31st, 1842, the Society had not only used the whole of its reserve, but had had to obtain loans from members of the Committee to the extent of £11,500, while considerable debts were due to tradesmen. There was the Disabled Missionaries' Fund, then £17,000, which could not be touched; and there were the College premises: that was all—for even the House in Salisbury Square was only rented.

The great crisis of 1841-2.

The Appendix to the Report of that year contains valuable reports from successive sub-committees appointed to investigate and consider the whole position. The last of these sub-committees consisted of four influential bankers not actively engaged in the Society's administration, viz., Sir Walter R. Farquhar, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird (afterwards Lord Kinnaird), Mr. H. Sykes Thornton, and the Society's Treasurer, Mr. John Thornton. Very drastic measures were proposed, and adopted by the Committee. Several Missions were to be given up, including all those in the Mediterranean and the West Indies, the smaller work in Australia and South Africa, *and North-West America;* and by this means £22,000 a year was to be saved. Then, no new missionaries were to be sent out, except to fill vacancies in the Missions to be maintained, and no new students to be admitted to Islington, except, in like manner, to fill vacancies. Then, all legacies, and all benefactions over £5, were to be applied to the payment of the debt, and to forming gradually a capital fund of £30,000. To this end, also special contributions were invited, and Lord Bexley, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whose suggestion this plan was due, started the fund with a donation of £100. Finally a Finance Committee was to be appointed, without whose sanction no expense of any kind was to be incurred. But in one direction, the expenditure was to be increased. The Home Organization was again to be extended. That, the Committee knew, was spending a little to produce much.

Special Committee.

Drastic proposals.

In the course of these reports, some important principles are laid down. First, that buildings for public worship in the Colonies, e.g. in Sierra Leone, ought to be provided by the Government. "This obligation, indeed," say the Sub-Committee, "has been uniformly acknowledged by successive Colonial Secretaries; but they have not hitherto fulfilled the obligation." Like the son who said to his father, "I go, sir," and went not.

Principles to be observed.

Responsibility of Government,

A modern Colonial Secretary would be more likely to resemble the other son, who said, "I will not"; and it would be surprising indeed if he "afterward repented." Secondly, "It is obligatory on a Christian Government to take measures for the endowment and establishment of a Native Church." The recital of this principle and the preceding one significantly illustrates the change of feeling in half a century. Then, thirdly, the local contributions of friends in India and elsewhere ought to provide all buildings, such as churches, schools, and other institutions, and the repairs of them,—except what might be done by Government; and also maintain all orphans and other children in boarding-schools,—the Society's funds being only drawn upon for the maintenance of "seminaries," i.e. divinity schools and other institutions for training native agents. This is a principle of more permanent value, though it is acted upon now less regularly than in those days. Fourthly, in these reports we find the first clear enunciation of the principle of the self-support of Native Churches:—

of friends abroad,

of Native Christians.

"All missionary operations should, from the first, contain within themselves the germ of the self-supporting principle. . . . Native converts should be habituated to the idea that the support of a Native Ministry must eventually fall upon themselves; as, in their heathen state, they have been accustomed to bear the expense of heathen ministrations. . . . It is not meant that Native converts should contribute toward the maintenance of European agents; but it may be reasonably expected that they should, from the first, bear some portion, however small, of the necessary expenses of Native ministrations, and of the Christian education of their children.

"The Society would be thus effectually preparing the way for the transfer of such Native Christian congregations to the regular Ecclesiastical Establishment; and leaving itself at liberty to go forward in the work of breaking up the fallow-ground of Heathenism, which is the peculiar province of a missionary society."

Once more, fifthly, a principle that has often been set forth is very well expressed by the four bankers:—

Relation of Expenditure to Income.

"It appears to us that the golden rule and principle of restricting expenditure within income, equally applicable to communities and to individuals, ought, in a religious society, to obtain in a far higher degree, inasmuch as its aim and end are sacred. It is called upon, indeed, to occupy diligently with the talents committed to it; but not to aim at occupying with more talents than God in His wisdom has been pleased to dispense: and therefore it is our full persuasion that the Divine Blessing cannot be expected without a firm adherence to this sacred principle."

But what are God's "talents"?

Yes, admirably stated; yet two things are forgotten. One is that the "talents" which God gives a missionary society are, not the money, but the men; and if *He* sends the men—not otherwise—it is only reasonable to believe that He will send the money for their support. Our responsibility lies in taking measures to secure that the men accepted are truly sent by Him.

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Then again, even if the Society's income be taken as the "talent," it is not a fixed amount. It is not like a dividend on an investment, which can be counted on. It is impossible to know what the year's Income will be till the year is finished. Therefore, the only possible way of observing the rule laid down in the words quoted would be to incur no expenditure till a whole year's income is in hand, and then to regulate it accordingly.

A plain fallacy.

The four bankers recommended that the Society's expenditure be limited to £85,000; but how could they tell that £85,000 would be received? All depended upon God inclining the hearts of His people to give; and why should it be supposed that He would do this to the extent of £85,000, neither more nor less? In fact the principle laid down is in the highest degree excellent; but it is usually applied, and was applied by them, in a way that involves fallacies which are quite obvious when fairly looked at.

An appeal on Protestant principles.

In their own Annual Report, the Committee, while accepting the proposals made to them, appealed earnestly for fresh support to enable them at the same time to go forward in Africa and India. And they based their appeal distinctly upon their Evangelical principles, thus showing that the Society's new ecclesiastical position was not to involve any compromise of them:—

> "Let not this appeal of the Committee be mistaken. Let it not be supposed that it is on gold, or silver, or patronage, that they found their hopes of success. God forbid! It is the faithful, plain, and full maintenance of those great principles of the truth as it is in Jesus, by all the agents and missionaries of this Society, without compromise and without reserve—it is the sustentation of that Scriptural, Protestant, and Evangelical tone throughout all their ministrations—it is the upholding of the Bible, and the Bible alone, as the foundation and rule of faith—upon which the blessing of God has rested, does rest, and ever will rest."

Never before had the Committee spoken so plainly. They were Henry Venn's sentences, in the first Report that he wrote. With this unmistakable language did the man who had been the chief instrument in bringing the Society and the Bishops together mark his accession to office.

Striking speech of J. W. Cunningham.

At the Annual Meeting, J. W. Cunningham was commissioned to speak on the financial position, and an admirable speech he delivered. What would be thought, he asked, of the Committee being locked up in the King's Bench (i.e. in the debtors' prison at that time) for spending too much, not on themselves, but on the salvation of the world! One of his suggestions is interesting. That was the year when Sir Robert Peel first imposed the Income Tax, sevenpence in the pound. "When we first heard of it," said Cunningham, "we were all confounded; and people began to look anxiously at their account-books. But we have been able to accommodate ourselves to our circumstances. We don't like it, but our faces are not now so long about it as they were. Well, *what the Society wants from you is an income-tax*. Sir R. Peel says 7*d*. in the £ will produce £4,000,000. Now supposing every one of us, as we

An Income Tax for C.M.S.

have gradually made up our minds to the 7*d.* in the £, were only to *add another halfpenny in the pound for missionary objects?*"

It does not appear that this suggestion was adopted! But the Committee's general appeal was not in vain. When May, 1843, came round, they had to report the receipt of the largest income ever, up to that time, received by any religious society, £115,000. All the debt except £1000 had been paid off; a good beginning had been made in the formation of a capital fund; the special gift of £6000 Consols had been made to begin a Mission in China; and although large reductions had been effected, as recommended, in some of the Missions, there was good hope of being able to continue some of the Mediterranean stations, and British Guiana, *and North-West America.* The Report began—an unusual thing in those days—with a text: "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." And the Committee thus referred to their declaration of principles a year before:—

The finances set right.

> "Taking their stand upon the Protestant and Evangelical principles by which the Society had ever regulated its course, [the Committee] awaited the result of the trial: whether a Society, cleaving humbly but faithfully to these principles, would be rescued from its peril, or be allowed to sink under pecuniary embarrassments."

And again, in 1844:—

> "Upon these principles the Committee took their stand in a season of jeopardy; upon these principles they made their appeal for special assistance; and to these principles, under God, they owe their present prosperity. Therefore they regard themselves as bound, by new and most cogent obligations, to guard with the utmost vigilance against all surrender or compromise of principle throughout the various ramifications of their widely-extended agency: that as far as human means can provide, the Gospel preached may not be 'another Gospel,' but the very Gospel of the grace of God, published in and by the open volume of inspiration; such as the Reforming Fathers of our beloved Church exhibited in their lives, illustrated in their writings, and testified with their blood."

During the four or five succeeding years, the Income varied as usual; but the general improvement in the financial position was maintained, and in 1847 the Capital Fund had reached £30,000; the new Special China Fund had received £15,000; and there was no deficit. "Amidst the many special mercies," said the Committee in their Jubilee Statement, "which mark the history of the Society, this providential release from serious financial embarrassment is not the least remarkable." And similar experiences have attended the later history, as we shall see. Again and again have pecuniary difficulties been encountered. Again and again have the Committee "asked the Lord, and told His people." Their faith has often been severely tried. But God's faithfulness has never failed. Just in so far as we have been able to trust Him, in that proportion have all our needs been supplied.

In later years.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Jubilee.

Europe and England in 1848—Survey of the Half-Century's Work—Jubilee Tracts—Jubilee Services and Gatherings—The Great Meeting: Lord Chichester, Sir R. Inglis, Bishop Wilberforce, Cunningham, Bickersteth, Hoare—Observances in the Provinces and in the Mission-Field—Death of H. W. Fox—The Fox Sermon at Rugby—The Jubilee Fund—The Queen becomes a Life Governor—Fox's Jubilee Hymn.

"*Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year . . . it shall be a jubile unto you.*"—Lev. xxv. 10.

"*O praise the Lord . . . for His merciful kindness is ever more and more towards us.*"—Ps. cxvii. 1, 2 (P.B.V.).

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The Jubilee not expected: why?

VERY modest was the first announcement of the advent of the Society's Jubilee Year. It would almost seem as if its approach had been unexpected. We have before seen that for at least forty years after the Society was founded, the real date of its foundation was not generally recognized. The Report presented at the May Anniversary of 1847 is called the Report "for the Forty-Seventh Year." During the next twelve months, however, the truth seems to have dawned upon the mind of Salisbury Square, for the next Report, presented May, 1848, appeared with no corresponding figure, "for the —— Year," but opened with the following paragraph, intimating, in the quietest and most unexciting language, that the year just closed was not the Forty-Eighth, but the Forty-Ninth, and that therefore the Jubilee Year was now commencing:—

The Jubilee announced.

"The present is the Forty-eighth occasion on which the Committee of the Church Missionary Society have met their constituents to render an account of their trust. But as the Society was instituted on the 12th of April, 1799, and as the first Public Meeting was deferred till the close of the second year from the formation of the Society, there is a very special interest attached to this epoch, as the commencement of the Fiftieth Year of the Society's existence—the year of Jubilee according to the reckoning of a Divine ordinance under the old Law."

The chairman at the Anniversary Meeting at which this announcement was read was not the President, Lord Chichester, but the new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Bird Sumner, who

had only succeeded to the Primacy a few weeks before. It was a happy augury for the Society that its Jubilee Year should commence under the auspices of one whose presence, as the Report proceeded to say, "combined the encouragement of a long-standing attachment to our principles with the sanction of the highest ecclesiastical authority."

The last of the four Resolutions submitted and adopted that day, which was moved by Francis Close and seconded by Edward Bickersteth, stated that a review of the Society's fifty years' history presented "both a pressing call and a fitting occasion for prayer and praise," and instructed the Committee to arrange plans for suitably commemorating the Jubilee.

State of Europe: the Revolutions.

The speeches at the Meeting, however, were largely inspired by other considerations. For the Society, which had sprung into existence in almost the darkest period of modern history, was attaining its Jubilee when Europe was once more in the throes of revolution. The sudden overthrow of Louis Philippe, his flight from Paris, and the proclamation of the French Republic, in the February of that year, had let loose the spirit and the forces of anarchy all over the Continent. Several of the great capitals were in the hands of revolutionary mobs; emperors and kings had abdicated; Rome had risen against the Pope. Men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that seemed to be coming on the earth; and many students of unfulfilled prophecy announced that "the great tribulation" was at hand. England, almost alone, remained at peace; Queen Victoria's throne, almost alone, remained unshaken. Yet there were grave causes of anxiety at home. Ireland, which had lost one-fourth of its population, by death or emigration, in and after the terrible potato famine of 1846, was seething with discontent; and a fatuous insurrection broke out under Smith O'Brien, only, however, to be speedily suppressed. In England itself, the Chartist agitation suddenly came to a head, and terrified the nation. Two hundred thousand citizens of London were enrolled as special constables * to protect the city on the dreaded 10th of April; and the Duke of Wellington kept large bodies of troops ready, but wisely hidden from the public view. The day, however, passed quietly; the gigantic procession that was to storm Parliament melted away; the Chartist petition reached the House of Commons in a cab; and nothing more was ever heard of the movement. After all, the Chartist demands do not now seem so dreadful. Some of them—notably voting by ballot—have long since become the law of the land. But the alarm at the time was genuine, and in view of the condition of the Continent, reasonable. And when three weeks after that memorable 10th of April, the C.M.S. Anniversary was held, it was natural that God's infinite and distinguishing mercy to the Realm and Nation of England

Perils at home.

Irish famine.

Chartist agitation.

The 10th of April, 1848.

* Among whom were the students in the C.M. College.

should be uppermost in men's thoughts. Indeed a deep sense of solemn thankfulness pervaded the May Meetings of the year generally. Lord Ashley wrote in his diary :—

The May Meetings.

"The speeches have been altogether of a deep and feeling character well suited to the times we live in. The effect of this month of May, with all its attendant ceremonies, is indescribably beneficial: it is a species of salt, and preserves, by the purification of the atmosphere, even those who do not come in contact with it."*

"To some," wrote Edward Bickersteth at the time, in a tract to be mentioned separately, "it might appear as if the present shaking of all the kingdoms of Europe, and the vast troubles of every kind, social and commercial, of famine, and of approaching cholera,† rendered this an inexpedient time for enlarged missionary exertions. A Scriptural judgment leads to an opposite conclusion: 'famine, pestilence, and earthquakes in divers places,' mark the very time when the 'Gospel of the kingdom' shall be 'preached for a witness to all nations.' When God's judgments are abroad in the earth, is the time when the inhabitants of the world shall learn righteousness." And he goes on to exhort Christians to turn from "the intense political excitement of this remarkable time to the more hidden and spiritual course of missionary labour," reminding them of Elijah's experience at Horeb.

"After the fire, a still small voice."

"It was only when the wild tumult of the elements had passed away that Elijah had communion with his God, and a fresh commission from Him. It was then that the 'still small voice' sounded."

Lord Chichester's speech.

Lord Chichester, too, in his speech at the C.M.S. Anniversary, referred both to the troubles of the time and to the Jubilee :—

"We know that when the storm arises—when the vessel is threatened by danger, when the hearts of the crew are failing them for fear, they must come unto the Lord in their trouble, for He alone can deliver them from the hour of their distress. But though it is to Him that we must alone look, we may derive comfort under such circumstances, when we know that whether it is in the State or in the Church there are cool heads and brave hearts at the helm, and many bended knees amongst the company of the ship. . . .

"We are now commencing our Jubilee Year. There is something to me peculiarly beautiful and touching in that ancient institution of the old dispensation. There is something peculiarly grateful in the manner in which Almighty God commanded that jubilee to be observed. It was proclaimed, as you know, in the day of the Atonement, and the celebration of it was a celebration purely of an Evangelical character. And when He who was the great antitype of all those great and merciful institutions came into the world, He was said to be anointed to preach glad tidings to the meek and lowly of heart, to bring comfort to the spirit-broken and oppressed, and liberty to the captive, and to open the prison doors of those who were bound. Oh! that you, my Christian

* *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, vol. ii. p. 250.

† In the following year was the second great visitation of cholera in England.

friends, might, in this our Jubilee Year, manifest more of that Evangelical spirit that desires to lighten all burdens, to break every yoke, and to deliver some of those captives in Africa and Asia, who are still groaning in the chains of darkness, and bring them to know the Saviour whose 'yoke is easy, and whose burden is light!'"

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

"Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was the cry of the Continental revolutionaries; but they knew nothing of the liberty with which Christ makes His people free, nothing of the equality which rejoices that "the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him," nothing of the fraternity involved in union with the One Elder Brother under the One Father. But in these truer senses "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was the message of the Church, and of the Church Missionary Society. This then was the very time to proclaim it.

Review of the fifty years.

The Society had now, for the first time, to take a systematic review of its past history; and in due course Henry Venn produced a valuable summary of it, under the title of the Jubilee Statement, which occupies ninety pages of the Jubilee Volume. The results it records seem small now; but they must be judged from the point of view of 1848, and with due regard to the whole circumstances of the fifty years, and then they are seen to justify to the utmost the profound thankfulness expressed in the Statement. The Society had sent out from Europe 350 missionaries; * but the effectiveness of this band was not represented by the figure 350. No less than 83 had died, after an average service of six years; 140 had retired, chiefly from failure of health, with an average service also of six years; and the remaining 127 still on the staff had not yet attained an average of ten years' service. With this force, 102 Mission stations had been established, in Africa, Asia, America, and Australasia; 1300 Native teachers and evangelists had been trained for work among their fellow-countrymen, and twelve of them had received holy orders; 13,000 communicants could now be reckoned, "gathered," says the Statement, "from the highways and hedges of the world, but introduced as guests to the marriage feast,—beside the large number who had departed in Christ, and been admitted into the immediate presence of the Lord of the feast above"; and probably 100,000 souls were under Christian instruction.

The real results.

"If we pause," continues the Statement, "to consider the infinite benefits bestowed upon each soul brought out of darkness into light—the sources of misery closed—the sources of life and happiness opened,—then the statistics of our Missions, the report of tens of thousands brought to acknowledge Christ, and of thousands becoming intelligent partakers of His Holy Sacraments, will reveal such a rich treasury of spiritual and eternal benefits, that to have borne the humblest part in communicating them will be esteemed a high honour, and an abundant ground of praise and thanksgiving."

* The number on the roll to the date of the Jubilee Meeting is 387, but this includes some who had joined in the mission-field.

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A survey of the mission-field itself was still more encouraging. The Committee's preliminary Circular, issued in anticipation of the Statement, draws the following striking contrast between past and present :—

Survey of the field,

"We may contrast the facilities for carrying out the design of the Society in its early days with those which now exist. Then, all Europe was at war with England; India was virtually barred against missionaries; New Zealand was shunned for its inhuman cruelties; the Mediterranean Sea was occupied by hostile fleets and armaments; in the West Indies, the minds of the degraded Negro race were crushed with their bodies. One spot, the colony of Sierra Leone, invited by its openness, but repelled by its insalubrity, the benevolent enterprise of the Fathers of the Church Missionary Society.

"Contrast, with these recollections, the present openness of the whole world to Missionary enterprise—the easiness of access—the frequency of communication—India not only welcoming the arrival of Missionaries, but reproaching our slackness in not sending more. The fragrance of the first-fruits gathered on her soil, and already waved as a wave-offering before the Lord, invites us to reap the abundant harvest. New Zealand has been won by Missionaries to the Crown of England and to the visible Church of Christ. The West Indies, having anticipated their Jubilee, permit us to withdraw our forces to conquer new countries. From all parts of the world invitations arrive, which the Society is compelled to decline."

and of the work.

The Statement itself reviews the fields of labour one by one. In Sierra Leone, the work for the rescued slaves had resulted in ten thousand souls, once degraded beyond conception, in regular attendance on public worship. A promising Mission had been begun in the Yoruba country; and on the East Coast of Africa two intrepid pioneers were discovering new territories and reducing new languages to writing. In the Mediterranean, the Society's efforts for the enlightenment of the Eastern Churches had not been successful; but there were still three or four labourers at Smyrna and Cairo, and a C.M.S. missionary (Gobat) had become Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem. In India, Tinnevelly and Krishnagar had yielded rich fruit; Travancore was becoming promising; at Calcutta, Burdwan, Gorakpur, Benares, Agra, Meerut, Kotgur, Bombay, Nasik, Madras, and Masulipatam, good work was going on, though some of these stations showed disappointing results,—as also did Ceylon. New Zealand was the brightest spot in the circle of Missions, despite—as we have seen in previous chapters—many grave difficulties. From New South Wales, Zululand, Abyssinia, and the West Indies, the Society had withdrawn; but British Guiana was still occupied, with fair results. In Rupert's Land ("North-West America"), the work was on a small scale, but had been much blessed. Half a dozen picked men had been sent to China, but the Mission there was still in the earliest preparatory stage.

That was all!

That was all. But we who have been tracing out the history know at what cost these results had been achieved. We have seen also something of the "earthiness" of the "vessels" en-

trusted with the Divine "treasure," and we can understand the Committee's grateful exclamation, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy Name give glory, for Thy mercy and for Thy truth's sake."

In nothing is the immense difference between the period of the Jubilee and the present time more strikingly manifested than in the "literature" which was prepared for the commemoration, compared with what would now be thought necessary. This "literature" consisted of just thirteen tracts and leaflets, of the plainest and (as we should now say) most old-fashioned "tract" type, some being in foolscap octavo and some smaller. No. 1 was the Committee's official Circular. No. 2 was a 4-page leaflet, written in a more popular style by H. W. Fox. No. 3 contained seven original hymns and three original prayers: the former by James Montgomery, George Pettitt of Tinnevelly, T. R. Birks (afterwards Professor at Cambridge), and the young "Rev. E. H. Bickersteth" (now Bishop of Exeter); and the latter by Edward Bickersteth, Haldane Stewart, and John Tucker. Of the hymns, one, by E. H. Bickersteth, "O brothers, lift your voices," has lived, and is well known in C.M.S. circles. No. 4 was a "Practical Address to British Christians," by E. Bickersteth, which is certainly one of the most effective missionary appeals ever written. No. 5 was a sketch, by H. Venn, of "The Founders and the First Five Years." No. 6 was an Address to Christian Ladies, by E. Bickersteth; No. 7, a "Mother's Appeal" for education for missionaries' daughters, signed "L. W." (Mrs. D. Wilson of Islington); No. 8, a leaflet with a small missionary map, by "S. T." (Miss Sarah Tucker); No. 9, a "Conversation with a Little Boy," by George Pettitt;* No. 10, an Appeal to the Clergy, by the Rev. John Hambleton, of Islington. The remaining three, not numbered, were a "Letter," by W. Jowett, on the *general* progress of Missions; a tract on the Uses of Gold and Silver, by the Rev. W. Tait; and a leaflet called "The Whole Jubilee Day," showing the hours in different longitudes corresponding to mid-day on the Jubilee Day, and containing also a remarkable hymn by H. W. Fox, "I hear ten thousand voices singing," which will be found appended to this chapter.†

The Jubilee Tracts.

The Committee did not defer the actual commemoration till the Society's half-century was completed. They regarded the Jubilee

* In this "Conversation," the little boy is represented as saying, "How I wish that Queen Victoria may reign fifty years, and that I may be alive at her Jubilee. I am sure I would go to church and sing praises to God with all my heart."

† These Tracts, though they now seem to us inadequate, were quite up to the standard of the time, even in external "get-up." I personally can never forget the extreme interest with which I read some of them as a boy. There was another tract circulated with them, which is not in the collection, but which gave me my first conceptions of the four chief founders, Thomas Scott, Charles Simeon, John Venn, and Josiah Pratt.—E. S.

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All Saints' Day, 1848.

year as beginning directly the forty-ninth year, completing the seven sabbatical periods of the Mosaic Law, was over. They therefore fixed the date for the chief celebration in the *middle* of the fiftieth year, on All Saints' Day, November 1st, 1848, "being a day," said their Resolution, "which the Church of England has dedicated to the commemoration of the 'one communion and fellowship' in which the members of Christ's mystical body are knit together."

The arrangements made for the observance consisted of five sermons and three meetings, and two breakfasts:—

Dale's sermon at St. Paul's.

(1) On Sunday, October 29th, Canon Dale, who happily was Canon-in-Residence at the time, preached a special sermon at the ordinary afternoon service at St. Paul's. In those days all the services were held in the choir, which was quite cut off from the dome and nave by a great organ screen; and the congregations were not large. Dome services (except for the charity children once a year), and evening services, were quite unknown in the national cathedral. Canon Dale's text was Phil. ii. 10, 11, "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow," &c.; and from these verses he based a very powerful and impressive sermon on behalf of the Society—"a great national society," he called it, "engaged in what ought to be a great national work"—as one instrument for hastening the time when the grand promise of the text shall be fulfilled.

Bickersteth's sermon at St. Anne's.

(2) On the Tuesday evening, October 31st, Edward Bickersteth preached at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, the old church in which the earliest Anniversary Services were held. His text was Rev. xiv. 6, 7—the angel with the everlasting Gospel; and his sermon was one of the great pulpit efforts of which we have so few examples in the present day. It occupies sixty pages of the Jubilee Volume, and must have taken as long a time to deliver as his Anniversary Sermon in 1832;* and its intense earnestness will move any reader even now. He dwelt on the Gospel as "everlasting" (1) "in contrast with perishing empires"—a peculiarly appropriate thought at that time; (2) "in contrast to the pretensions of vain philosophy"; (3) "in its suitableness to the most urgent wants of mankind"; (4) "in the eternal blessings it conveys"; (5) "in the obligation of every Christian to diffuse it." Then he enlarged on "its wide diffusion in the last days"; under which head he poured out of his wealth of first-hand knowledge whole pages of details on both the work done and the work waiting to be done. Then he expounded at length on the message announced by the angel, "Fear God," &c.; and finally he appealed to ministers, rulers, heads of families, women, children, young men, to be up and doing,—closing with these words:—

"Brethren, by all the interesting recollections which crowd around this Jubilee; by the memory of all who have gone before us; by the

* See p. 261.

fervent prayers offering up in all the Churches through the world at this season; by the wants of perishing millions; by the best interests of your country, your Church, and yourselves; by the everlasting miseries from which the Gospel saves us, and the everlasting blessedness to which it brings us; by the solemn and last command, the dying love, the constant intercession, the faithful promises, the speedy return, and the eternal glory of Immanuel;—I beseech you, now afresh consecrate yourselves and all you have to God your Father, your Saviour, and your Sanctifier, in advancing the wider diffusion of the everlasting Gospel through the world."

Breakfast at the Castle and Falcon.

(3) The Jubilee Day itself was also devoted to church services; but it began with a Breakfast at the Castle and Falcon, in the room in which the Society was born on April 12th, 1799. The proprietor of the hotel, Mr. Woods, himself gave the breakfast; and the gathering was addressed by the Rev. John Fawcett, of Carlisle, one of the few original members still surviving.

Archbishop Sumner's sermon at St. Anne's.

(4) At eleven o'clock, the principal sermon of all was preached at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in the morning, by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. Dr. Sumner, of course, could not compare in eloquence with Dale, or in knowledge of the subject or intense fervour with Bickersteth; and his sermon is as short as Bickersteth's is long. But it is good and sound and earnest, on Prov. xxiv. 11, 12—"If thou forbear to deliver," &c. "I spent an hour," wrote Bickersteth, "along with two or three friends, with the Archbishop after his sermon, and thanked God for the remarkable spirit of meekness and wisdom which God has given him." *

Other sermons.

(5) In the afternoon, Bishop Blomfield preached at St. George's, Bloomsbury. His sermon is not extant.

(6) The same evening, Archdeacon T. Dealtry, of Calcutta (afterwards Bishop of Madras), preached at Christ Church, Newgate Street, on the "jubilee" of Lev. xxv. This sermon is excellent, though without any pretension to exceptional power; and the preacher's personal experiences in India are introduced with good effect.

Valedictory Meeting at Islington.

(7) Of the three Meetings, the first, on the afternoon of October 31st, was a Valedictory Dismissal of missionaries. It was thought well to include in the Jubilee functions one of the Society's ordinary proceedings, as a kind of object-lesson. It was indeed quite an ordinary meeting, and different from the crowded Valedictory Meetings in Freemasons' Hall as far back as 1814; for it was held, as had come to be a frequent practice, in the old, ugly, inconvenient parish schoolroom of Islington, which seated at a pinch three or four hundred people on bare un-backed forms.† There was nothing very remarkable, moreover, in the proceedings of the meeting. No band of University men was going to India

* *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 403.

† This schoolroom was afterwards altered and enlarged to become the Bishop Wilson Memorial Hall, a fairly comfortable room, since superseded by the present handsome hall.

or China; no well-known hero of the field was returning after furlough; no new and important enterprise was being inaugurated. Of the eight new missionaries taken leave of, three bore names which in after years came to be held in honour in C.M.S. circles, viz., David Hinderer, James Erhardt, and Julia Sass. All three went to Africa (Erhardt afterwards to India); and their periods of service proved to be respectively 28, 42, and 21 years. But there was nothing remarkable about them then. There was also a young African named T. B. Macaulay, who had been an Islington student, and who afterwards married Bishop Crowther's daughter, and became Principal of Lagos Grammar School. The Instructions delivered, and the Valedictory Address by Mr. Jowett, are printed in the Jubilee Volume.

(8) The great Jubilee Meeting itself was held in Exeter Hall on Thursday, November 2nd, the day following the Jubilee Day. Of this more directly.

Breakfast at the College.

(9) On the Friday morning, there was a Breakfast at the College for old and present students, at which Mr. Childe and Mr. Venn spoke, and William Smith of Benares, to represent the missionaries trained in the College.

Young Men's Meeting.

(10) In the evening of the same day, there was a meeting, in Freemasons' Hall, of what was then called the Church of England Young Men's Society for Aiding Missions at Home and Abroad; of this meeting the only record is that many young men were present. But the rank and file of men and women in London were then almost untouched; and evening meetings were unusual. The Young Men's Society that arranged this one might perhaps have become a power in after years if it had retained its distinctive title and definite purpose; but in 1857 it dropped the "Aiding Missions," and subsequently it was distanced in the race of usefulness by the Young Men's Christian Association.

The great Jubilee Meeting.

The Jubilee Meeting calls for fuller notice. The great Hall was of course filled; and the President was supported on the platform by several of the Vice-Presidents and other influential friends. One of the original members of the Society in 1799 was present, and, as far as was known, only one—the Rev. John Fawcett of Carlisle, who had spoken at the Breakfast on the previous day. The "Old Hundredth" was sung; after which John Tucker offered the familiar C.M.S. prayer, with additions for the occasion, and read Ps. lxxii. Lord Chichester then spoke from the chair, humbly, quietly, and with deep spirituality, as always:—

Lord Chichester's speech.

"This Jubilee of ours is indeed a happy season for those to whom God has given a capacity for such enjoyments—for those who know the blessedness of pardon and redemption—who know enough of the love of Christ to rejoice in His work, and to long for a fuller manifestation of His glory. Many thousands of souls thus blessed were yesterday engaged in the work of prayer and praise—praying for the same blessings, praising God for the same mercies. The sun of yesterday, in his

circuit through the heavens, dawned on many a band of happy converts thus engaged—bright spots in the midst of Pagan darkness, like distant and scattered watch-fires in a starless night. May we not suppose, my friends, that those beloved brethren, the fruits of our poor unworthy labours, were engaged in praying to God for us, as we were praying for them; that they were praising God on our behalf, as we were praising Him on theirs? We may depend upon it that such prayers and praises are heard in heaven; that such songs from ransomed sinners, wafted by the intercession of our Immanuel, ascend unto the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. But, alas! my friends, this world below has as yet no ear for such music. There is nothing, I think, in God's creation that affords such a melancholy subject for our thoughts as that mass of darkness and sin which still covers this miserable world. For eighteen hundred years the heralds of Christ have been proclaiming His message and His Kingdom. For eighteen hundred years the King Himself, our great High Priest, has been pleading before His Father's throne. But as yet the world in general is alike deaf to His message, and dead to His love. This is indeed an oppressing thought: sad enough to crush our hopes and our energies, if we did not remember the name of Him who is called 'Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace'; that the government of this apparent chaos is committed to His shoulders; and that, by His Word, by His Spirit, by His judgments, and at last by His coming, He will at length subdue every enemy, and restore peace, and light, and joy to this restless and wicked world."

The sun shining on bands of converts round the world.

An abstract of the Jubilee Statement was then read, not by Henry Venn (whose voice never enabled him to read his own Reports), but by C. F. Childe, Principal of the College. The first Resolution was moved by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, M.P. for Oxford University. He was a fine specimen of the old English gentleman, a strong Churchman and Tory, a familiar figure in the House of Commons, a man of wide culture, and a very warm friend of the Society, who had several times spoken at the Anniversaries.* There was one very felicitous passage in his hearty speech. Referring to the fact that the previous day, the Jubilee Day proper, was All Saints' Day, he reminded the meeting that that day, the day then present, was, in the Roman Calendar, All Souls' Day, when the dead are specially prayed for. "We enter not," said he, "into Rome's worship; we have nothing to do with her doctrines; but let us never forget that in immediate juxtaposition with the Feast of All Saints is the Feast of All Souls; and though we dare not pray for the souls of the dead, we may—*we must*—pray and labour for *the souls of all living*." This first Resolution was seconded by Mr. J. M. Strachan, the much-respected member of Committee who had been treasurer of the Society at Madras.

Sir R. H. Inglis's speech.

All Souls' Day!

Then arose the Bishop of Oxford to move the second Resolution. It was a courageous thing on the part of the Society to invite Samuel Wilberforce. By this time he was identified in the minds of all men, not indeed with the Tractarians, but with

Bishop S. Wilberforce's speech.

* A charming sketch of Sir R. H. Inglis is given by J. C. Colquhoun in his graphic book, *William Wilberforce and his Friends*. But Inglis belonged to a rather younger generation.

that more advanced section of the High Church Party which looked upon them with favour; and his frequent speeches in behalf of S.P.G. were not always without invidious comparisons with C.M.S.* But the Committee well knew his old love for the Society; and to him they committed the task of making the great speech of the day. And a great speech it was. The hall rang with applause, as one eloquent sentence poured forth after another, and especially when he referred to his father's work in the abolition of the slave-trade, and to "that saint of God, John Wesley." A sentence or two may be quoted:—

The humble room fifty years before.

"When I fix my mind on the humble room in which, fifty years ago, were gathered together that little company of overworked parish priests, labouring together day and night in their holy vocation, in the midst of the almost overwhelming multitude of the world of this metropolis, and call to mind what glorious thoughts were then struggling in their souls—what mighty impulses God's Spirit was working in their hearts—as I look back to that scene, I feel humbled with admiration and wonder at the means then used for producing these great results. I hardly know of any period since the time when the whole Church of Christ was gathered together in that upper chamber, with the door shut upon them for fear of the Jews, when mightier issues were struggling in fewer minds. It was purely and entirely a work of faith. They undertook that work, not as shallow and capricious men often undertake benevolent beginnings, to lay them aside at the first blast of a strong opposition, but gravely and thoughtfully, as men who knew that it was a great thing to labour for God, and a mighty trust to begin anything in furtherance of His Kingdom. They saw the Church slumbering in the midst of the world, and, all unlikely as it seemed to them that they could arouse its slumbering heart, they said, 'Nevertheless, if God be willing, we will go forth in this undertaking.'

The men and the period.

"Many were the difficulties that arose in their onward path. There was first the difficulty which always waits on any mighty work of God—the certain opposition to it always stirred up by the great enemy of Christ and man, and exhibited in the hatred—in the direct opposition—in the mocking scorn, and often in the cold and pretended sympathy—of the world around them. But this was not their only difficulty. There was still a greater difficulty to be met and overcome. Not only were they met by the opposition of the world, but by the utter coldness and apathy of the Church herself. The beginning of this work was in what was perhaps the darkest and coldest time in the whole history of the Church of England—a period of coldness and of darkness of which we in these days, and with our knowledge of what now exists, can hardly have a conception, without going patiently back and inquiring into the events and circumstances of that time, and comparing the principles of action in every single department of Christian work, Christian labour, and Christian self-denial then current, with those which are now admitted and acted upon by all men. They lived at the close of a period when the Church was so apathetic, that not only had she done nothing towards her great work of evangelizing the Heathen, but allowed her influence at home to wither and decay in her hand, leaving our own increasing population to grow up in heathenism, and only showed her semi-vitality, or rather her anti-vitality, by casting out from her bosom that great and good man—that saint of God—John Wesley.

* See p. 401.

"It was at the close of such a period as this, when all was darkness around them, that God put these thoughts into the hearts of these men. They knew that God's Word remains sure, and they determined to act upon it; and so the blessing which waits always upon faithful endeavours was vouchsafed unto them—not given at once, not given without days of waiting, without nights of prayer, without self-denial, without the frown of the world, without 'fightings without,' without 'fears within'; but given in God's time, given surely, given abundantly. Surely we may thank God heartily that He gave them the zeal, that He gave them the wisdom, that He gave them the ability, to lay these foundations, upon which others since have built; that He suffered them in that day to freight their vessel with His truth; that He allowed them, in the daring of true faith, to set it upon the tides of His mysterious providence, leaving to Him to guide its course, leaving to Him to accomplish its adventure."

The blessing given.

Then came John Cunningham of Harrow, the most frequent and trusted speaker at C.M.S. meetings, as we have before seen. His part was to set forth once more the great principles of the Society, which he did with perfect plainness, as regards both its mingling of the lay with the clerical element in the Executive, and the Gospel which its founders designed the Society to proclaim. On the latter point:—

John Cunningham's speech.

"Led, as we cannot doubt, by the Spirit of God, to discern the destitute and perishing condition of the heathen world—without a God, a Saviour, or a Bible—they set to work to find the appropriate remedy for this large amount of moral disease and physical wretchedness. There could be but one—the Gospel of a Crucified Saviour. And they not only adduced this remedy, but they resolved to administer it in its utmost simplicity and purity. They resolved to follow the example of the first Fathers on the English Reformation: and were not satisfied to give to the Heathen a mere system of Christian ethics—a set of well-constructed ordinances—but they sought out the great fundamental truths of the religion of the Cross—the election of grace—original corruption—justification through faith—regeneration, conversion, sanctification, by the Spirit of God—good works as the fruit of sound faith—and they resolved knowingly to send out no one missionary who should not carry to the war with idolatry these truths written with the blood of a Saviour, and, if I may so speak, verified and sanctified by their all-powerful influence, wherever honestly promulgated by the messengers of religion. The 'first Fathers' of our Institution believed, with Bishop Wilson, that 'a Christless missionary is no missionary at all.'"

The third Resolution approved of a Letter being sent from the Meeting to "the much-loved brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, gathered out from among the Heathen and Mohammedans in Africa, Asia, &c." Archdeacon Dealtry, of Calcutta, whose sermon we have already noticed, moved this, and George Pettitt, of Tinnevelly, seconded it, representing respectively the numerous Native Christians of North and South India. Both their speeches were full of encouraging facts.

Letter to Native Christians.

Then, to move the last Resolution, arose Edward Bickersteth. Seizing the platform-rail with both hands, he burst forth in accents of holy and ecstatic joy which none who heard him

Bickersteth's burst of holy joy.

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that day could ever forget,—"Glory be to God, our Heavenly Father, for the scenes which He has permitted us to witness during the last few days!" The speech, if read now, seems fragmentary and lacking in point; but in fact Bickersteth was overcome by his emotions, and it was the spirit rather than the matter of what he said that was remembered by his hearers.*

E. Hoare's closing speech.

The last speech was a maiden one at a great C.M.S. meeting, by a clergyman who, at the age of thirty-six, was still young for the honour of taking part on such an occasion. This was Edward Hoare, then Incumbent of Christ Church, Ramsgate, and afterwards the revered Canon Hoare of Tunbridge Wells. His closing sentences are perhaps the most interesting to us now, at the close of another half-century, and therefore the most worth quoting, of any that were spoken that day:—

"And now, after the thankful retrospect of the past, it may be well, before we part, to look forward for a few moments to the future, and to consider what will be the state of things should this Society ever witness another Jubilee. What changes will have taken place ere then! There will have been a vast change in our Missions. By that time, possibly, Dr. Krapf's grand idea may be realized, and the little Mission of Eastern Africa be enlarged till it meet in the interior the widely-spreading Churches from the West. And what will be the state of things at home? Where will be England's throne? May it stand fast through God's blessing, and may all remember that its one security is in the truth of God! Who will then be Archbishop? May the Lord grant that he may be like-minded with him whose appointment to that high office now fills our hearts with joy! And the Meeting—who will be there? Few, if any, of those who are present now will be privileged to be there. The speakers of to-day will all be passed away. Some of those dear children just mentioned by Mr. Bickersteth may be here to take his place, but the voice of the beloved father must be silenced. And what is the conclusion? That we all remember that time is short. We must be like the drops of the rainbow, each in himself a mere drop, and each falling, but each reflecting the Lord's light in the brief moment of our rapid fall, so that the whole combined should form the bow between earth and heaven, the standing testimony to the covenant of God.

The next Jubilee!

"But will the world ever see another Jubilee? And may we not venture to hope that ere another fifty years be passed we shall have reached the Jubilee of Jubilees, and been permitted to witness the glorious advent of the Lord of Glory? I know we should speak tremblingly on such a subject; but our Lord has said, 'When these begin to come to pass, then look up, for your redemption draweth nigh.' We are not to wait, then, till we see the elaborate fulfilment of the whole page of prophecy; but are to look up in hope, even at the outset of the great events of the latter days. When, therefore, we see the powers of heaven shaken, and upon earth distress of nations with perplexity; when, at the same time, we see the missionary spirit rising in the Church like the streak of early dawn preparing the way for the rising of the sun,—we venture to hope that we may regard these things as the harbingers

But will there be one?

* Bickersteth wrote to a friend, "I never spent such a remarkable four days as the Jubilee days in London. It was really heaven upon earth." *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 403.

of glory, as a token that the day is not far distant when the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. And what a day of jubilee will be then! Now we meet the citizens of one city, though uniting in a sympathy of praise with the people of God in almost all the nations under heaven; but then shall be gathered together into one, all things in Christ. Now we meet, the men of one generation, to commemorate fathers that are departed, and to hand on their work to children that are to come; but then shall be assembled the whole company of God's elect, of every land and every age. Now the sun, pursuing its course, has gathered up the praises of successive lands; but then all shall be united in one glorious anthem in the actual presence of the Sun of Righteousness. May God grant to us and to our children that we may then 'be found in Him, not having our own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith!'"

The closing hymn.

No words could more fitly have wound up such a Meeting as this; and none could more surely have led the assembly to rise, as they did, in the spirit of humble praise, and sing the grand and ever-welcome hymn which has so often filled the great hall with solemn and yet joyful strains—"All hail the power of Jesus' Name!" *

The Jubilee in the Provinces.

It was not only by the Committee officially that the Jubilee was observed. Many special sermons were preached, and meetings held, which were locally arranged, in various parts of London and the Provinces. The Archbishop of York both preached and presided at a meeting, in that city. The Bishop of Chester did the same, in his city, the Cathedral and the Assembly Rooms being both "crowded to excess." The Bishops of Hereford, Norwich, Ripon, Salisbury, and Winchester, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop of Derry, all either preached, or presided, or both. Bishop Wilberforce preached at St. Mary's at Oxford, whence John Henry Newman had so recently retired; and also took the chair at a crowded meeting in the Town Hall. At Cambridge, some four hundred persons, a large proportion of them undergraduates, attended what the Jubilee Volume, using language not so common then as now, calls "an early celebration of the Holy Communion," at Trinity Church, the scene once of Charles Simeon's ministry. Bath, Birmingham, Brighton, and Bristol were conspicuous for their enthusiasm. One of the most interesting functions was a sermon preached in Rugby School Chapel, by the Head Master, Dr. A. C. Tait; but its special interest arose from another circumstance, to be mentioned presently.

The Jubilee in the Mission-field.

Still more interesting was the commemoration of the Jubilee in the Mission-field. At several of the villages in the Colony of Sierra Leone, services and meetings were held; and also at

* I cannot refrain from mentioning the fact of my own presence, as a boy of twelve, at this Jubilee Meeting. My recollection of it is vivid; particularly of Sir R. Inglis's reference to All Souls' Day, Bishop Wilberforce's to John Wesley, and E. Bickersteth's opening words of joyous thankfulness.—E. S.

Abeokuta. In India, there were various gatherings at Calcutta, at four centres in the Krishnagar district, at Benares, Agra, Simla, Karachi, Bombay, Malegam, Poona, Madras, Masulipatam, and many stations in Tinnevelly and Travancore. In Ceylon, at Cotta, Kandy, and Jaffna; in China, at Shanghai; in Jamaica and British Guiana; at Smyrna and Jerusalem; in New Zealand, at Auckland, where the announcement of the Jubilee was only received from England twenty-four hours before the day appointed, and where Bishop Selwyn composed a special prayer for the occasion; and at Red River, in North-West America, though, on the very day, "the winter set in furiously." Moreover, the day was sympathetically observed by Continental Protestants at Amsterdam and Basle; by the Basle Mission in Western India; at sea, by a band of missionaries on board ship; and on the banks of the Indus, by a number of devout British soldiers on their march to the seat of war in the Punjab.

Two specimens of the observances may be given, one from West Africa and one from Tinnevelly. From Freetown the Rev. J. Beale wrote:—

At Sierra Leone.

"The 1st of November was observed much as a Sabbath. Few of the people came to market from the villages, and very little business was done here. At seven o'clock a.m. we had a prayer-meeting, when the whole congregation were present, attired in their best clothes. I commenced by giving out the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth's hymn,—

> "Lord Jesus, unto Whom is given
> All power on earth, all power in heaven";

which was sung with the deepest feeling by the whole assembly. We then united in prayer and thanksgiving; the latter was the most hearty and deep-felt. Such prayers and thanksgivings I have scarcely ever, if ever, witnessed.

"At the Grammar School, also, the day was commenced by suitable prayers, and by reading portions of Scripture adapted to the occasion. At ten o'clock the pupils marched, three deep, with banners, from Regent Square to the Mission Church, Freetown. Here the Rev. T. Peyton preached an excellent sermon, from Isaiah lxii. 1, to a very large congregation. The Acting-Governor and the other Europeans were present.

"In the evening his Honour the Chief Justice presided over a full and overflowing meeting, which was one of the most orderly ever witnessed within any church.

"I do believe the Jubilee will be the means of bringing down from heaven a larger blessing than we have hitherto received."

And the Rev. John Devasagayam thus wrote from Kadatchapuram:—

At John Devasagayam's Christian village.

"We celebrated our Jubilee on the 1st, with, we trust, a prayerful and a thankful spirit. The school-children commenced the day at 3 a.m. with singing praises to the Lord in the Jubilee hymns. The people assembled in very good time, and were in number more than 1200. For their accommodation we had erected a temporary shed. I commenced the regular Divine service a little before eleven o'clock. I preached from a verse in the Second Lesson, Heb. xii. 2, 'Looking unto Jesus.'

I gave a short account of the Society's commencement, their several Missions, and their present prosperity in Tinnevelly and other parts of the world. I told my people, also, how the children of God, in England and in India, contributed to our Society, and how it was *our* duty to come before the Lord this day with thanksgiving and prayer and offerings. While I offered, before the General Thanksgiving, the valuable prayer provided us by dear Mr. Tucker, and the people repeated it after me, we longed that our hearts might be truly united in its spirit.

"At five o'clock the infant-school children went around the street, singing the Jubilee hymns, and the people were much delighted and gave them presents, which they brought again for the Jubilee Fund. We had also regular evening service.

A death on the Jubilee day.

"It pleased the Lord, on the evening of the Jubilee Day, to call Daniel, our schoolmaster at Neijayapooram, to the *heavenly* Jubilee, by cholera. When I visited him, after evening prayers, he could only answer my inquiries by asking me to pray for him. A short time after this he left us for his heavenly rest. He was a truly devoted Christian, and has been, out of love, administering, during the last month, cholera medicine to fifty people, without fearing for himself."

Another death: H. W. Fox.

There was one event of the Jubilee season which, like the death from cholera mentioned in this last extract, reminded the Society's circle of what John Devasagayam called "the heavenly Jubilee." Henry Watson Fox died a fortnight before the day. He had lost his wife at Madras, and one child at sea, in 1845; he had brought the other two children to England, spoken at the Annual Meeting of 1846, and returned to India; but after another year's work, his health had quite failed, and he reached home again in April, 1848. He was then appointed Assistant Secretary, John Tucker being at the same time appointed Secretary to work alongside Venn. Fox began his duties with gladness and enthusiasm, and entered with especial zeal into the preparations for the Jubilee; and it was now that he wrote the hymn already referred to. But he was not permitted to share in the commemoration. He entered into rest on October 14th. Forty-seven years after, his son, Henry Elliott Fox, became Honorary Secretary of the Society.

Tait's sermon at Rugby.

The Rugby-Fox Fund.

It was in connexion with Fox's death that Dr. Tait preached that sermon in Rugby School Chapel on the Jubilee day; and ever since then, it has been the custom for a sermon to be preached in the Chapel on All Saints' Day, with a collection in aid of a fund, started at that time by the Rev. F. Gell (now Bishop of Madras), for maintaining a "Rugby-Fox Master" in Robert Noble's College at Masulipatam. Many leading men have preached that sermon: among them Benson and Temple (afterwards Archbishops of Canterbury), Goulburn (afterwards Dean of Norwich), Claughton (afterwards Bishop of St. Alban's), French (afterwards Bishop of Lahore), Royston (afterwards Bishop of Mauritius), Hodges (now Bishop of Travancore and Cochin), Percival (now Bishop of Hereford), Bishop Jayne of Chester, Bishop Parry of Dover, &c. Among the missionaries who have held the post of Rugby-Fox Master have been John Sharp (now Secretary of the

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Bible Society) and A. W. Poole (afterwards first English Bishop in Japan). About £350 a year is still raised for the Fund, to which, since 1850, no less than £13,675 has been contributed.

The Jubilee Fund.

It remains to notice the Special Jubilee Fund. The Committee invited thank-offerings for four definite objects, viz., (1) the augmentation of the Disabled Missionaries' Fund; (2) a Fund to provide a Boarding School for missionaries' children; (3) a Fund to assist infant Native Churches to raise endowments; (4) a Fund for mission buildings. All these would relieve the General Fund, and enable it to be used more entirely in direct evangelistic work.

The total amount specially contributed was £55,322 11*s.* 7*d.*, up to June 30th, 1850. A few small sums were added in the next year or two; and the accruing interest exceeded £2000. The List of Contributions occupies sixty four-column pages, similar to the familiar pages in the Annual Report. They came from all parts of the country, and indeed of the world, in large and small sums. Bristol sent £1625; York, £1318; Birmingham, £1141; Bath, £863; Liverpool, £766; Manchester, £717; Hull, £663. In London, £7500 was raised, of which Islington gave £1490, and Clapham £679. Among individual churches, St. John's, Bedford Row, stands for £484, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, for £425. These figures, of course, do not include the donations and collections sent direct to Salisbury Square, which amounted to £11,300. There were two gifts of £1000 each, and three of £500 each. No less than £2647 was remitted from the mission-field, of which £1900 was from India. The Sierra Leone congregations sent £164. The missionaries in New Zealand sent as their personal contribution £101. But of all the benefactions, the one which most gratified the Society was £100 from the Queen and Prince Albert, paid through the Windsor Association. It is in virtue of this gift that Her Majesty's name has stood ever since in the Report at the head of the List of Life Governors.

The Queen's contribution.

Disposal of the Fund.

In due course the Committee apportioned the money as follows:—to the Disabled Missionaries' Fund, £20,000; to the Native Churches Endowment Fund, £10,000; to the Mission Buildings Fund, £17,000. The remainder, after payment of about £2000 for expenses (which may be said to have been covered by the interest), was applied towards the building of the new Children's Home, of which we shall hear by-and-by. All proved of great service to the Society. All was actually spent within a few years, except the Disabled Missionaries' Fund, the principal of which always remains intact, and now stands at £49,000, providing some £1500 a year towards the expenses on account of disabled missionaries and of widows and children.

Results of the Jubilee.

The financial result of the Jubilee was therefore not small. But the indirect results were greater. The Society took a position before the whole Church which it had never attained before. The general interest in Missions was undoubtedly widened and

deepened. New friends and supporters were secured. Children received impressions into their young hearts which fifty more years have not effaced. God answered the prayers of His people, and poured out a blessing which has lasted to this day.

H. W. Fox's Jubilee Hymn.

I hear ten thousand voices singing
Their praises to the Lord on high;
Far distant shores and hills are ringing
With anthems of their nations' joy—
"Praise ye the Lord! for He has given
To lands in darkness hid His light;
As morning rays light up the heaven,
His Word has chased away our night."

On China's shores I hear His praises
From lips that once kissed idol stones;
Soon as His banner He upraises,
The Spirit moves the breathless bones—
"Speed, speed Thy Word o'er land and ocean;
The Lord in triumph has gone forth:
The nations hear with strange emotion,
From East to West, from South to North."

The song has sounded o'er the waters,
And India's plains re-echo joy;
Beneath the moon sit India's daughters,
Soft singing, as the wheel they ply—
"Thanks to Thee, Lord! for hopes of glory,
For peace on earth to us revealed;
Our cherished idols fell before Thee,
Thy Spirit has our pardon sealed."

On Afric's sunny shore glad voices
Wake up the morn of Jubilee:
The Negro, once a slave, rejoices,
Who's freed by Christ is doubly free—
"Sing, brothers, sing! yet many a nation
Shall hear the voice of God and live:
E'en we are heralds of salvation;
The Word He gave we'll freely give."

The sun on Essequibo's river
Shines bright midst pendant woods and flowers;
And He who came man to deliver
Is worshipped in those leafy bowers—
"O Lord! once we by Satan captured,
Were slaves of sin and misery;
But now by Thy sweet love enraptured
We sing our song of Jubilee."

Fair are New Zealand's wooded mountains,
Deep glens, blue lakes, and dizzy steeps;
But sweeter than the murmuring fountains
Rises the song from holy lips—
"By blood did Jesus come to save us,
So deeply stained with brother's blood;
Our hearts we'll give to Him who gave us
Deliverance from the fiery flood."

O'er prairies wild the song is spreading,
Where once the war-cry sounded loud;
But now the evening sun is shedding
His rays upon a praying crowd—
"Lord of all worlds, Eternal Spirit!
Thy light upon our darkness shed;
For Thy dear love, for Jesu's merit,
From joyful hearts be worship paid."

Hark! hark! a louder sound is booming
O'er heaven and earth, o'er land and sea;
The angel's trump proclaims His coming,
Our day of endless Jubilee—
"Hail to Thee, Lord! Thy people praise Thee,
In every land Thy Name we sing;
On heaven's eternal throne upraise Thee;
Take Thou Thy power, Thou glorious King." Amen.

END OF VOL. I.

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